productiveness. May not the cause of this be that the naphtha, if allowed to remain in the well, will line the walls with a sort of varnish, and in this manner close up the pores, through which the filtration of a further supply would otherwise be effected?

The naphtha wells are exclusively worked by the people of Balakhani, a village of 792 inhabitants, of whom 344 only are males, an inferiority of number which may be caused by the unwholesomeness of their occupation. The whole of the white naphtha is exported to Astrakhan, where it sells at about three pence per pound. The greatest part of the black naphtha is exported to Persia, somewhat less than a million of pounds being retained in Georgia for domestic uses.

THE REPUBLIC OF SAN MARINO.

SAN MARINO is the only one left of the many republics into which Italy was once divided, and is the smallest independent state of Europe. A rude, craggy mountain, about eleven English miles to the south of Rimini, and a few hillocks scattered around the mountain's base, comprise the whole of this republican territory, which is nowhere six miles across. The entire population does not much exceed 7000 souls. It is thus described by an English traveler: In the course of my walk, the bold rock on which San Marino stands, its rugged outline dotted here and there by a church, a convent, or a tower, formed for a long time the most striking feature in the landscape. I entered the dominions of the old republic by crossing a small stream, and, after three miles of ascent, in some parts very steep, and in others running zig-zag along the face of the mountain, I reached the "Borgo," which is a small town containing about 600 inhabitants. About three-quarters of a mile further on, and much higher, I came to "La Citta," or the city, which is the seat of government, and the residence of the more distinguished members of this miniature commonwealth. It does not seem much larger than the Borgo, but it is cleaner and handsomer, and has some buildings of a considerable size and in a pretty good style of architecture. There is not a single shop or inn, as nothing is allowed to be sold in the city.

The view from this spot, which is more than 2000 feet above the level of the sea, is particularly fine, and one of the best points whence to enjoy it is the top of the prison. The town of Rimini, the Marechia, and the dark Adriatic sea, lay before me; and turning to the the West were the piled up Apennines, conspicuous among which, from the sugar-loaf form of the mountain it stands upon, was the celebrated fortress of San Leo. Descending from the prison top, I visited some horrid dungeons, many feet underground, and quite dark. These conveyed a disagreeable impression as to the character of the old republicans, but it was pleasant to learn, and honorable to their descendants, that these dungeons had not been used for many years, and that there was actually only one prisoner in the place,

whose offence was rather venial, and his treatment exceedingly mild. I found, however, that the inhabitants still piqued themselves, as in the days of Addison, on their love of justice, and their impartial and rigid administration of it. One of the *cittadini* told me the following story in point:—A Venetian, to whom a subject of the hill republic owed a sum of money, the payment of which had been demanded many times in vain, was at length induced, at the recommendation of a friend, to apply to one of the capitanei or presidents at San Marino. On arriving at the town, he was soon conducted to this dignitary of the state, whom he found with naked legs dancing in a huge tub, treading out grapes for wine. The Venetian, accustomed to the dignity, "the pomp and circumstance," of his own city and government, turned with astonishment from such a dispenser of right and might, and began to repent him of his journey. As he had come, however, he told his story, and no sooner was it ended than the capitaneo despatched an assistant to summon the debtor to his presence. The man came forthwith; and, on being interrogated, confessed he duly owed the money, but said he could not pay it. The indignant capitaneo instantly ordered him to prison, and decreed that his house should be sold to meet the demand. This summary sentence very soon produced the amount of the debt from the San Marino man, who, it appears, was not so poor as he had pleaded he was, and the Venetian creditor returned home well satisfied. Some time after, having occasion to sue another debtor in the courts of Venice, and having experienced "the law's delay" and its glorious uncertainty, he exclaimed (at least so say the citizens of the hill) "Val più un pistad 'uva di San Marino che diezi Parruconi di Venezia! (A grape-treader of San Marino is worth more than ten big-wigs of Venice.)

The constitution of the republic is rather aristocratical than otherwise. Although an approach to universal suffrage is nominally admitted, and although it is prescribed in their original charters that the sovereign power is lodged wholly and solely in the Arengo, or great council, in which every family shall be represented by one of its members, all authority has gradually fallen into the council, called "of sixty," but which in reality consists of only forty citizens. Again, half of the Council of Sixty were, by law, to be elected out of the plebeian order, the other half, and no more, chosen from among the nobility. Now, however, the council is wholly composed of the *richest* citizens, whose relative antiquity of descent or aristocracy of blood I could not ascertain.

The Arengo, or popular body, has sometimes been called together of late years in cases of extraordinary emergency. This is done merely by the ringing of a great bell, whose tones can very well be heard all over the republic. An old law enacts that every member who does not attend the summons be fined a sum about equal to an English penny, and that this fine be paid "*sine aliqua diminutione aut gratia.*"

The miscalled Council of Sixty nominate ten of their members, out of whom two are chosen by lot, and named Capitanei Reggenti. One of these capitanei has jurisdiction over the city, and the other over the country. Their power only lasts six months, and they cannot be reëlected to these supreme posts until after an interval of three years. The elections take place in March and in September, but the capitanei only take possession of their office in April or in October. Joined with them there is a commissary, who, according to the old constitution, *ought* to judge all civil and

criminal matters; and also (to avoid the partialities or prejudices likely to influence the subjects of so small a state, where every man knows every body, and has numerous family ties and connexions) he *ought* to be a foreigner—the native of some other Italian state—a Doctor of Laws, and a man of well-established integrity of character. This officer is chosen for three years and mantained at the public expense. The capitanei and the Council of Sixty—of which no one can be a member until he is twenty-five years old, and where no two individuals of the same family can sit at the same time—appoint, between them, to the few offices of this poor and simple state. The most important of these offices, after that of the commissary, are the physician's and the schoolmaster's. The physician, according to the letter of the constitution, ought also to be a foreigner. He must, moreover, keep a horse wherewith to visit speedily any patient in the country, and his election is only for three years.

At the time of Addison's visit the schoolmaster must have performed his duty conscientiously, as that elegant writer says, that he "scarcely met with any in the place that had not a tincture of learning;" and, in my time, from what I could observe during a short visit, reading and writing seemed common acquirements enough. Addison also had an opportunity of looking over their collection of laws, which were written in Latin, and had been printed at Rimini, by order of the Commonwealth of San Marino, in a folio volume. The book was entitled "Statua Illustrissimæ Reipublicæ Sancti Marini. In the chapter on public ministers, &c., there is a law mentioned by Addison, which provides that whenever an ambassador is despatched by the Republic to any foreign state he shall be allowed, out of the treasury, to the value of about one shilling per day during his mission! I could not help observing, even during the short stay I made, that, like some other citizens of small states, the people of San Marino were exceedingly susceptible and punctilious as to any criticisms made by their neighbors on their laws and customs, or on the dignity of their state. An anecdote is current illustrative of this feeling. About the end of the last century a citizen of San Marino heard an inhabitant of Rimini assert that the Republic was nothing more than a place of refuge for thieves, bankrupt traders, and vagabonds. The words of this sweeping accusation were reported to the "Council of Sixty," who immediately passed a law excluding forever from the territories of the Republic not only the offender but all his relations, and every person, whether related or not, who bore the same name. Thirty years after this, on a dreadfully stormy night, a man and woman who had lost their way demanded and readily obtained shelter in the house of a peasant at Serravalle, a hamlet just within the line of the republican territory. In the course of conversation the stranger addressed the woman who had arrived with him by her name, "Signora Bava;" now Bava was the name of the Riminese caluminator. As soon as the unlucky word was uttered, the peasant started up, exclaming "Via da casa mia ognuno col nome di Bava!"—(Away from my house every one who bears the name of Bava!)—and, in spite of entreaties, and notwithstanding the pelting of the storm, the unfortunate woman was turned out of doors.

The origin of this poor little republic, which has survived so many mighty ones that have fallen around her, and still looks with freedom from her rocky seat over her prostrate and enslaved neighbor, Venice, is exceedingly

REPUBLIC OF SAN MARINO.

curious and interesting. Towards the end of the third century of the Christian Era, Rimini,—then called by its Latin name Ariminum—having completely fallen to ruins, the reigning Roman Emperor, Diocletian, undertook to restore the city, which is advantageously situated on the shores of the Adriatic Sea. To this end, he invited from the opposite coast of the Adriatic, which was his native place, a number of artists and workmen, and, in the words of an old local historian, "venne ad Ariminum un gran numero di architetti scallpellini, o, diciamo taglia-pietri, e muratori, e conessi un infinità d' operai schiavoni." (There came to Ariminum a great number of architects, chisel-men, or, let us say, stone cutters and bricklayers, and with them an infinitude of Sclavonian workmen.) Among these Sclavonian masons and builders, there was one Marino, a man of a good character, who soon distinguished himself as a fervent friend of the Christian church as then established in Italy.

After Diocletian had been the benefactor of Rimini, which, under the hands of Marino and his companions, soon rose from its ruins, that emperor became the scourge of all Italy, by instituting an abominable religious persecution. In ecclesiastical history this is called "the tenth persecution of the Christian church." It was commenced by Diocletian, A. D. 303, and proved one of the most sanguinary of the attempts made to conquer men's conscience and belief by force. In Rimini alone, according to the old historian from whom I have already quoted, "rivers of Catholic blood flowed, not to earth, but to heaven!" Driven to desperation, the Catholic population at last rose against the emperor's pro-consul and their other rulers. A serious conflict, in which Marino took part with the Bishop of Forli, Forlimpopoli, and other churchmen, ensued, and seems to have terminated disadvantageously for the persecutors. After this Marino withdrew to the rugged, but safe recesses of Monte Titano, as the mountain which is now the territory of the republic was then called. In that solitude he gave himself more and more up to devotion; and the rigid penances to which, in accordance with the notions of that early age, he subjected himself, soon obtained for him the reputation of sanctity, and attracted numbers to the place of his retreat. Many of his countrymen, who had come with him from Dalmatia to Rimini, had brought their wives and children with them; and it seems probable that these formed the original nucleus of the little independent state. At the same time, however, persecution and war would drive some of the native Italians of the plain to the safety of that mountain.

A few years after his first retreat, when something like peace was restored to the church, Marino descended from his rock, and attended an ecclesiastical conciliabulum held at Rimini. By this time the stone-mason was a dignitary of the Catholic hierarchy, for he was styled Diaconus, or Deacon. When he died, full of years and holiness, his ashes were buried on the mountain-top, and miracles were said to be wrought at his tomb. In later years he was canonized by the Pope, and the name of Monte Titano was changed into his name—San Marino. The sancity thus attached to the spot, and the feelings of religion, have perhaps contributed as much in certain ages to the preservation of the republic from the hostile attack of its neighbors, as its smallness, poverty, and inoffensiveness.

When all the free States of Italy, except Genoa and Venice, by their mad internal dissensions, and constant wars with their neighbors, committed political suicide upon themselves, and, one by one, resigned their liber-

ties to the will of arbitrary princes, San Marino was too mean and poor to tempt either of these little despots to take forcible possession of it. The territory of the republic, which had been increased by purchases from a neighboring state in the twelfth century, and by donations from one of the popes in the fourteenth century, was, however, in process of time, curtailed and reduced to its original and present limits. More than a century after the time when Clementini wrote, it was again deprived of its liberties. In 1739, Cardinal Alberoni subjected it to the pope; but this second servitude, like the first, to the Counts of Carpegno and to Rimini, lasted only "for a short space of time," after which its independence and all its privileges were restored.

When Bonaparte, with the army of the French republic, appeared as the conqueror of Italy, (or rather of the Austrians *in* Italy,) in the neighborhood of San Marino, he sent a congratulatory deputation to the sister republic, which expressed the reverence felt by her young sister, France, for so ancient and free a commonwealth, and offered the state four pieces of artillery and an increase of territory. This was on the 11th of February, 1797. The cannon were gratefully accepted, but the other tempting offer was wisely declined.

At the end of the last, and at the beginning of the present century, when political malcontents were numerous, and rigidly pursued by hostile governments, San Marino was often the asylum of men of opposite parties at the same time; and the government only preserved peace by strictly prohibiting all political discussion among the refugees. The fear of incurring expulsion from the territory, and consequent seizure by their enemies, seems to have been sufficient to restrain the partisanship of the most violent, for the regulation was strictly observed. Among the most distinguished of these guests, was the Chevalier Delfico, a subject of the king of Naples, and an author of some eminence. He lived many years on the mountain, acquired the rights of citizenship, and ever afterwards styled himself in the title pages of the books he published, and in other documents, Delfico, Cittadino di San Marino. I knew this accomplished man in his old age, when he was no longer proscribed, and have heard him speak with grateful recollections of the hospitality and kindness he enjoyed, and of the honest, quiet habits of the poor and simple republicans. Still farther to show his gratitude, he had written a "History of San Marino," a curious and clever book, which I have in vain endeavored to obtain a sight of in England. The edition I was acquainted with in Italy was in quarto, and published at Venice.

At the time of my visit, (in 1819,) though there were no political refugees, there were several debtors and petty offenders from the neighboring states, that had taken refuge at San Marino. All the citizens capable of bearing arms were regularly drilled and trained. The territory of the republic, rugged as it is, yields a quantity of good wine and fruit, and the pasturage is abundant and fine. There are no springs or fountains on the mountain, but rain and snow-water are plentifully preserved in cisterns and tanks cut in the rock. The wine-cellars, similarly excavated, are deliciously cool and excellent. The wines of the hill are particularly lauded by an old historian of the republic, who says,—"I vini sono cosi amabili, purificati, gratiosi e buoni che non hanno da invidiare i claretti di Francia." (The wines are so mild, pure, agreeable, and good, that they have no need to envy the

clarets of France.) The largest of the churches, which contains his ashes, is dedicated to San Marino, but has nothing remarkable about it except a statue of the saint over the high altar, which holds in its hands the figure of a mountain crowned with three towers. The mountain and the towers are the appropriate arms of the commonwealth. As I stood by the tomb of the worthy Sclavonian mason, I could not but reflect that, although it had not been destined to obtain such a "high and palmy state," his was a more honorable foundation of a republic than that laid by Romulus and his licentious, freebooting associates.

EXTRAORDINARY DELIVERANCE.

THE following melancholy event and extraordinary deliverance from one of the most horrid deaths the human imagination can conceive, occurred in the English collieries about thirty-five years ago:

"About midway between the towns of Wednesbury and Bilston, on the great Holyhead Road, the traveler must have remarked, on crossing the canal at a place called Moxley Heath, one of the finest beds of bright red sand in the kingdom. This bed of sand is many yards thick, and being extensively used in the iron founderies, hundreds of boat loads are taken away for that purpose. A little to the left of this spot, on a Monday morning, about the period before named, and whilst the workmen were busily engaged at their labor in the coal mine underneath, a sudden 'crownings in,' (as it is emphatically termed by the colliers,) or falling in of the superincumbent strata, took place about the centre of the works, owing, as was supposed, to the bearings that are usually left, being too much weakened to support the heavy mass above. At this moment about fourteen or sixteen men were at work below, nearly all of whom were then employed at the extremity of the mine, and the disrupture happening about midway between the shaft of the pit and the situation where the workmen were engaged, the driftways were instantly filled with the falling mass; consequently all escape for them was cut off, and their lights extinguished by the violent concussion of air, &c. The few workmen that happened to be near the bottom of the shaft were instantly drawn up to the surface. The alarm was given, and spread like wildfire through all the surrounding working districts. Thousands were seen rushing to the fatal spot as to a common focus—fathers, mothers, wives and children by their cries adding to the misery of the scene. Nearly all work in the neigborhood was suspended, both employers and workmen assembling to render assistance. Of course the fate of the ten or eleven men stopped up in the mine was all matter of conjecture. Whether the fallen matter had choked up the farther workings and buried them alive, or supposing this not to be the case, whether they could exist without food and fresh air until their deliverance could be effected, was equally matter of doubt.

After some consultation the engine was set to work, and parties of workmen went down the pit in the hope of clearing away the rubbish below so as to get to the unfortunate men, whilst loads of faggots and straw were emptied into the hollow formed on the surface by the fall, (which resembled an inverted cone of from fifteen to twenty yards in diameter,) for the purpose of stopping up the fissures and preventing the running down of any more loose sand, &c., from the top. This course was persevered in for some time, but it was at length found that their labors were ineffectual, as sand, water, &c., kept pouring down as fast as it could be removed from the bottom. Another consultation was now held, when the only hope of saving the men that remained was, the driving a head through the solid coal in a winding direction round the fractured part into the farther end of the mine. This was a work of great labor and difficulty, as near 100 yards in length of solid coal was necessary to be penetrated by the shortest possible cut. Subscriptions were raised, and the different masters set a laudable example to their men by their personal assistance. Working gangs were formed, sufficiently numerous to relieve each other by short relays. This undertaking was instantly commenced with the greatest alacrity on the part of the workmen, some cutting away with their picks, others clearing away the coal from behind—the men retiring to rest as they became fatigued, and their places occupied by fresh hands. The head was driven no larger than was necessary for the men to sit to their work, and resembled a tunnel. Day and night the work proceeded, until the close of the week, the public anxiety increasing as the cutting advanced; the absorbing questions early and late being, 'Has anything been yet ascertained of the fate of the unfortunate colliers?'

"On the following Sunday morning a rumor was spread that the men engaged in driving had heard sounds from within like the distant tapping of hammers, the tapping becoming more distinct as the work proceeded. All now was increased activity. They were no longer laboring without strong hopes of saving some of their fellow creatures, and this feeling gave an additional stimulus to their exertions. Early on Monday morning (one week from their incarceration) it became generally known that voices had been heard within audible enough to warn the drivers (who, in their anxiety to shorten the cutting, were approaching too close to the fracture) to keep more to the left. It was also pretty well understood, for some miles around, that the head would be driven through in the course of that day, and again the neighboring population poured to the scene in countless numbers—the diverging roads presenting one moving mass. About one o'clock in the afternoon the head was completed, sufficiently large to allow the workmen to enter, when nine men and one boy were found, alive indeed, but in the last stage of exhaustion! The news was instantly communicated to the assembled crowd above. The burst of feeling at this announcement cannot be described. At this awful moment the sensations of the assembled relatives of these unhappy men were most intense. One poor woman, it was stated, had died with excess of joy upon learning that her husband was still alive, after a whole week of the most agonizing suspense. Medical practitioners were in attendance, and by their directions the air was admitted into the confined portion of the works by degrees: warm gruel and other restoratives were carefully and sparingly administered to the sufferers down in the works; after a proper interval, they

were gradually brought out, enveloped in blankets, drawn to the surface, each in the lap of a sturdy miner, instantly put into coaches, which were ready in waiting, and conveyed to their respective homes.

"It was now ascertained that but one or two individuals and a horse or two had perished. One poor fellow was passing through the drift-way at the time of the fall, and was buried in the rubbish, but not so completely as to cause instant death. He lingered for some time; and his unfortunate companions, unable to render him assistance, heard his cries for help, as they became gradually weaker, till life was extinct. It also appeared that the sufferers had made a fruitless effort to effect their own deliverance by removing the fallen earth as long as their strength would permit. They had probably taken a meal with them, as is usual with colliers when they descend the pit, and had caught a little water in their caps, which had helped to allay their thirst, and this was their only sustenance during the seven days and nights that they were stopped up; but they had also heard the blows of the pick as the head was being driven through, and the hope that their deliverance would be effected had doubtlessly contributed to sustain their sinking spirits; nevertheless, had any relaxation taken place in the efforts that were made for that purpose, the consequences must have been fatal to them. One man had a son with him in the mine, a boy about twelve or thirteen years old, who sat upon his father's knees, and slept the greater part of the time, occasionally waking and crying for his mother, then falling asleep again. One remarkable fact is, that on being asked if they knew the day of their deliverance, they supposed it was on Friday. It would be naturally enough thought that in their dark and dreary confinement time would have dragged on so heavily that they would have supposed the duration longer than it actually was; but it is probable that the close and half stifled nature of their situation brought on drowsiness, and that they had all slept more or less. It is believed they all ultimately recovered."

THE CHLAMYPHORUS TRUNCATUS.

THE Chlamyphorus Truncatus, or Pechichiago, is a little animal belonging to the order *edentata*—an order which includes mammalia destitute of incisor teeth, and sometimes of teeth altogether. The first detailed account we have of the chlamyphorus is given by Dr. Harlan, professor of comparative anatomy to the Philadelphia Museum; who, however, had only the opportunity of examining an imperfect specimen.

The animal is a native of Chili, where, like a mole, it burrows in the rich soil of the valleys, living for the most part underground, in quiet seclusion. Concealed in its subterranean retreats, it is regarded by the natives as a curiosity, and indeed, independent of its being hidden from observation, as it seldom visits the surface, at least during the light of day, it appears to be extremely rare. Its food, so far as we are assured by its dentition and the

CHLAMYPHORUS TRUNCATUS.

imperfect accounts received respecting its habits, is insectivorous, and doubtless consists of such as like itself inhabiting the soil beneath the surface, become the objects of its pursuit without calling it from its obscurity. Night is most probably the season of its activity, and of its unfrequent visits to the "upper world."

Few animals with which we are acquainted are better qualified for a subterranean mode of life, or better furnished with the means of "progressing" through the soil, or forming galleries and chambers. The top of the head, and the whole of the upper surface of the body, are covered with a thin shell of a consistence between horn and leather, divided by intersecting furrows, into a series of bands or strips, each strip being itself made up of fifteen or twenty plates of a square form, except on the head, which is covered with a single plate composed of a mosaic-work of rounded and irregular portions. This horny covering or shield is not fixed by the whole of its inferior surface to the integuments beneath, as is the case with the armadillo, but merely rests on the back, free throughout, "excepting along the spine of the back and top of the head; being attached to the back, immediately above the spine, by a loose cuticular production, and by two remarkable bony processes on the top of the *os frontis* (bone of forehead), by means of two large plates which are nearly incorporated with the bone beneath; but for this attachment, and the tail being firmly curved beneath the belly, the covering would be very easily detached." The extremity of the tail is formed like a paddle. "The whole surface of the body is covered with fine silk-like hair, (of a delicate straw color), longer and finer than that of the mole, but not so thick. The anterior of the chest is large, full, and strong; the anterior extremities short, clumsy, and powerful." The hand, which is amazingly thick and compact, is furnished with five powerful but compressed nails, which, arranged together in their natural situation, constitute one of the most efficient scrapers or shovels which can be possibly imagined; and expressly adapted for progression under ground, but in an equal ratio ill-fitted for celerity on the surface. The hind legs are comparatively weak, the feet being long and somewhat resembling the human; the toes are furnished with small flattened nails. Sight is but a second-rate sense, as it regards its importance in the economy of an animal living in darkness beneath the ground;—the organs of vision, therefore, are almost as little developed as in the mole, being very minute, and buried in the long silky fur; by which the circular orifices of the ears are also equally concealed. The head is almost conical in its figure, going off from a broad base to a pointed snout, furnished with an enlarged cartilage, as in the hog, and doubtless for the same purpose, of grubbing and burrowing for food. In accordance with the details of external configuration the skeleton is equally indicative of the creature's habits. The skull is firm, and prevented from being pressed upon by the shield, which rests on two solid projections, as seen in the annexed sketch. The bones of the forelimbs are thick, short, and angular; the scapulæ broad and strong; the ribs thick, and capable of resisting great pressure. The hip-bones are of singular construction, and admirably formed for protecting the internal organs from injury. Such is an outline of the structure and habits of the chlamyphorus, an animal which, though bearing in some points a close analogy both to the mole and the armadillo, yet possesses characters so exclusively its own, as to render it one of the most interesting and remarkable of modern discoveries

in zoology. Of this rare animal two specimens alone exist, one in the Museum of Philadelphia, the other, whose skeleton is perfect, in the Museum of the Zoological Society of London.

CAUSES OF WHIRLWINDS, ETC.

WHIRLWINDS, Pillars of Sand, and Waterspouts form a class of remarkable phenomena not usually ranked together, but which we are inclined to refer to the principle of electricity. In the explanations generally given it is assumed that there are currents of air blowing in different directions, the oblique meeting of which causes an eddy or vortex, having a vacuum in its interior. Against this hypothesis it may be objected that, in the greater number of instances recorded, the air has been either calm or with a wind moderate and steady without any cross currents. If these meteors had a mechanical origin of this kind, they ought to abound most where variable winds and storms prevail, as on sea coasts, near headlands, and among hills. On the contrary, they are most rare in such cases, rather affecting climates and seasons of hot still atmosphere, in desert plains or tropical seas. Besides, in order to form a vortex, it is necessary that a coherent body be present to deflect the current into the tangential motion producing the whirl. A vortex cannot be formed in the free atmosphere, whatever be the respective velocities or angle of meeting of currents, and, according to all experience, a shift of wind is preceded by a calm, lasting until one of the currents has obtained predominance. That waterspouts and whirlwinds are independent of motion in the air is made evident by their having often a rapid progression, although the air around them be still, and by their having been seen even to advance against a wind then blowing; and when several waterspouts have been in sight at once, some have been stationary, others running about without any common direction.

In assigning these phenomena to the agency of electricity, there are no conditions assumed the existence of which can be disproved; and it cannot be denied that the cause is adequate to the effect attributed to it. We may distinguish two kinds of them, according as the electricity has accumulated in the earth, and discharges itself into the air, or, as the electricity is emitted from a charged cloud, exercising a powerful induction upon the surface of the earth beneath, but without exploding. In the former case, which is peculiar to land, the resulting action constitutes the whirlwind or the pillar of sand, the different appearance of which is owing to the nature of the soil from which they rise. Whirlwinds are of most frequent occurence in those countries not free from earthquakes and dry hot seasons during a limited time of the year, such as the wide valley of the Mississippi. Compared with the pillars of sand they are more terrible in their destructive energies, but they are more casual, and are generally single. Pillars of sand are confined to the deserts of Africa and Hindostan; they are individually less dangerous, but they are not to be despised if it be true

that each of them may deposit a quantity of suffocating dust, forming a hillock of greater height than a man, and that countless numbers may be stalking across the arid plain with inevitable speed.

The electricity, which we believe to be the prime mover of these extraordinary spectacles, may possibly have different sources, and, we are inclined to suspect, a less superficial excitation of that in the whirlwind. But, however the charge may be derived, when it has accumulated to such intensity that the electrical inertia of the air is unable to repress it, it will rush upwards in a stream, communicating an ascending motion to the air, and bearing along with it whatever light mobile particles may be within its influence.

If there were in the superincumbent atmosphere a sufficient mass to supply by induction the requisite quantity of the opposite electricity, then the accumulation might have been discharged in the ordinary manner by explosion. In the absence of this, the electricity, taking the direction in which it meets with least resistance, tends to dissipate itself in a stream through the air so long as it can force a passage. The stream expands in its progress by its own elasticity, so that its diameter is greater as it recedes from the earth, often describing very exactly an inverted cone. While the stream continues, the opposite kind of electricity is induced into the air along its path, and flows downwards towards the point of emission, or apex of the cone, where the primary charge is most concentrated. Now, it has been proved by experiment, that every electric current contains within itself a revolving action, the consequence of the attraction of the opposite electric surfaces. To this property of an electric we may therefore assign the origin of the spiral motion of the whirlwind, conceiving that it results from the longitudinal or ascending motion of the stream, influenced by the circular or revolving motion of the two electricities round each other. The velocity of the spiral motion is too great to be followed by the eye, and its mechanical effects, exhibited in the lifting of loaded wagons, the leveling of stone-walls, the cutting through fences, trees, and huts, as if with an edge tool, are ascribable to no other physical cause than electrodynamic.

Waterspouts have the same principles of action, but in them the accumulation exists in a low heavy cloud, which has induced the opposite electricity into the earth beneath, without finding a prominent point to facilitate an explosion. The charge is gradually neutralized by combination with that rushing in a stream from below, and carrying with it dust from the plain, and vapor, or rather a mist, from waters. The watery particles being again aggregated into drops, sometimes as large as cherries, descend in torrents, and a circulation is thus established while the accumulation exists.

The spouts or tubes, apparently let down from the cloud, are formed by the vapor or mist attracted by the electricity which has elongated itself into a protrusion by an effort to discharge itself.

SUBMARINE NAVIGATION.

PLANS for effecting the navigation of vessels under the surface of the water have often been discussed, and have more than once been tried with some success; and although the motives which led to the attempt have usually been rather discreditable than otherwise, there can be no doubt that upon occasion the faculty of traveling under water might be found useful.

If, on the coming on of a storm, a ship could, as the little nautilus is said to do on a like occasion, furl up her sails, and descend to the depths of ocean, to emerge again when calm should be restored, the danger of foundering at sea would evidently be much reduced, and the timid might venture to undertake a voyage without apprehension. It may be feared that dangers of another sort would more than compensate for the exemption from storms on the deep sea; and in shallow waters the expedient would be obviously inapplicable. Even if perfect safety from the ordinary sources of danger could thus be obtained, it must be at such an expense of time, space, and convenience, as to be out of the reach of most persons.

Writers of the middle ages have mentioned submarine vessels, though somewhat vaguely, and generally rather as being possible than as actually put in practice; some have been more particular, but their accounts are equally fanciful, and Alexander the Great, or some other ancient worthy, is usually the hero of the tale. About the sixteenth century we come to something more positive: the inhabitants of the Ukraine are stated to have been at that epoch in the habit of using such vessels, in order to be able to escape from the Turkish galleys, by which they were frequently pursued. Soon after we have a more distinct account of a submarine boat nearer home. Cornelius van Drebbel, a mechanician and writer of some renown in his day, constructed a boat in London which he navigated beneath the surface of the Thames. His vessel contained twelve rowers, besides passengers, and it is said that on one occasion King James I. went on board for the sake of witnessing the experiment. To make the story more wonderful, Van Drebbel is stated by Boyle to have found out a liquid which would restore to its original vital state, air vitiated by breathing, so that he could remain as long as he pleased under water. If this be true, Van Drebbel's chemical science was greater even than his mechanical skill; but, to judge from our present knowledge of chemistry, there can be no doubt that Boyle was misinformed on this matter: possibly the liquid might be a pretence to hide the real mode of obtaining air by tubes from above the surface. Mersenne, in 1644, speaking of this vessel, says: "It is known that a ship was built in England by Cornelius Drebbel, which swam under the water;" but although he speaks of glass, pebbles, and horn, for giving light in such ships, and proposes a leather tube for admitting air, he says nothing of Drebbel's liquid, which he was sufficiently credulous to have fully believed, if he had heard of it.

The treatise of Mersenne on submarine navigation is part of a very curious work treating on almost everything. He speaks of ships that may be

made of either metal or wood, to run with wheels on the bottom of the sea, and where the sea was too deep, to be moved with oars. He dwells on the safety from storms in such vessels, because, as he says, their force never reaches a greater depth than three or four fathoms: he says such a ship should be in the form of a fish, but alike at both ends; that the oars should be broad like paddles, and easily turned, so as to make the ship go backwards or forwards, upward or downwards. He thinks persons might remain a month at the bottom of the sea in such a vessel; that they might grind corn with mills moved by asses, bake bread, cook their victuals, and carry on trade and manufactures. A little further on he says it would be even possible to colonize the bed of the sea, and live all one's life there; he has no doubt the colonists would learn in time to get from the sea enough to live upon, although they might occasionally come up to procure wine or water, or a supply of fresh air. "How easily," he exclaims, "could they reach in this way the north or south poles, as it is well known the sea never freezes to the bottom!" After this he takes a still wider flight, and thinks it not quite impossible that a man might become a fish, and live altogether without air, although he admits it to be doubtful; but he points to the example of rope-dancers and jugglers, who by practice learn to do many things which seem at first equally impossible, and which, if he had not himself seen, he could not have believed, had they been sworn to. "Who knows," says he, "whether the lungs may not be so refreshed by the water, that men may do without air, as many fishes do; and perhaps this air which is mixed with the water may serve for this purpose." Mersenne frequently writes as if he had really done a good deal of what he talks about; but one or two expressions show that he never saw a submarine ship. Thus he says that if any body will make such a vessel, he will show how to cook food in it. A few years after Mersenne, Bishop Wilkins published his "Mathematical Magic," in which he writes of submarine navigation much in the style of Mersenne: his immediate object seems to have been the finding of articles which had been lost by shipwreck; but his successors have generally aimed at producing a warlike engine, which should come secretly under a ship, and blow it into the air with gunpowder. This was tried in the Thames more than a century ago by Dr. Desaguliers; and in 1777 by the American Bushnell in the river Delaware. Bushnell's boat, which has been well described, was constructed with great ingenuity. Its shape has been compared to that of a tortoise, but it was more like a gigantic walnut only a little flattened. It was made of metal, well closed on all sides, except at one hole, where the operator entered, and this he closed after him. There was no method of procuring air when beneath the surface; so that it was necessary to get up as soon as the air was consumed. All operations were performed by rods passing air-tight through the sides; one rod moved a sort of a spiral oar, shaped like the worm of a endless screw, and standing perpendicularly above it: by turning this backwards or forwards, the vessel sank or rose; another rod turned a similar oar, placed horizontally, which moved the vessel forward or backwards; but the whole machine was first brought as nearly as practicable to the specific gravity of the surrounding medium by opening a stop-cock to admit water, which might be driven out again by a forcing pump. A barometer-gauge showed the depth which the vessel had reached, and a compass the direction of its motion; and as a candle would have consumed too much air, bits of phosphorus were placed upon these

instruments to show their indications. A large quantity of lead was attached to the bottom of the machine, to serve as ballast, and of this about two hundred weight could be detached by the turning of a screw, which would leave the vessel light enough to rise rapidly to the surface in case of danger from want of air. There were many other contrivances for various necessary purposes, and the whole construction showed an ingenuity that might have been valuable; but the spirit of modern times is against such a treacherous mode of warfare as that intended by this machine; and the failures incident to the awkwardness of a first attempt threw a discredit over the invention.

The next experiment was that of Fulton, who in 1801 made a vessel, which he called the Nautilus, nearly on Bushnell's plan, except that he had a copper vessel to contain condensed air for respiration. This was in France; but he met with no encouragement from Buonaparte, and he was induced soon after to offer his services to the British government, under whose auspices he tried some experiments in England, which failed of their purpose. He subsequently returned to America, where he appears to have had more success. At his death in 1815, he was employed in building a ship which was intended to be just on a level with the surface of the sea; so that a man could put his head out of a hole in the deck to see what was going on. Captain Montgery, a few years ago, proposed to build a ship of war, which he called l'Invisible: he gives minute directions for its construction; but we are not aware that he put his plans in execution.

The most interesting attempt at submarine navigation in recent times is that of the well-known smuggler Johnston, who was employed by some wealthy parties to liberate Napoleon from his prison of St. Helena. Johnston's vessel, which was built in the Thames, was nearly 100 feet long, and was intended to float on a level with the surface, or at least to sink very little below it. It was proposed that this ship should approach St. Helena towards evening, and that it should wait until the illustrious captive should receive notice of the neighborhood of his liberator. It was expected that he would be ready to embark immediately, and it was then intended to depart for the United States. The vessel was nearly finished when the British Government received notice of its destination. It was consequently seized, and the death of Napoleon, which occurred about the same period, put an end to the scheme altogether. Johnston was afterwards employed in making experiments with a view of destroying the French fleet at Cadiz; but the dissolution of the Cortes put an end to his enterprise.

A floating, partly submerged propeller, torpedo vessel, has lately been invented by James Nasmyth, of Patricroft, England, for destroying large ships of an invading fleet.

Mr. Nasmyth is the inventor of the steam hammer, which bears his name, and various other useful inventions, and besides, he is a first rate astronomer and mathematician. The following is his own account of the invention:

"The principles on which the arrangement and construction of the floating mortar is based, consist, in the first place of a monster self-exploding shell, so arranged as to explode on having its breech end crushed against the breech of the mortar, the self-exploding cap being situated there. In order to enhance the destructive effect upon the enemy's ship, the shell is so far submerged as to tear its way into the enemy six feet under water line.

Next, to protect the shell from the effect of the water while resting in the chamber of the mortar, it is rendered water proof by being inclosed within a perfectly water tight copper case, which will so effectively secure it from the action of the water as that it may remain, if need be, for years in the chamber of the mortar, submerged, as before said, six feet under water line, and ready for service at any time. The crush consequent on coming in contact with the side of the enemy is the agent whereby the monster shell is made to explode. A very moderate velocity of the floating mortar would, when brought up against the side of the enemy, prove sufficient for this purpose; so much so, that, in order to obviate the chance of its explosion by accidental contact with any other object, I have so placed the flange joint of the copper case against the mouth of the mortar, that the crush against the side of the enemy, resulting from a speed of two or three miles per hour, shall be sufficient to overcome the resistance of this flange, and crush the self-exploding cap at the breech end of the shell against that of the mortar, and so cause it to explode and tear its fearful way through the side of the enemy. Thus it will be evident that we can never fail to render the shell effective, inasmuch as that it is the very fact of contact with the side or hull of the enemy that brings the self-exploding agency into action. No ship that has ever been built, either wood or iron, could survive the fearful hole which a monster shell, exploded under such circumstances, would produce.

The next feature is the intimate union of our mortar with the hull of the screw steam-vessel, which transports it direct to the object which we desire to destroy. The mortar is made part and parcel of the vessel, and so situated as to unite the most effective mechanical arrangement with the strongest position of the vessel, viz., "end on," so that the entire mass of our vessel (mortar and all) is brought into play, as the means whereby the concussion or recoil due to the explosion of the shell is absorbed by the entire mass of the floating mortar, so that no sensible recoil or concussion would be experienced.

Next is the manner in which the crew who attend to the navigation of the floating mortar, together with the steam engine, boiler, and screw, are protected from the action of shot, whether red-hot or cold. This object is attained by giving the vessel, in all directions where assailable, such a thickness of timber as that no shot of whatsoever description can penetrate to the interior. To insure this, the hull of our floating mortar will be made at least ten feet thick, of poplar wood, which material is admirably adapted for the purpose, by reason of its lightness, toughness, and incombustibility. Red-hot shot might lodge in it, but would fail to set it on fire. A red-hot shot would only char a few inches of the timber around it and cool at its leisure, and from the extent to which the hull would be submerged, the portion above water presents no surface favorable for the effective action of shot; whilst, as there will be most ample accommodation in the interior for a high pressure engine and boiler, with direct action screw-propeller, there is nothing to prevent our obtaining a velocity of eight or nine miles an hour, although for the actual objects of the vessel a speed of five or six miles would be ample. The draught of the engine furnace would cause perfect ventilation for the crew, which need not consist of more than three or four handy men.

I would observe, in conclusion, that as this class of vessel is chiefly

designed for defence against invasion, and would not have to act against an enemy, probably, at greater distances than one or two miles from our shore, it could speedily return for another shell; the means for lodging which in the chamber of the submerged mortar are most simple, but not needful at present to describe. I conceive, however, that the total destruction of one enemy's ship at each trip would be sufficient service. Three or four such floating mortars, each of which sending to the bottom of the sea the largest ships an invading enemy might dare to bring towards our shore, would make such a demonstration as would strike terror into the largest fleet that molested a peaceful nation; and not fail to confirm the maxim, that the best way to prevent war is to render the results so terrible as that evil disposed nations will think twice ere they face such wholesale destruction as our floating mortars would not fail to deal out to them."

THE DRUIDS.

AMONG the ancient inhabitants of England and of France, formerly called Gaul, as well as among some other nations of antiquity, the Druids were priests or ministers of religion. They were also the instructors of the young, and were the only learned men of the nations to which they belonged. Although these men flourished long after civilization had made great progress among neighboring nations, yet they did not make use of writing, but their scholars were obliged to get by heart all their lessons, from hearing them repeated by their masters, the Druids.

In general, little was known about very ancient tribes and nations, until the Romans invaded their countries and conquered them. So it is from the Romans that we have derived our knowledge of the habits, character and religion of the Druids. The Druids of Britain were very celebrated. There has been much dispute about the derivation of the word *Druid*, but it is most probable that it comes from an old British word, *dru*, meaning *oak*, because the Druids held the oak-tree almost sacred; it was their favorite tree, and their groves contained no other.

Little is known concerning them before the age of Julius Cæsar, the Roman, who invaded Britain after having subdued Gaul, about fifty-four years before Christ. Cæsar says that they were divided into several classes; the priests, the soothsayers, the poets, the judges, and instructors of youth. The priests, those Druids who were called so by way of distinction, had the charge of the religious ceremonies. They worshipped their gods, and offered sacrifices to them upon altars. Their temples, or places of worship, were very singular. They were generally circles of vast standing pillars, over which they sometimes laid huge stones, making a circle in the air. In the middle stood the altar-stone. Of this kind was the celebrated Stone-henge, near Salisbury, in England. In the island of Anglesey, near the northern extremity of Wales, there are Druidical pillars yet remain

ing. This island is supposed to have been the residence of the chief, or Arch-Druid, of Britain.

The Druids had very strange ideas about religion. They thought that the common people could not understand the simple and rational principles of religion, and so they invented foolish fables and superstitions, and deluded the masses to worship the sun, and be idolaters. They had fires sacred to the sun, like the priests of Baal, of whom we read in the Bible. The Druids were criminal enough to sacrifice human beings to their gods, and this cruelty, which they persisted in, notwithstanding all remonstrance, was the cause of their destruction. The poets, or bards, according to some, did not properly belong to the class of Druids, because they did not mix religion with their songs. They inspired the people to warlike actions, and sang the praise of patriotism and bravery. The Druids studied astronomy, and made great proficiency in the science.

We all know what terror and astonishment an eclipse, or any singular appearance in the sky, creates among an ignorant people, who do not know the causes of these things, or the means of finding out, beforehand, at what time they will happen. Persons among such people, who can foretell any occurrence, even a change of the seasons, are looked upon as inspired with a knowledge more than human. By such arts the Druids extended and strengthened their influence over the people. The soothsayers even pretended to be acquainted with the intentions of Divine Providence! The Roman soothsayers, or fortune-tellers, pretended to foretell events by the appearance of the entrails of beasts that were sacrificed on their altars; in the same way, but with much greater cruelty, the Druidical soothsayers examined the bleeding bodies of human victims.

When the Roman Suetonius determined to put an end not only to the ceremonies of the Druids, but to the priests themselves, they took refuge in the island of Anglesey. Here they were determined to make a bold resistance. Having some hope of gaining a victory over the Romans, they kindled large fires, in which they intended to consume the Roman prisoners, should they take any. Suetonius landed near Parthamel. The Druids, in great numbers, encircled the army of their countrymen, urging them to be brave, and praying for the vengeance of Heaven upon the invaders. The scene was rendered more terrific to the Romans by the appearance of the British women, who were dressed in black, and ran yelling to and fro, brandishing torches. However, the Romans were brave men, and they conquered. They cut down the sacred groves of oaks; they demolished the temples of the priests, and cruelly threw them into their own fires.

The Druids, who were the judges in all cases which required a recourse to law, settled these matters by their opinion, from which there was no appeal except to the Arch-Druid. As the Druids were thought to receive knowledge and instruction directly from the gods, they had the power of making, altering, and executing laws. Any persons who desired to possess the great power of the order, could become Druids, but only by a long course of very strict study, and a life of privation, which not many had patience to go through.

The schools of the Druids, in Britain, were very famous before the invasion of the Romans. Even youth from Gaul came thither to be instructed in the branches which they taught. Scholars took an oath not to betray the secrets and learning which they were taught; and thus we may see

how selfish was the system of the Druids, and how much opposed it was to the extension of knowledge. Students always resided with their teachers and school-fellows, and were forbidden to converse with any others. Academies were numerous, one being attached to almost every temple of note. Instruction was conveyed in verse. The whole circle of the sciences, with which the Druids were acquainted, was taught in twenty thousand verses, which pupils were twenty years in committing to memory.

The Druids measured time not by the days, but the nights, guided by the changes of the moon. They had so great a veneration for the oak, that they never performed any ceremony without being adorned with garlands woven of its leaves. Those who professed a knowledge of medicine would never betray the secrets by which they cured the sick. They were, without doubt, only acquainted with the healing powers of a few herbs. They placed great faith in the virtues of the plant mistletoe, probably from its growing on the oak-tree. They called it by a British name, meaning "all-heal." The efficacy of this plant they thought depended on certain ceremonies to be observed in gathering it. Among the annual festivals of the Gauls and Britons was that in which the Arch-Druid cut the mistletoe from the oak. This ceremony was conducted with great pomp. When they found an oak which had the rare plant upon it, they made preparations for a banquet beneath. Two milk-white bulls were tied to it by the horns, and then the Arch-Druid, dressed in a snowy robe, ascended the oak, and detached the mistletoe with a golden knife. Sacrifice and feasting followed. On May-day a festival in honor of the sun was held. The sun was called Bel, Belinus, and some other names.

ISABELLA OF SPAIN.

ISABELLA, queen of Castile, was born at Madrigal, in that kingdom, April 22, 1451. Her father, John II., after an inglorious reign of forty-eight years, died in 1454, lamenting that he had not been born the son of a mechanic, instead of King of Castile. Isabella had but a slender prospect of obtaining the crown during the early part of her life. She had two brothers, Henry and Alfonso, the former of whom acceded to the throne at the death of John. Isabella retired with her mother to the little town of Arevalo, where she lived many years in obscurity. Her mother, who appears to have been a woman of a strong religious turn of mind, bestowed great care on her education, and inculcated the strictest lessons of piety upon her daughter, which did not fail to exercise an important influence upon her future career. On the birth of a daughter to her brother, Isabella was removed from her retirement to the royal palace, by Henry, who, being disliked by his subjects, feared the formation of a party adverse to his interests. At the royal court, surrounded by all the pleasures and seductions most dazzling to youth, she did not forget the early lessons imbibed in her seclusion, and the blameless purity of her conduct shone with

additional lustre amid the scenes of levity and licentiousness by which she was surrounded.

Before this event, she had been solicited in marriage by various suitors, among whom was Ferdinand of Arragon, who afterwards became her husband. His first application, however, was unsuccessful. She was next betrothed to his elder brother, Carlos, while yet a mere child. That prince dying before the marriage could be completed, she was promised by her brother to Alfonso, King of Portugal. Isabella was but thirteen at this time, and the disparity of their ages was such that neither threats nor entreaties could induce her to consent to the union. The selfish and unprincipled Henry, who looked upon his sister only as an object of trade, next made an attempt to dispose of her for the purpose of gaining over a powerful family in Castile, which gave him great trouble by their opposition. He offered her in marriage to Don Pedro Giron, grand master of the order of Calatrava. This man was well known to be a most detestable character. He was a fierce and turbulent leader of a faction, and his private life was stained with almost every vice. Such a person, vastly inferior in birth, was selected as the husband of the young and virtuous Isabella. The pope granted a dispensation from the vow of celibacy, which the grand master, as the companion of a religious order, had been obliged to utter, and splendid preparations were immediately made for the nuptials.

Isabella was at this time in her sixteenth year. When she understood in what manner she was now to be sacrificed to the selfish policy of her brother, and that, in case she proved reluctant, compulsory measures were to be adopted, she was filled with the liveliest grief and indignation. She confined herself in her apartment, abstaining from all food and sleep for a day and night, imploring Heaven, in the most piteous manner, to save her from this dishonor, even at the cost of her life. As she was bewailing her hard fate to her faithful friend, Beatriz de Bodadilla, that high-spirited lady exclaimed, "God will not permit it; neither will I;" and drawing forth a dagger from her bosom, she solemnly vowed to plunge it into the heart of the master of Calatrava as soon as he appeared. The affair, happily, did not come to so tragical a catastrophe. Her dreaded suitor was suddenly carried off by sickness, in the midst of his magnificent preparations.

Troubles now began to thicken around the weak and vicious Henry. His subjects, disgusted with his administration, rose in arms against him. Castile was afflicted with all the horrors of anarchy and civil war. Isabella retired for shelter to a monastery at Avila. The confederated nobles, who were in arms against the king, offered her the crown of Castile, which she had the prudence and magnanimity to refuse. This led to a negotiation with the king, and the civil war was closed by a treaty between the parties, in which it was stipulated that Isabella should be immediately recognized heir to the crown of Castile and Leon. Her brother Alfonso had recently died, and Joanna, the daughter of Henry, was believed by the people to be a supposititious offspring. Isabella's prospects of a throne having now assumed a certain character, drew the attention of neighboring princes, who contended with each other for the honor of her hand. She gave the preference to Ferdinand of Arragon, and they were married in 1469. On the death of Henry, in 1474, they were conjointly declared king and queen of Castile. A party, however, existed in favor of Joanna, and Alfonso IV., King of Portugal, entered Castile at the head of an army, publicly espoused

her, and assumed the regal title. His defeat at the battle of Toro, in 1475, was fatal to his pretensions, and, by a peace concluded in 1479, the right of Isabella and her husband was fully acknowledged. In that year Ferdinand succeeded to the crown of Arragon; and from that time the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon were inseparably united, comprising the whole of Spain not possessed by the Moors.

Isabella, who was high-spirited and jealous of her authority, governed Castile as the real sovereign, and her husband had the policy to concur, with apparent cordiality, in her measures. In 1481, hostilities were commenced against the Moors of Grenada; and, after a war of ten years, that kingdom was subdued by the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella. By this event the whole of Spain was restored to the Christian dominion; and in honor of an achievement so auspicious, the two sovereigns received the distinguishing title of "the Catholic." In this war Isabella engaged with all the ardor of religious zeal; and though Ferdinand joined in her plans with perfect harmony, yet he seems to have acted in a secondary capacity. Soon after this, the Jews were expelled from Spain—an act of bigotry and injustice certainly countenanced by Isabella, but owing chiefly to the fanatic religious zeal of the inquisitor-general, Torquemada, her confessor, who, while the king and queen were deliberating on the acceptance of an offer of thirty thousand ducats made by the Jews to avert the threatened edict of expulsion, suddenly burst into their presence, and, drawing forth a crucifix from beneath his mantle, held it up, exclaiming, "Judas Iscariot sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver. Your highnesses would sell him anew for thirty thousand. Here he is; take him, and barter him away." So saying, he threw the crucifix on the table, and left the apartment This bold stroke of priestly impudence was completely successful. The sovereigns were overawed, and the edict was signed.

A deed more glorious to the memory of Isabella was the generous patronage she bestowed upon Columbus, and which was the sole means that enabled that heroic adventurer to accomplish his great undertaking of the discovery of the western world. After he had failed in all his attempts in other quarters, he at length found a friend in the queen, who, rejecting the advice of her narrrow-minded and timid counsellors, exclaimed, "I will assume the undertaking for my own crown of Castile, and am ready to pawn my jewels to defray the expenses of it, if the funds in the treasury shall be found inadequate." Under her auspices Columbus achieved his great discovery; and Isabella may be called the mother of the western world. She continued a constant friend and protector of Columbus during her life; and her death proved an overwhelming disaster to him.

During the war against the Moors, Isabella shared in most of the campaigns, animating her husband and generals by her courage and undaunted perseverance; providing for the support of the armies by her forethought and economy; comforting them under their reverses by her sweet and gracious speeches, and pious confidence in Heaven; and by her active humanity and her benevolent sympathy, extended to friend and foe, softening, as far as possible, the miseries of war. She was the first who appointed regular surgeons to attend the movements of the army, and be at hand on the field of battle. These surgeons were paid out of her own revenues; and she also provided six spacious tents, furnished with beds and all things requisite for the sick and wounded, which were called the "Queen's Hospital."

Thus to the compassionate heart of a woman, directed by energy and judgment, the civilized world was first indebted for an expedient which has since saved so many lives, and accomplished so much towards alleviating the frightful evils of war.

Isabella's confessor, the Dominican Torquemada, had, from the beginning, earnestly labored to infuse into her young mind, to which his situation gave him such ready access, the same spirit of fanaticism that glowed in his own. Fortunately, this was in a great degree counteracted by her sound understanding and natural kindness of heart. But he is said to have extorted a promise that, "should she ever come to the throne, she would devote herself to the extirpation of heresy, for the glory of God, and the extension of the Catholic faith." The fulfillment of this promise being afterwards insisted on, led to the establishment of the Inquisition in her dominions, the darkest spot that exists upon her character. It was not till she had endured the repeated importunities of the clergy, particularly of those revered persons in whom she most confided, that she consented to this measure.

It was under the auspices of Isabella that Cardinal Ximenes introduced his famous reforms into the religious orders of Spain, and began the work of correcting the horrible abuses which had crept into the government of the convents. This attempt was strongly resisted, and occasioned a general outcry of the clergy. The general of the Franciscans waited on the queen, and remonstrated in high terms against this interference with the privileges of his order; at the same time reflecting severely on Cardinal Ximenes, and his influence over her mind. Isabella listened to this turbulent friar with some impatience; but, little accustomed to be dictated to in this style, she at length arose from her seat, and desired him to remember who he was, and to whom he spoke. "Madam," replied the monk, undauntedly, "I remember that I am but ashes and dust, and that I speak to Queen Isabella, who is but dust and ashes, like myself." She immediately turned from him with a look of cool disdain. The next day he was ordered to quit the kingdom; and Ximenes, supported by the royal power, pursued his system of reformation.

Isabella was a patron of literature. The first printing-press set up in Spain was established at Burgos, under her auspices, and all printed books, and foreign and classical works, were imported free of duty. Through her zeal and patronage, the University of Salamanca rose to that eminence which it assumed among the learned institutions of that period, and rivaled those of Pisa and Padua. She prepared the way for that golden age of Spanish literature which immediately succeeded her. Her own love of study is evinced by the fact, that, after she was firmly seated on the throne, she applied herself to the task of remedying the defects of her early education, by diligent application to books, amid all the cares of state. She mastered the Latin language in less than a year's study.

Notwithstanding that Isabella adored her husband, she would never suffer him to interfere with her authority as an independent sovereign, and she was as jealous of her prerogative as Elizabeth of England; except, indeed, where priestly intimidation was applied. Her extreme deference for the ecclesiastics around her was a misfortune for her people, but consistently with the best points in her character, it could not have been otherwise. She was humane, just, and reasonable in all matters not influ

enced by the religious bigotry of the age. She declared the American Indians free, and ordered the instant return of several cargoes of them, which had been sent to Spain for slaves.

After a successful and glorious reign of thirty years, Isabella the Catholic died, on the twenty-sixth of November, 1504, in the fifty-fourth year of her age. Her last years were clouded with the deepest melancholy. The insanity and misfortunes of her daughter Joanna, and the domestic afflictions of her daughter Catherine of Arragon, lacerated her heart with sorrow. She pined away in her lonely grandeur, till the deep and long-protracted melancholy invaded her constitution and settled into a rapid and fatal decline.

The chief traits of Isabella's character may be gathered from the preceding narrative, to which we subjoin the parallel drawn between her and Elizabeth of England, by Mr. Prescott, whose History so ably and satisfactorily unfolds the events of her reign:

"It is in these more amiable qualities of her sex, that Isabella's superiority becomes most apparent over her illustrious namesake, Elizabeth of England, whose history presents some features parallel to her own. Both were disciplined in early life by the teachings of that stern nurse of wisdom, adversity. Both were made to experience the deepest humiliation at the hands of their nearest relative, who should have cherished and protected them. Both succeeded in establishing themselves on the throne, after the most precarious vicissitudes. Each conducted her kingdom, through a long and triumphant reign, to a height of glory which it never before reached. Both lived to see the vanity of all earthly grandeur, and to fall the victims of an inconsolable melancholy; and both left behind an illustrious name, unrivaled in the annals of their country.

"But with these few circumstances of their history, the resemblance ceases. Their characters afford scarcely a point of contact. Elizabeth, inheriting a large share of the bold and bluff King Harry's temperament, was haughty, arrogant, coarse, and irascible, while with these fiercer qualities she mingled deep dissimulation and strange irresolution. Isabella, on the other hand, tempered the dignity of royal station with the most bland and courteous manners. Once resolved, she was constant in her purposes; and her conduct in public and private life was characterized by candor and integrity. Both may be said to have shown that magnanimity which is implied by the accomplishment of great objects in the face of great obstacles. But Elizabeth was desperately selfish; she was incapable of forgiving, not merely a real injury, but the slightest affront to her vanity; and she was merciless in exacting retribution. Isabella, on the other hand, lived only for others; was ready at all times to sacrifice self to considerations of public duty; and, far from personal resentment, showed the greatest condescension and kindness to those who had most sensibly injured her; while her benevolent heart sought every means to mitigate the authorized severities of the law, even towards the guilty.

"Both posessed rare fortitude. Isabella, indeed, was placed in situations which demanded more frequent and higher displays of it than her rival; but no one will doubt a full measure of this quality in the daughter of Henry VIII. Elizabeth was better educated, and every way more highly accomplished, than Isabella. But the latter knew enough to maintain her station with dignity, and she encouraged learning by a munificent

patronage. The masculine powers and passions of Elizabeth seemed to divorce her, in a great measure, from the peculiar attributes of her sex; at least from those which constitute its peculiar charm; for she had abundance of foibles; a coquetry and a love of admiration, which age could not chill; a levity most careless, if not criminal; and a fondness for dress and tawdry magnificence of ornament which was ridiculous or disgusting, according to the different periods of life in which it was indulged. Isabella, on the other hand, distinguished through life for decorum of manners and purity beyond the breath of calumny, was content with the legitimate affection which she could inspire within the range of her domestic circle. Far from a frivolous affectation of ornament or dress, she was most simple in her own attire, and seemed to set no value on her jewels, but as they could serve the necessities of the state; when they could be no longer useful in this way, she gave them away to her friends.

"Both were uncommonly sagacious in the selection of their ministers, though Elizabeth was drawn into some errors, in this particular, by her levity, as was Isabella by her religious feeling. It was this, combined with her excessive humility, which led to the only grave errors in the administration of the latter. Her rival fell into no such errors; and she was a stranger to the amiable qualities which led to them. Her conduct was certainly not controlled by religious principle; and, though the bulwark of the Protestant faith, it might be difficult to say whether she were at heart most a Protestant or a Catholic. She viewed religion in its connection with the state,—in other words, with herself; and she took measures for enforcing conformity to her own views, not a whit less despotic, and scarcely less sanguinary, than those countenanced for conscience sake by her more bigoted rival.

"This feature of bigotry, which has thrown a shade over Isabella's otherwise beautiful character, might lead to a disparagement of her intellectual power, compared with that of the English queen. To estimate this aright, we must contemplate the results of their respective reigns. Elizabeth found all the materials of prosperity at hand, and availed herself of them most ably to build up a solid fabric of national grandeur. Isabella created these materials. She saw the faculties of her people locked up in a death-like lethargy, and she breathed into them the breath of life, for those great and heroic enterprises which terminated in such glorious consequences to the monarchy. It is when viewed from the depressed position of her early days, that the achievements of her reign seem scarcely less than miraculous. The masculine genius of the English queen stands out relieved beyond its natural dimensions by its separation from the softer qualities of her sex; while her rival, like some vast and symmetrical edifice, loses, in appearance, somewhat of its actual grandeur, from the perfect harmony of its proportions.

"The circumstances of their deaths, which were somewhat similar, displayed the great dissimilarity of their characters. Both pined amidst their royal state, a prey to incurable despondency, rather than any marked bodily distemper. In Elizabeth, it sprang from wounded vanity; a sullen conviction that she had outlived the admiration on which she had so long fed, and even the solace of friendship, and the attachment of her subjects. Nor did she seek consolation where alone it was to be found, in that sad hour. Isabella, on the other hand, sank under a too acute sensibility to

the sufferings of others. But amidst the gloom which gathered around her, she looked, with the eye of faith, to the brighter prospects which unfolded of the future. And, when she resigned her last breath, it was with the tears and universal lamentations of her people. It is in this undying, unabated attachment of the nation, indeed, that we see the most unequivocal testimony to the virtues of Isabella. Her own subjects extol her as 'the most brilliant exemplar of every virtue,' and mourn over the day of her death as 'the last of the prosperity and happiness of the country;' while those who had nearer access to her person are unbounded in their admiration of those amiable qualities whose full power is revealed only in the unrestrained intimacies of domestic life."

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

CAUSES which had been for ages at work resulted in the war of the American Independence. It was but the carrying out of principles, which had cost the toil and treasure of many and many a nation, in their struggles against oppression—principles which had been sealed by the blood of many a holy martyr to liberty. The immediate causes of the appeal to arms by our patriot fathers of 1776, are soon detailed. England's king wanted money to build a splendid new palace, it is said; for when a young man, he had been laughed at as having the worst looking palace in all Europe. But the treasury was exhausted by "royal" wars, in which the nation had no proper interest; wars to carry out that favorite bullism, that "France is the natural enemy of England."

Our people had contributed their full share of blood and treasure to defend themselves against the French and Indians, on their frontier, who had been aroused against them by the foolish European politics of England, begotten of an encroaching and overbearing disposition. It was proposed to raise money, now the war was over, ostensibly to help pay its expenses, but really to be expended by the British Parliament, in schemes our people had little knowledge of, or interest in; expended too, after the usual lavish manner of the mother government, in pensioning off its aristocracy, gilding the costly bauble of royalty, and providing for exclusive interests. Had not our wise forefathers taken their stand, at once, we should now have been ground down by taxes, as our English brethren are, to pay the thousands of millions of British debt, rolled up chiefly by the obstinacy of the English government in standing directly in the way of the progress of the world, and attempting by her single arm, or rather purse, to stay the onward march of freedom!

The men of the revolution took the ground that they would pay no tax, the expending of the revenue from which they should have no voice in. They were not represented in the Parliament of England, and had no vote in the disbursement of the revenue raised. They therefore thought there should be no revenue raised from internal taxation in the colonies, except

what might be raised and spent by the colonial government, and thus acommodated, both in the mode of its levying and expenditure, to the wants of the colonies. On the other hand, the English thought that the interests of the mother country should in all cases take precedence of the interests of the colonies; that the colonists were getting quite too free in speaking their minds, quite too full of ideas of independence. Scarce an inhabitant of England but felt that "our" colonies were his personal subjects, that their inhabitants held a position subordinate to real Englishmen; and thus their setting up an interest and government of their own, seemed to him something like a personal insult. The upstart must be put down. The general English feeling at the outset, was, The Americans must be *humbled* and *subjugated*. Thus the passions of both nations were soon enlisted.

The claims as to taxation had been urged in various forms, and been reluctantly submitted to, evaded or resisted, as the circumstances allowed, till, in 1764–65, after the odious duties on sugar, molasses and some other articles had been declared perpetual, and the right to trial by jury tampered with, the Stamp Act was passed, as the entering wedge of a series of measures which were to reduce every man, woman, and child, of the colonies, to the tax-ridden condition of the people of the old world. The night after its passage, Franklin wrote, "The sun of liberty is set,—light up the candles of industry and frugality." "We shall light up torches of quite another sort," was the reply; and they were lighted up, both literally and metaphorically, from one end of the States to the other, till such a flame was kindled, as snapt like tow the thousand cords which bound us to England, her expensive royalty, her ambition, her destinies, and her oppressions.

The Stamp Act was repealed because it could not be enforced, but the tyrannous disposition still remained. In 1767, tea, glass, oil, and painters' colors, imported into America, were taxed; the authority of the New York Assembly was suspended, till it should consent to quarter troops; and naval officers were appointed custom-house officers, to enforce the trade and navigation acts. In 1765, a congress from nine states had met in New York, and measures, looking to the calling of another, were taken by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1768,—but the governor dissolved that body. The House of Burgesses in Virginia, sustaining the cause of liberty, was also dissolved. In fine, the whole country was in commotion; several outbreaks took place, and repeated collisions occurred between the colonial governors and the people. These agitations were not allayed by the repeal, in 1771, of the act laying duties, for it excepted *tea*, and thus asserted the hateful principle of taxation without representation.

When the tea came over, in some of the ports it was stowed in damp cellars and spoiled; in others, the pilots were not permitted to bring the ships to the wharf—nowhere was it allowed to be sold. In Boston, a party disguised as Indians, threw over three hundred and forty-two chests of it. For this spirited act, called the "Boston Tea Party," Parliament shut up the port of Boston, 1774; that is, all commercial intercourse with Boston was forbidden, and the landing or shipping of goods there, till the tea should be paid for. Other acts followed, forbidding town meetings in the state, abolishing jury trials in certain cases, and appointing counsellors by the crown. The cause of Boston was espoused by all the colonies, and the

necessities of her people supplied by contributions. The assembly, convened at Salem, nominated five delegates to a colonial congress. Everything was tending to centralization and unity of purpose throughout the colonies, and every act of the mother country but served to bind them more closely together, and to ripen the seeds of revolution.

In 1774, a colonial congress met at Philadelphia; twelve colonies were represented. "For solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this congress." Such was the judgment of a distinguished Englishmen, Lord Chatham; such has been the verdict of posterity. They approved of the conduct of Massachusetts, and took measures for her relief; drew up a declaration or bill of rights; recommended non-importation associations, and encouragement of domestic arts; an address to the people of Great Britain, a memorial to the inhabitants of British America, and a loyal address to the king. They penned an encouraging memorial to their constituents, passed resolves against the slave-trade, and resolves to continue the colonial union till their rights were obtained. Their petition to the king was a masterpiece of feeling and force.

War approaches; magazines of gunpowder and other military stores are seized at Charlestown and at Cambridge; a provisional congress, with Hancock for president, meets at Salem, and adjourns to Concord; minute men are appointed, bound to be ready to march in "defence of the province," that is, of liberty, at a moment's warning; three general officers, to command them and the military, are elected; a committee of supplies is chosen; and a committee of safety to sit during the recess. In November, they again meet, appoint one-fourth of the militia to act as minute men; elect two more general officers, and send to inform New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, of what they are doing, and request their cooperation in raising an army of twenty thousand men. Other colonies followed their example in part.

Insidious compromises were proposed, but the difference of opinion between England and the colonies was too great to be settled except by war —and both nations prepared for the combat. On April 18th, 1775, the first blood of the revolution was shed at Lexington. Here a few men, whose names will ever be glorious in the annals of their country, were drawn up, on the common, to oppose a body of British soldiers sent from Boston, to destroy military stores at Concord. Concentrating British arrogance in one sentence, the first cry of their commander, as he advanced, was, "Disperse you rebels! throw down your arms and disperse!" followed up by a fire of bullets, which killed eight men. Liberty or death was now the choice of every man who bore a heart. Fathers left their children, mothers sent their sons, husbands parted from wives—all bade adieu to what was dearest to them in existence, to peril life in the holy cause. They buckled on their armor, not with a reckless love of excitement, but with a deep-felt, pious, earnest, determination to die,—a serious humor, most fatal to tyranny.

Twenty thousand men were soon collected around Boston, and General Gage was closely besieged, and became straitened for provisions. Ticonderoga and Crown Point were seized. "By whose authority?" said La Place, commander of the former. "God and the Continental Congress!" shouted Ethan Allen, receiving the sword of his prisoner. Skenesborough

Pass was also seized, and a sloop-of-war at St. John's. Thus, without bloodshed, were the keys of Canada taken, and the command of the lakes secured.

The battle of Bunker Hill was fought on the 17th of June, 1776. On the 15th, Washington was appointed commander-in-chief, by the unanimous vote of Congress; he joined the army soon after the battle, and introduced discipline, subordination and order. Meanwhile congress published a dignified and temperate manifesto.

Two expeditions were sent against Canada; one led by Arnold, with incredible hardships, up the Kennebec, through the pathless wilds of Maine; the other along the old route, by the way of Lake Champlain. Montgomery now took St. John's and Montreal, and marched after Gov. Carleton to Quebec. Joining Arnold their force was but 1,000, with which they sat down to besiege the Gibraltar of America, with its garrison of 1,500. Rather than retire, they came to the desperate resolution to storm the city. Montgomery was killed, Arnold wounded; and 400 Americans were made prisoners, and Arnold, with the rest of his troops, blockaded the place.

The British, being masters of the sea-coast, burned every hostile port. This but served to exasperate, and the Americans retaliated by arming hundreds of bold and shrewd privateers, that plundered the British commerce on every sea, and even in the very ports of the haughty island itself. In Virginia, the militia defeated the royalists. On the meeting of Parliament, acts were passed with the design of annihilating every vestige of American navigation and commerce. Vessels taken were to be the property of the captors, and their crews, their slaves; 17,000 Hessians were hired of their prince, and 25,000 English mercenaries were also ordered over. The petition of congress was rejected by the king, and not even heard by the Parliament. These acts shut the door of reconciliation.

Washington by occupying Dorchester Heights, which he effected one stormy night, soon made Boston too hot for the enemy, who, on the 17th March, 1776, evacuated it. But the Americans were driven out of Canada, and lost all they had gained there.

At Fort Moultrie, the British, in June, 1776, were nobly repulsed from Charleston; on the fourth of July, congress proclaimed its Declaration of Independence.

Lord Howe with Admiral Howe was now near New York, with thirty-five thousand of the best troops of Europe, and hoped to persuade the Americans to recede, and return to their loyalty; but his proclamations produced no effect. The Americans concentrated their troops here; a disastrous battle was fought. The sight of his slaughtered troops and a knowledge of the discouragement likely to ensue, extorted a groan from even Washington's manly breast; but his prudence did not forsake him, and he retired to Haerlem Heights, leaving the city of New York to the enemy.

Although our people were dispirited by the defeat, yet were there many true and firm hearts among them, that could reëcho the dying words of Capt. Hale, executed about this time, as a spy, by Howe; "I lament that I have but one life to lay down for my country." However dark their prospects, a people animated by such feelings were unconquerable. Though many of the soldiers, as well as citizens, deserted their country in this hour of trial, yet many also stood by her through all. Washington adopted the Fabian policy of delay, striking here and there where he felt sure of

his blow, and keeping the enemy in uncertainty and unable to undertake any great enterprise. The skirmish at White Plains took place Oct. 28; Fort Washington surrendered Nov. 16; Fort Lee was evacuated Nov. 18; Washington retreated across the Delaware Nov. 28. These were the times which showed the men of '76.

Washington's little army was "unfed amidst fatigue; unshod, while their bleeding feet were forced rapidly over frozen ground, exposed to the keen December air, almost without clothes or tents." Being joined by Lee's, Mifflin's, Gates', and Mercer's forces, Washington found himself at the head of about seven thousand effective men; but the term of service of many of them was just about to expire, and he must strike some effective blow. The battles of Trenton, Dec. 26–27, 1776, and of Princeton, Jan. 3, 1777, show how well he used the opportunity. The "great news from the Jerseys" electrified the country with sudden hope, and put a new aspect on our affairs. Articles of confederation were adopted Nov. 15, 1777. Never were men more wise and devoted than those of Congress, but they were without means, and had only power to recommend; they authorized a loan, and sent to France for aid; they conferred vast powers on Washington, dangerous with any other man.

The campaign of 1777 was distinguished by the brutality of the tories and English, who, as was said in Europe, "had revived in America the fury of the Goths, and the barbarity of the northern hordes." Franklin's wisdom and wit had enlisted France in our cause. Said Lafayette, "If your country is in extremity, now is my time to join you," and his coming diffused joy and hope.

The two objects of the British now were to take Philadelphia, and to cut off New England from the rest of the country. The well appointed army of Burgoyne advanced victoriously from the north, and encamped at Saratoga. Our victory at Bennington had begun to turn the tide; "Beat them now, or Molly Stark's a widow!" became the watchword. The battle of Stillwater, Sept. 19, and the fierce victory of Oct. 7, were but the prelude to the catastrophe of the whole northern British army, which, hemmed in on every side, capitulated to Gates, on the 17th. But at the battle of Brandywine, Sept. 11th, after terrible carnage, the Americans were worsted; and on the 26th, the enemy took Philadelphia, then the capital. At Germantown, Washington was defeated, Oct. 7th. The enemy wintered in comfort at Philadelphia; Washington's army were in huts at Valley Forge, where were renewed the sufferings of the previous winter. Without even straw, these patriots lay on the bare ground; nakedness, hunger, and cold soon filled the hospitals with accumulated and irremediable misery. No monument is yet erected to those who *thus* died for their country!

We can only give a catalogue of the events of the campaigns of 1778, 1779, and 1780. In that of 1778, we may mention, as among the most important events, the intrigues against Washington; the success of American privateers; the treaty with France, Feb. 6; the intrigues of the British commissioners; evacuation of Philadelphia, June 18; battle of Monmouth, 28; arrival of a French fleet; the siege of Newport; the massacre of Wyoming Valley; Savannah taken, Dec. 29.

The British plan in the campaign of 1779, was to subjugate the whole south, beginning with Georgia, which was soon overrun. Of the events of this year the most noticeable are, the horrible conduct of the tories; Ameri

can defeat, under Ashe, March 3; taking of Stony point, by Wayne, a brilliant exploit, July 15; punishment of the savages, at Newtown, by Sullivan, Aug. 29; French and Americans repulsed from Savannah, Sept. 24 to Oct. 18; Paul Jones' naval victory, Sept. 27.

The campaign of 1780 is noted for the war in the south; the surrender of General Lincoln at Charleston, May 12; taking of fort Ninety-six, and Buford's force at Wacsaw, by the British, who became masters of South Carolina; the depreciation of the currency sanctioned by Congress; heroism of the South Carolina women; arrival of Lafayette; also of a French squadron; the exploits of the partisan leaders, Sumpter and Marion; De Kalb and Gates lose the bloody battle of Camden, Aug. 16, leaving the British triumphant in the south; Sumpter's men are suprised and defeated at Fishing Creek, Aug. 18, but Marion keeps the field, sheltering himself in the mountain fastnesses. The miserable treason of Arnold occurred in September, but he was frustrated in his endeavor to deliver up the north to the enemy, though his conduct at this time and afterwards, as a destroying ravager, rendered the country's cause more gloomy. Col. Furguson's defeat on King's Mountain, Oct. 7, cheered the patriots somewhat, and drove Cornwallis back into South Carolina. His hour was approaching.

Gates having been unsuccessful in the south, as well as Lincoln, he was superseded by Greene. The year 1781 began without funds in Congress to pay an army, and a victorious enemy, constantly receiving reinforcements, in the heart of the country. Jan. 1, the Pennsylvania line revolted, from sheer want, but were quieted. In this dilemma, a national bank was founded, and Robert Morris, the Washington of finance, came forward as the Saviour of his country. Franklin, too, was able to borrow for his country, of Holland, under the endorsement of France, and received from Louis XVI. a gift of six million livres. These resources were carefully expended; public confidence revived; order and economy ruled in the place of confusion and waste. The war at the south went on with vigor; on Jan. 17, took place the battle of the Cowpens, in which Morgan defeated the notorious Tarleton, taking five hundred prisoners; Cornwallis chases the victor towards the Catawba, which the latter crosses, and is safe; but he soon retreats, with Cornwallis in full pursuit, towards the Yadkin, the rising of whose waters after he had crossed again puts a barrier between him and his pursuer. March 15, happened the battle of Guilford Court House, but Greene was defeated, though able to pursue his conqueror.

But the war was drawing to a close. Sumpter and Marion annoy the British; but the Americans are surprised and defeated at Hobkirk's Hill; Rawdon, however, evacuates Camden; the British forts Watson, Georgetown, and Motte are taken, as well as Augusta; and Ninety-six is abandoned by the enemy. On Sept. 8 occurred the battle of Eutaw Springs, one of the most bloody and valiant of the war;—Greene was victorious, and the enemy retired to Charleston. By a series of manœuvres, Cornwallis was at last hemmed in at Yorktown. Washington, under a feint of attacking New York, had prevented Clinton from sending Cornwallis reinforcements, and himself marched with his French reinforcements from King's Bridge, near New York, directly towards Yorktown. The French fleet arrived off the Chesapeake, blocking up escape in that direction. Lafayette was already at Williamsburg, where the northern forces joined him on the 14th of September. In vain Cornwallis wrote to Clinton for

relief. Oct. 6, the American army of sixteen thousand, seven thousand of whom were French, commenced their works; Oct. 14, two redoubts were carried; Oct. 16, the British sally out, but are driven back; Cornwallis attempts to escape, but a storm prevents him; Oct. 17, Cornwallis seeing his army wasting away, and no hope of escape, before noon sends a flag to treat of surrender. On the 19th, he marches out, surrendering an army of nine thousand men, sixty pieces of connon, two frigates, and twenty transports.

The English were well tired of the war, seeing that, after all the expenses of property and life, nothing was left them, at the end of seven years, but New York, Charleston, and Savannah, and these could only be kept by strong fleets and garrisons. They were convinced, at last, that the Americans could not be conquered. In 1782, they appeared willing to give up the contest; in January, 1783, preliminary articles were signed; but it was not till Sept. 3, that the treaty was finally completed, acknowledging the Independence of the United States. Thus ended the War of the Revolution.

WAR OF 1812 WITH ENGLAND.

IN 1807, Great Britain and France being at war with each other, the dispute drew to one side or the other most of the European powers; and though the government of the United States was determined to keep at peace with all the world, if possible, there were many difficulties in the way of maintaining a strict neutrality. Great Britain claimed the right of taking her own native-born subjects where she could find them. Relying upon the strength of her navy, many American vessels were searched in this way, and British sailors, naturalized as Americans, and many native born Americans, were from time to time seized and impressed into the British service. As if to continue and aggravate this grievance, Great Britain refused to listen to any application for redress. Another difficulty was caused by an order in council issued in May, 1806, by which the English cabinet declared all the ports and rivers from Elbe, in Germany, to Brest, in France, in a state of blockade; consequently, American vessels trading to any of these ports were liable to be seized and condemned. Still later, in 1807, another order in council was issued, forbidding all the coasting trade with France on penalty of capture and condemnation.

Such was the state of things in 1807, when the attack on the Chesapeake occured; the controversy which followed was the prelude to that state of feeling which led to the war of 1812. Five men deserted from the British frigate Melampus, which was lying in Hampton Roads, Norfolk, and three of them joined the American frigate Chesapeake, then preparing for sea. Though subsequently proved that they were American citizens, the British consul applied for their delivery to the English captain. They were not given up, and in June the Chesapeake started on her voyage to

the Mediterranean. She was intercepted at Hampton Roads, by a British fleet, when a colloquy ensued, and the American commander refusing to allow a search to be made, and refusing to give up any of his crew, the ship was fired upon, and three of her men killed and eighteen wounded. Being unprepared for action, she could make no resistance, and finally surrendered. A search was made by the British captain, the three men, together with another claimed as a British subject, were taken on board the Melampus. The Chesapeake, being much injured, returned to Norfolk.

This affair led to much ill feeling on the part of the Americans, and to discussion and diplomacy on the part of the two cabinets; negotiations were several times attempted, but always failed of success. Great Britain and France still continued at war, and by their orders and decrees and impressments and seizures were breaking in upon all former treaties, especially those with the United States. The prospect that the latter government would be able to keep out of difficulty was growing less and less every day; decrees, prohibitions, and proclamations followed each other in quick succession. In May, 1811, an unprovoked attack was made upon the U. States frigate President, by the British sloop of war Little Belt, in which the latter was signally worsted. Some months later, the attack on the Chesapeake was acknowledged by Mr. Foster, the British envoy, to be unauthorized, and negotiation followed, by which the affair was adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. This, however, did not remove the difficulties with Great Britain. That government still insisted on the right of impressment, as it was called; the blockade of her enemies' ports was very injurious to the interests of the U. States, and her orders in council had not been annulled. On the 3d of April, 1812, the president, Mr. Madison, with the recommendation of congress, laid an embargo on all vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States. This was the prelude to war, which was declared on the 18th of June.

The country was poorly prepared for war, and the news was received with murmurings in some quarters, and with open violence in others. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, refused to furnish men from the militia of their states except for the defence of their seaboard. The few troops already in service, and those who enlisted, immediately were sent to the north-west, and placed under Gen. Hull. A most disgraceful surrender soon followed, by which Detroit, the neighboring forts and garrisons, together with the army, fell into the hands of the British. This dispiriting circumstance, at the outset of the war, cast a gloom over the whole country. Gen. Hull was tried for treason, cowardice and unofficerlike conduct; was convicted on the last two charges, and sentenced to death, but on account of his age was pardoned by the president.

The war, which began so unhappily on the land, was brilliantly and successfully prosecuted at sea. The U. States possessed but seventeen vessels of war on the open seas, while the naval power of Great Brtain, consisted of from eight hundred to one thousand ships; yet the overwhelming force of the so-called mistress of the ocean was effectually humbled by a power whose naval equipments she could not help despising for their seeming inefficiency. The British sloop of war Alert was taken by the Essex, Captain Porter, after an action of only eight minutes. The Guerriere, thirty-eight guns, Captain Dacres, was captured and sunk by the Constitution, after an action of two hours. The Constitution was not at all

injured, and was ready for another action the very next day. These brilliant events at sea atoned in some measure for the disgraceful nature of the land service, and served to encourage the navy in its contest with the greatest naval power in the world. Where least was expected, the most heroic bravery and the most unprecedented skill were manifested. On the 18th of October, the American sloop Wasp, eighteen guns, fell in with the British sloop Frolic, of about the same force, and captured her after an obstinate action of an hour and a half. The Wasp had ten men killed and wounded, while the loss of the Frolic amounted to nearly a hundred. Both ships were soon after attacked by a British seventy-four, and as they were in no situation to escape or make a defence, were captured and taken to Bermuda. One week later, the United States forty-four, fell in with, encountered and captured the British frigate Macedonian, rated at thirty-eight guns, but in reality carrying forty-nine. Before the year closed, an engagement ensued between the Constitution, Commander Bainbridge, and the British frigate Java, forty-nine, off the coast of Brazil. The action was very severe, the Java losing two hundred men, in killed and wounded, and the Constitution about thirty. The Java surrendered, and being nearly reduced to a hulk, was burned by the Americans.

An attack on Queenstown, in Canada, was planned and carried into execution, at the close of 1812. Owing to bad management, and to the militia refusing to follow the regular troops, as they had promised to do, the Americans, after having got a foothold in the country, and having taken the battery on the heights of Queenstown, were obliged to surrender, and retreat. Nothing was accomplished, although circumstances were favorable in the highest degree to the Americans. Early in Jan. 1813, Frenchtown, a place twenty-six miles from Detroit, was attacked by a large force of British and Indians; it was successfully defended for a time by Gen. Winchester, but was finally taken, together with five hundred prisoners. A most frightful massacre followed; the unhappy victims being stripped, plundered, tomahawked or roasted at the stake. But few lived to be exchanged. The following spring, the town of York, on Lake Ontario, the great depository of the British military stores, was attacked by the Americans, under Gen. Pike: they took the town and fortifications, the barracks and stores, and seven hundred and fifty prisoners. In May, Fort George, another strong British post, in the vicinity of York, was taken after a sharp and bloody conflict, together with over six hundred prisoners. In the same month, Fort Meigs, the head-quarters of the north-western army, under Gen. Harrison, was unsuccessfully besieged by the British, under Gen. Proctor.

During the first six months of 1813, the Americans were not so successful at sea as in the year preceding. The Chesapeake, Captain Lawrence, was captured by the Shannon in June, and the Argus by the Pelican, in July. In September, however, the tide began to turn, and in an action between the American vessel Enterprise and the British brig Boxer, the Americans were completely victorious. In the same month an action took place on Lake Erie, between the American and British fleets there. After four hours' hard fighting the British surrendered their whole fleet, consisting of six vessels, carrying sixty-three guns. At the battle of the Moravian towns, which soon followed, the Americans, under Generals Harrison and Shelby, utterly routed the combined British and Indian army,

under Gen. Proctor. Tecumseh, the celebrated Indian chief, was killed in this battle. This action ended the war in the north-west.

The spring of 1814 opened with the loss of the U. States frigate Essex, in the Bay of Valparaiso, Chili. Later in the spring the British brig Epervier was taken by the United States sloop of war Peacock. The Wasp, already mentioned, made two captures of British ships this year, the sloops of war Reindeer and Avon. The war upon the land languished during the first half of the year 1814, the British having need of all their troops at home in combating Napoleon. But no sooner had he fallen, than fourteen thousand of the troops which had fought under Wellington were let loose upon the Canadian frontier. The battle of Chippewa ensued, in which the Americans obtained a bloody and dearly bought victory. Another portion of the British force, which the close of the French war enabled England to pour upon this country, entered the Potomac river in a squadron of fifty or sixty sail, and proceeded towards Washington. This city they captured; they burnt the capitol, the president's house, the public offices, the arsenal and the navy yard. Several private buildings were also destroyed. From Washington the British went as rapidly as possible to Baltimore. On the way, they met with such opposition that they gave up the enterprise, and retreated to their ships. The war on Lake Champlain, which comes next in the order of time, was signally fortunate for the Americans. Both on the water, and in the engagements of the land forces, they were in the highest degree successful, though fighting against a force many times greater than their own.

It is at this period that the commissioners, who had been appointed by both governments to lay the basis of negotiation for peace, met at Ghent, in Holland. A treaty of peace was signed on the 24th Dec., 1814. Before it was known in the United States, a terrific battle took place at New Orleans, between the British, under Packenham and Gibbs, and the Americans, under General Jackson. This battle is one of the most extraordinary on record. The British troops were picked men, were thoroughly disciplined troops, and amounted to about 12,000. The Americans were mostly raw militia, and hardly numbered 6,000. Yet the British were defeated with the most dreadful slaughter, losing their two generals in the first onset. Their loss amounted to seven hundred in killed, and fourteen hundred wounded, and five hundred taken prisoners. The Americans had but seven men killed and six wounded. The treaty signed at Ghent was ratified at Washington on the 17th of February, and peace was hailed with joy throughout the United States.

THE WAR WITH MEXICO.

SPAIN recognized the independence of Mexico in 1820. In 1824, the states of Mexico united in a federal Government, which centralized the powers of the states at the capital, leaving the independent states to become insignificant and dependent provinces. Among these states was Texas; not desiring to sink into this subordinate position, the

energetic people of this state, though few, resolved to declare themselves independent of Mexico and of every other state.

For many years, Mexico endeavored to reduce the Texians to obedience, but in 1836 her independence was recognized by the United States. This gave umbrage to Mexico as she had not yet surrendered her claims, and this was heightened to animosity, when, in 1845, Texas was annexed to our Union, as a sister state.

Previously to this cause of complaint on the part of Mexico, the United States, on her part, had great reason for dissatisfaction with Mexico. During nearly twenty years injuries had been committed at sundry times by Mexicans upon the persons and property of citizens of the United States, and the settlement of these had been from time to time deferred, in consequence of the repeated changes which took place in the Mexican government. The two governments had even appointed commissioners to settle our claims. Some were determined, but even these remained unpaid. In 1845, the Mexicans refused to receive our ambassador.

In this state of feeling, on both sides, the government of the United States had deemed it important to have a force upon the frontier, especially as it had agreed to take upon itself the settlement of the western boundary of Texas, as claimed against Mexico. This force advanced to the extreme edge of the disputed boundary; a collision took place in 1846; blood was shed and war was begun.

At Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, Gen. Taylor and his brave soldiers, though surrounded by fearful odds, beat off and conquered the enemy. The west side of the Rio Grande was soon in the power of our victorious troops. Col. Doniphan had taken Santa Fe, and after a little more fighting, New Mexico was also subdued.

Gen. Taylor pushed on towards Mexico, took Camargo, Ceralvo, and Monterey, where his men behaved with the utmost intrepidity. Having defeated and dispersed the Mexican army, he pushed on beyond Monterey to Saltillo, while another army under Santa Anna himself was advancing towards him. At this critical moment, many of his regular troops were ordered away from Gen. Taylor, to commence another line of operations towards Mexico, from Vera Cruz, under Gen. Scott.

Gen. Taylor, though weakened and annoyed, was still undismayed; he took an advanced position at Buena Vista. The veterans of Europe now looked on with admiration at the unerring strategy of this wonderful advance, with raw recruits and volunteers, triumphing in battle after battle in the face of every odds and every disadvantage, gaining victories, when, by all the rules, they should have been defeats! But what a blaze of glory surrounded our little army when the result of the well-fought field of Buena Vista, against quintuple odds, was known to the applauding world!

The best portion of the Mexican army was utterly routed and dispersed at Buena Vista. At Vera Cruz, the town itself was taken, and after a short bombardment, the fort of St. Juan de Ulloa, impregnable, as it seemed, surrendered. After much skirmishing, gaining brilliant victories at Cerro Gordo and Puebla, our little army of heroes appeared before the gates of Mexico. The sanguinary battles of Cherubusco, Molino Del Rey, and the streets of Mexico, in which so many brave men fell on both sides, made us masters of the renowned capital of the Montezumas, romantic Mexico itself. Only a handful of Americans now held a city and suburbs

BOMBARDMENT OF VERA CRUZ.

ENTRANCE INTO THE GRAND PLAZA, MEXICO.

of a quarter of million of people, and maintained a greater degree of order and quiet than had reigned there for many years!

Having taken all the ports along the Gulf of Mexico, and on the Pacific, and after some fighting, having taken possession of California, holding Vera Cruz and its castle, the capital and its roads, our government was able to dictate a peace. It used its power with moderation; it agreed with Mexico to take upon itself the discharging of all claims of its own citizens against the Mexican republic, and to pay fifteen millions of dollars for a boundary line, beginning at the mouth of the Rio Grande, then up that stream to the southern boundary of New Mexico, then across to the Gila, and down to its mouth, with free navigation to the Gulf of California, and thence across to the Pacific.

The war commenced by the fighting near Matamoras, in the spring of 1846, and was thus finished by a treaty of peace, amity, and commerce, May 30, 1848.

FERNANDO CORTEZ.

FERNANDO CORTEZ, the conqueror of Mexico, was born in Estremadura, Spain, in 1485. He emigrated to the West Indies in 1504, where, some years after, the governor of Cuba gave him the command of a fleet, in which he sailed on a voyage of discovery. He quitted the port of San Jago in November, 1518, with ten vessels, six hundred Spaniards, eighteen horses, and some field-pieces. He landed at Tobasco, in Mexico, where he forced the natives to acknowledge the supremacy of the King of Spain. He next proceeded to that part of Mexico where Vera Cruz now stands. He here received envoys from Montezuma, the sovereign of the country, who brought him many rich presents, and by which the curiosity and avarice of the invaders were highly stimulated. Cortez determined, spite of the weakness of his little army, to advance into the interior of the country. At this time, Mexico was the most powerful monarchy in the western world, and contained a population of about eight millions. It had made great advances in civilization, and the people had built fine cities and splendid temples and palaces.

As Cortez advanced, striking terror into the Mexican people by the exhibition of his firearms and horses, his little band received continual additions from various bodies of disaffected Indians, who encouraged him in his hopes of conquering the country. After many pitched battles, in all of which the Mexicans were defeated, Cortez arrived at the city of Mexico, where the terror-stricken Montezuma received him as his master; he was even supposed by the inhabitants to be a god, and a child of the sun! He destroyed the idols, and placed in their stead images of the Virgin Mary. He was continually endeavoring to strengthen himself by forming alliances with those caciques, who were hostile to Montezuma. His success

and victories were such, that the jealousy of Velasquez, Governor of Cuba, was excited, and he sent an army against him. Cortez gained over these troops, and incorporated them into his own army. Thus reïnforced, he again made war upon the Mexicans. Montezuma, having been dethroned by his subjects, was succeeded by his nephew, Gautimozin, who, with all his court and retainers, fell into Cortez' hands three months after.

The court of Madrid now became jealous of Cortez in its turn, and sent commissioners to inspect and control his measures. Upon this Cortez returned to Spain, where he was received with much distinction. He afterwards returned to Mexico with an increase of titles, but a diminution of power. A viceroy controlled the government, while the military command only was entrusted to Cortez. His life became embittered from this period, and though in 1536 he discovered the peninsula of California, he returned to Spain, where he was received with indifference and neglect. He passed the remainder of his days in solitude, and died near Seville, in 1554, leaving behind him a character eminent for bravery and ability, but infamous for perfidy and cruelty.

MRS. WASHINGTON.

MARTHA DANDRIDGE was born in the county of New Kent, Virginia, in May, 1732. Her education was entirely of a domestic character, there being no schools in the region where she dwelt. As she grew up, she was distinguished for personal beauty, pleasing manners, and general amiability of demeanor. She frequently appeared at the court of Williamsburg, then held by the royal governors of Virginia, and became a general favorite.

At the age of seventeen, she was married to Daniel Park Custis, of her native county, and the new-married couple were settled at the White House, on the banks of the Pamunkey river. Mr. Custis devoted himself to agricultural pursuits, and became an eminently successful planter. They had four children, two of whom died at an early period. Martha arrived at womanhood, and died at Mount Vernon, in 1770, and John perished at the age of twenty-seven, while in the service of his country, at the siege of Yorktown, in 1781. Mr. Custis died at about middle age, leaving his widow still young, yet possessed of an ample fortune. Besides extensive landed estates, she had £30,000 sterling in money.

Mrs. Custis was the sole executor of her husband's will, and she appears to have been well qualified to discharge the duties which devolved upon her. She conducted her affairs with surprising ability, and the concerns of her extensive fortune seemed to thrive under her management. In 1758, Colonel Washington, then twenty-six years of age, became accidentally acquainted with the fair widow, and, after a brief courtship, they were married. This occurred in 1759. Soon after, they removed to Mount Vernon, which henceforward became their permanent residence.

Mrs. Washington had no children by this second marriage. Martha

and John Custis were, however, fully adopted into the affections of her present husband. In discharging her various domestic duties, and rearing her children, time flowed smoothly on for almost twenty years. In 1775, Washington being appointed commander-in-chief of the American army, proceeded to Cambridge, and did not return to Mount Vernon till after the peace of 1783, except in a single instance. In December, she proceeded to Cambridge, and joined her husband. Here she remained till spring, having witnessed the siege and evacuation of Boston. She then returned to Virginia.

During the war, it was the custom for the general to despatch an aid-de-camp to Mount Vernon, at the close of each campaign, to escort his wife to head-quarters. The arrival of Lady Washington, as she was now called, at the camp, was an event always anticipated with pleasure, and was the signal for the ladies of the general officers to join their husbands. The appearance of the aid-de-camp, escorting the plain family chariot, with the neat postilions, in scarlet and white liveries, was deemed an epoch in the army, and served to diffuse a cheering influence even amid the gloom which hung over our destinies, at Valley Forge, Morristown, and West Point. She always remained at head-quarters till the opening of the campaign, and she often remarked, in after life, that it had been her fortune to hear the first cannon at the opening, and the last at the closing, of the several campaigns of the war.

During the whole period of the revolutionary struggle, she preserved her equanimity, together with a degree of cheerfulness which inspired all around her with the brightest hopes of final success. The glorious results of the campaign of 1781 were, however, associated with an event most afflictive to her. John Custis, now her only child, had accompanied Washington to the siege of Boston, and had witnessed the most important events of the contest. At Yorktown, he was one of the aids of Washington, and lived to see the surrender of the British army on the 19th of October; but he died soon after of camp fever, which was then raging to a frightful extent within the enemy's entrenchments.

The war being closed, Washington returned to Mount Vernon. His time was now occupied in the peaceful pursuits of private life. He cultivated his lands, and improved his residence at Mount Vernon by additional buildings, and the laying out of his gardens and grounds. He occasionally diversified his employments by the pleasures of the chase. Much of his time, however, was occupied in discharging the grateful duties of hospitality. His fame was spread far and wide, and his home was crowded with guests, among whom were often seen illustrious strangers from foreign lands. During this happy period, Mrs. Washington performed the duties of a Virginia housewife, and presided at her well-spread board, with an ease and elegance of manner suited to her character and station.

The period at length arrived when Washington was again to leave his home, and enter upon public duties. Being elected President of the United States, he set out in the spring of 1789, to join Congress at New York, then the seat of the general government. Accompanied by his lady, he proceeded to that city, everywhere received by crowds of people, showering upon him their most grateful homage. At Trenton, New Jersey, he was received in a manner, which is said to have affected him even to tears. In addition to the usual military compliments, the bridge over the

creek running through the town was covered with a triumphal arch, supported by thirteen pillars entwined and ornamented with flowers and laurel, and bearing on the front, in large gilt letters, this inscription:—

"THE DEFENDER OF THE MOTHERS

WILL BE THE

PROTECTOR OF THE DAUGHTERS."

Here were assembled the mothers and daughters dressed in white, each bearing a basket of flowers, which were strewn before the chief, while they sung in chorus.

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

"Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers;
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your hero's way with flowers."

Arrived at New York, the president's establishment was formed upon a scale partaking at once of simplicity and dignity. "The house was handsomely furnished; the equipages neat, with horses of the first order; the servants wore the family liveries; and, with the exception of a steward and housekeeper, the whole establishment differed very little from that of a private gentleman. On Tuesdays, from three to four o'clock, the president received the foreign ambassadors and strangers who wished to be introduced to him. On these occasions, and when opening the session of Congress, he wore a dress sword. His personal apparel was always remarkable for being old-fashioned, and exceedingly plain and neat.

"On Thursdays were the congressional dinners, and on Friday night, Mrs. Washington's drawing-room. The company usually assembled about seven, and rarely stayed exceeding ten o'clock. The ladies were seated, and the president passed round the circle, paying his compliments to each. At the drawing-rooms, Mrs. Morris always sat at the right of the lady president, and at all dinners, public or private, at which Robert Morris was a guest, that venerable man was placed at the right of Mrs. Washington. When ladies called at the president's mansion, the habit was for the secretaries and gentlemen of the president's household to hand them to and from their carriages; but when the honored relicts of Greene and Montgomery came, the president himself performed these complimentary duties.

"On the great national festivals of the fourth of July, and the twenty-second of February, the sages of the revolutionary Congress and the officers of the revolutionary army renewed their acquaintance with Mrs. Washington. Many and kindly greetings took place, with many a recollection of the days of trial. The members of the Society of Cincinnatus, after paying their respects to the chief, were seen to file off towards the parlor, where Lady Washington was in waiting to receive them, and where Wayne, and Mifflin, and Dickenson, and Stewart, and Moylan, and

Hartley, and a host of veterans, were cordially welcomed as old friends, and where many an interesting reminiscence was called up, of the head-quarters and the "times of the revolution."

"On Sundays, unless the weather was uncommonly severe, the president and Mrs. Washington attended divine service at Christ Church; and in the evenings, the president read to Mrs. Washington, in her chamber, a sermon or some portion of the sacred writings. No visitors, with the exception of Mr. Trumbull, of Connecticut,—who was then speaker of the house, and afterwards governor of Connecticut,—were admitted on Sunday.

"There was one description of visitors, however, to be found about the first president's mansion on all days. The old soldiers repaired, as they said, to head-quarters, just to inquire after the health of his excellency and Lady Washington. They knew his excellency was, of course, much engaged; but they would like to see the good lady. One had been a soldier of the life-guard; another had been on duty, when the British threatened to surprise the head-quarters; a third had witnessed that terrible fellow, Cornwallis, surrender his sword; each one had some touching appeal, with which to introduce himself at the peaceful head-quarters of the president. All were "kindly bid to stay," were conducted to the steward's apartments, and refreshments set before them, and, after receiving some little token from the lady, with her best wishes for the health and happiness of an old soldier, they went their ways, while blessings upon their revered commander and the good Lady Washington were uttered by many a war-worn veteran of the revolution." *

In the autumn of 1789, General Washington made a tour to the Eastern States. Soon after his return, Mrs. Washington addressed a letter to Mrs. Warren, of Boston, giving an account of her views and feelings at that period, which, as it is interesting for the information it contains, and alike creditable to the head and heart of the writer, we present to the reader. It is dated Dec. 26th, 1789.

"Your very friendly letter of last month has afforded much more satisfaction than all the formal compliments and empty ceremonies of mere etiquette could possibly have done. I am not apt to forget the feelings which have been inspired by my former society with good acquaintances, nor to be insensible to their expressions of gratitude to the president; for you know me well enough to do me the justice to believe that I am fond only of what comes from the heart. Under a conviction that the demonstrations of respect and affection to him originate in that source, I cannot deny that I have taken some interest and pleasure in them. The difficulties which first presented themselves to view on his first entering upon the presidency, seem thus to be in some measure surmounted. It is owing to the kindness of our numerous friends in all quarters, that my new and unwished for situation is not indeed a burden to me. When I was much younger, I should probably have enjoyed the innocent gayeties of life as much as most persons of my age; but I had long since placed all the pros pects of my future happiness in the still enjoyments of the fireside at Mount Vernon.

"I little thought when the war was finished, that any circumstances could possibly happen, that would call the general into public life again.

* American Portrait Gallery.

I had anticipated that, from that moment, we should be suffered to grow old together in solitude and tranquillity. That was the first and dearest wish of my heart. I will not, however, contemplate with too much regret disappointments that were inevitable, though his feelings and my own were in perfect unison with respect to our predilection for private life. Yet I cannot blame him for having acted according to his ideas of duty in obeying the voice of his country. The consciousness of having attempted to do all the good in his power, and the pleasure of finding his fellow-citizens so well satisfied with the disinterestedness of his conduct, will, doubtless, be some compensation for the great sacrifices I know he has made. Indeed, on his journey from Mount Vernon to this place, in his late tour through the Eastern States, by every public and every private information which has come to him, I am persuaded he has experienced nothing to make him repent his having acted from what he conceived to be a sense of indispensable duty. On the contrary, all his sensibility has been awakened in receiving such repeated and unequivocal proofs of sincere regard from his countrymen.

"With respect to myself, I sometimes think the arrangement is not quite as it ought to be—that I, who had much rather be at home, should occupy a place with which a great many younger and gayer women would be extremely pleased. As my grandchildren and domestic connections make up a great portion of the felicity which I looked for in this world, I shall hardly be able to find any substitute that will indemnify me for the loss of a part of such endearing society. I do not say this because I feel dissatisfied with my present station; for everybody and everything conspire to make me as contented as possible in it; yet I have learned too much of the vanity of human affairs to expect felicity from the scenes of public life. I am still determined to be cheerful and happy in whatever situation I may be; for I have also learned from experience that the greater part of our happiness or misery depends upon our dispositions, and not on our circumstances. We carry the seeds of the one or the other about with us in our minds wherever we go.

"I have two of my grandchildren with me, who enjoy advantages in point of education, and who, I trust, by the goodness of Providence, will be a great blessing to me. My other two grandchildren are with their mother in Virginia."

In the spring of 1797, bidding adieu to public life, Washington took leave of the seat of government, and returned to Mount Vernon, prepared in good earnest to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. He accepted, indeed, the command of the army of the United States, soon after; but this did not draw him from his home. In 1799, he died, after a brief illness. His affectionate partner was at his bedside when his spirit departed. "It is all over now," said she. "I shall soon follow him. I have no more trials to pass through." About two years after, she was seized with bilious fever. Being perfectly aware that her end was at hand, she assembled her grandchildren at her bedside, discoursed with them of their duties in life, of the happy influences of religion, of the consolations it had afforded her in hours of affliction, and the hopes it offered of a blessed immortality; and then, surrounded by weeping relatives, friends, and domestics, the venerable relict of Washington resigned her life into the hands of her Creator, in the seventy-first year of her age.

Few women have figured in the great drama of life, amid scenes so varied and imposing, with so few faults, and so many virtues, as Martha Washington. Identified with the Father of his country in the great events which led to our national independence, she partook much of his thoughts, views, and counsels. In the dark hours of trial, her cheerfulness soothed him in his anxieties, and her devotional piety aided him in drawing hope and confidence from Heaven. She was indeed the fit partner of Washington, and, in her sphere, appears to have discharged her duties with a dignity, devotion, and consistency, worthy of her exalted destinies.

JOAN OF ARC.

JOAN OF ARC, surnamed the "Maid of Orleans," from her [illegible] defence of that city, was born about the year 1410 or '11, in the little hamlet of Domremy, near the Meuse, and about three leagues south of Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Champagne. Her parents were humble and honest peasants. The district was remarkable for the devout simplicity of its inhabitants, as well as for the romantic superstitions, which, in a rude age, are so often allied with religion. It appears from the copious depositions of witnesses from Domremy, examined at Joan's trial, that she was unremitting in her prayers and other religious exercises, and was strongly imbued, at a very early age, with the prevailing superstitions of her native place.

During that period of anarchy in France, when the supreme power, fallen from the hands of a monarch deprived of his reason, was contended for by the rival houses of Orleans and Burgundy, the conflicting parties carried on war more by murder and massacre than by regular battles. When an army was wanted, both had recourse to the English; and these conquering strangers made the unfortunate French feel still deeper the horrors and ravages of war. At first, the popular feeling was undecided; but when, on the death of Charles VI., the crown fell to a young prince who adopted the Armagnac side, whilst the house of Burgundy had sworn allegiance to a foreigner, Henry V., as king of France,—then, indeed, the wishes and interests of all the French were in favor of the Armagnacs, or the truly patriotic party. Remote as was the village of Domremy, it was still interested in the issue of the struggle. It was decidedly Armagnac, and was strengthened in this sentiment by the rivalry of a neighboring village, which adopted Burgundian colors.

Political and party interests were thus forced upon the enthusiastic mind of Joan, and mingled with the pious legends she had caught from the traditions of the Virgin. A prophecy was current that a virgin should rid France of her enemies, and this prophecy seems to have been realized by its effect on the mind of Joan. The girl, by her own account, was about thirteen, when a supernatural vision first appeared to her. She described it as a great light, accompanied by a voice telling her to be devout and

good, and promising her the protection of Heaven. Joan responded by a vow of eternal chastity. From that time the voice or voices continued to haunt Joan, and to echo the enthusiastic and restless wishes of her own heart. Her own simple account was, that "voices" were her visitors and advisers, and that they prompted her to quit her native place, take up arms, drive the foe before her, and procure for the young king his coronation at Rheims. These voices, however, had not influence enough to induce her to set out upon the hazardous mission, until a band of Burgundians, traversing and plundering the country, had compelled Joan, together with her parents, to take refuge in a neighboring town. When they returned to their village, after the departure of the marauders, they found the church of Domremy in ashes.

Such incidents were well calculated to arouse the indignation and excite the enthusiasm of Joan. Her "voices" returned, and incessantly directed her to set out for Orleans, but to commence by making application to De Baudricourt, commander at Vaucouleurs. Her parents, who were acquainted with Joan's martial propensities, attempted to force her into a marriage; but she contrived to avoid this by paying a visit to an uncle, in whose company she made her appearance before the governor of Vaucouleurs, in May, 1428. De Baudricourt at first refused to see her, and upon granting an interview, treated her pretensions with contempt. She then returned to her uncle's abode, where she continued to announce her project, and to insist that the prophecy that "France lost by a woman,—Isabel of Bavaria, —should be saved by a virgin from the frontiers of Lorraine,"—alluded to her. She it was, she asserted, who could save France and not "either kings, or dukes, nor yet the king of Scotland's daughter,"—an expression which proves how well-informed she was as to the political events and rumors of the day.

The fortunes of the dauphin Charles, at this time, had sunk to the lowest ebb. Orleans, almost his last bulwark, was besieged and closely pressed, and the loss of the battle of "Herrings" seemed to take away all hope of saving the city from the English. In this crisis, when all human support seemed unavailing, Baudricourt no longer despised the supernatural aid promised by the damsel of Domremy, and gave permission to John of Metz, and Bertram of Poulegny, two gentlemen who had become converts to the truth of her divine mission, to conduct Joan of Arc to the dauphin. They purchased a horse for her, and, at her own desire, furnished her with male habits, and other necessary equipments. Thus provided, and accompanied by a respectable escort, Joan set out for Vaucouleurs on the 13th of February, 1429. Her progress through regions attached to the Burgundian interest was perilous, but she safely arrived at Fierbois, a place within five or six leagues of Chinon, where the dauphin then held his court. At Fierbois was a celebrated church, dedicated to St. Catherine; and here she spent her time in devotion, whilst a messenger was despatched to the dauphin to announce her approach. She was commanded to proceed, and reached Chinon on the eleventh day after her departure from Vaucouleurs.

Charles, though he desired, still feared, the proffered aid. After due consultation, however, it was concluded to grant Joan's request, and she received the rank of a military commander. A suit of armor was made for her, and she sent to Fierbois for a sword which, she said, would be

found buried in a certain spot in the church. It was found there, and conveyed to her. The circumstance became afterwards one of the alleged proofs of her sorcery or imposture. Her having passed some time at Fierbois, among the ecclesiastics of the place, must have led, in some way or other, to her knowledge of the deposit. Strong in the conviction of her mission, it was Joan's desire to enter Orleans from the north, and through all the fortifications of the English. Dunois, however, and the other leaders at length overruled her, and induced her to abandon the little company of pious companions which she had raised, and to enter the beleagured city by water, as the least perilous path. She succeeded in carrying with her a convoy of provisions to the besieged.

The entry of Joan of Arc into Orleans, at the end of April, was itself a triumph. The hearts of the besieged were raised from despair to a fanatical confidence of success; and the English, who in every encounter had defeated the French, felt their courage paralyzed by the coming of this simple girl. We cannot give the details of the wonderful events that followed. It must suffice to say, that the French were inspired with the utmost courage, and after a series of great achievements, in which the wonderful maiden took the lead, the siege was raised. Thus, in one week after her arrival, the beleaguered city was relieved. The most incredible of her promises was now fulfilled, and she henceforth received the title of "Maid of Orleans."

The French now carried all before them, under the guidance of this maiden leader; and, in three months after she came to the relief of Charles, he was crowned at Rheims, which had surrendered to his arms. After a series of successes, she was in one instance defeated, and finally was captured in a sally against the enemy, May, 1430. She was now handed over to the English partisans in France, brought to trial on the charge of sorcery, and condemned to death. A pile of wood was prepared in the market-place at Rouen, and, encircled by a body of judges and ecclesiastics, she was burned to death, and her ashes thrown into the Seine. This took place in May, 1431. Thus perished one of the most pure, lovely, and exalted beings that ever lived. In 1454, a revision of her sentence took place, and a monument was erected to her honor, on the spot where she had been inhumanly put to death.

NAPOLEON'S LAST FUNERAL.

OF all the great and remarkable men of modern times, Napoleon Bonaparte was the most wonderful. He was a son of a lawyer of Corsica, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, belonging to France. From a humble station he rose to be the Emperor of France, and the greatest general of modern times. He hurled kings from their thrones, and put others in their places. He dismembered empires, and created new ones. He made the whole earth ring with his mighty deeds. But one thing he

could not do—he could not conquer himself. His ambition led him on from one step of injustice to another, till the embattled armies of Europe appeared in the field against him. He was defeated, dethroned, and taken on board a British ship to the rocky and lonely island of St. Helena, where he died in 1821.

After being entombed for almost twenty years, the King of the French, Louis Philippe, sent out a ship to bring back his body to France, to be reëntombed in the capital of the empire of which he once swayed the sceptre.

The body of the emperor was found in the earth at St. Helena, where it had been deposited in a tomb of very strong and compact masonry, so that although the workmen began at noon, it was ten o'clock at night before they were able to reach the body. It was enclosed in three coffins, two of mahogany and one of lead, all of which were found in a perfect state, though nearly twenty years had elapsed since they had been laid in the earth.

It is difficult to describe with what anxiety, with what emotions, those who were present waited for the moment which was to expose to them all that death had left of Napoleon. Notwithstanding the singular state of preservation of the tomb and coffins, they could scarcely hope to find anything but some misshapen remains of the least perishable parts of the costume to evidence the identity. But when, by the hand of Dr. Guillard, the satin sheet over the body was raised, an indescribable feeling of surprise and affection was expressed by the spectators, most of whom burst into tears. The emperor himself was before their eyes! The features of his face, though changed, were perfectly recognized—the hands perfectly beautiful—his well-known costume had suffered but little, and the colors were easily distinguished—the epaulets, the decorations, and the hat, seemed to be entirely preserved from decay—the attitude itself was full of ease; and but for the fragments of the satin lining, which covered as with a fine gauze several parts of the uniform, they might have believed that they saw before them Napoleon still extended on a bed of state. General Bertrand and M. Marchand, who were present at the interment, quickly pointed out the different articles which each had deposited in the coffin, and in the precise position which they had previously described. It was even remarked that the left hand, which General Bertrand had taken to kiss for the last time before the coffin was closed up, still remained slightly raised.

The body was now placed in a new leaden coffin or sarcophagus, sent out from France for the purpose, and conveyed with appropriate ceremonies on board a French man-of war, which immediately sailed for Cherbourg. Great preparations were made in France for its reception. On the arrival of the ship at Cherbourg, a steamboat was ready to convey it up the Seine to Paris. A great number of steamboats and vessels of all sorts were collected together, forming a numerous fleet, under convoy of which the corpse was transported up the river, stopping occasionally at the cities and towns on the way, to allow the inhabitants the opportunity of gratifying their curiosity and displaying their enthusiasm, by paying homage to the remains of the greatest soldier and chieftain of the French empire. The crowds that assembled all along the banks of the river were immense. The military turned out by hundreds and thousands. All sorts of pageantry, exhibition, and pompous show—consisting of triumphal arches, pyramids, bridges, columns, and other fanciful and imposing devices—contributed to give effect to the solemnities.

On the fourteenth of December, 1840, the procession reached St. Germain, a place within a few miles of Paris. The crowd of spectators which had thronged to the spot from Paris was so immense, that it was impossible to proceed and land the body till the middle of the next day. Two battalions of troops were stationed on the banks of the river; and the stream was covered with vessels decked with laurels and wreaths of *immortelles*, a bright, unfading, yellow flower, very much in use among the French on funeral occasions.

At the great bridge of Neuilly, three or four miles from Paris, an immense rostral column had been prepared, surmounted by a ball or globe, representing the world, and six feet in diameter. This was crowned by a huge eagle; but owing to the intense cold of the weather, the design was not wholly completed. On the base of this column was the following inscription, containing the last request of Napoleon: "*I wish my ashes to repose on the banks of the Seine.*" A wharf had been built at this place for the express purpose of landing the coffin, and here the body of Napoleon first touched the soil of France. At the extremity of the wharf a Grecian temple, one hundred feet in height, was erected; and at the end of the bridge of Neuilly was a colossal statue of the Empress Josephine.

From Paris to Neuilly there extends a beautiful broad avenue, ornamented with rows of trees and handsome buildings. Along this road the population of the capital began to throng in immense multitudes before daylight the next morning. It was computed that five hundred thousand persons crowded into this avenue on the morning of the landing of the body. The troops of the National Guard were drawn up on the bank of the river; prayers were said over the corpse, and the coffin was borne to the land by twenty-four sailors. The artillery fired a salute of twenty-one rounds, and the multitudes that thronged the banks of the river rent the air with their shouts. The body was then placed in a magnificent *catafalque* or funeral car, twenty-five feet in length, with gilt wheels, and decorated with golden eagles. On the car was a pedestal eighteen feet long and seven feet high, richly ornamented and hung with gold and purple cloth. On this pedestal stood fourteen *cariatides* or columnar human figures of colossal size, supporting with their heads and hands an immense golden shield. The coffin was laid on this shield. On the coffin was placed a rich cushion, sustaining the sceptre, the hand of justice, and the imperial crown, studded with jewels. The whole formed a structure fifty feet in height, and was drawn by sixteen black horses, richly caparisoned after the manner of the middle ages.

The procession then took up its march for Paris. In the procession was the war-horse of Napoleon, and five hundred sailors who accompanied the corpse from St. Helena. The whole avenue to Paris was lined with troops. Round the great triumphal arch at the entrance of the city, were lofty masts bearing tri-colored pennants surrounded with black crape, and exhibiting each the name of some one of the armies of the Republic or the Empire, as "The Army of the Rhine"—"The Army of Italy," &c. On entering the city, the crowd was so immense that the procession had great difficulty in forcing its way onward. The number of spectators was estimated at 800,000. This is equal to the whole population of Paris; yet when we take into the account the great numbers that resorted to the capital from all parts of the kingdom to witness so grand and interesting a ceremony, this estimate does not appear very improbable.

The place destined for the reception of Napoleon's body was the Hotel des Invalides, a spacious edifice erected by Louis XIV., and which is one of the finest and most interesting buildings in Paris. It is beautifully situated on the river Seine, with a spacious esplanade in front. In the chapel of this building, preparations had been made for the funeral service over the body. The walls were hung with black draperies bordered with silver, and large lustres were placed between the pillars, contrasting their brilliant lights with the dark draperies around them. The pillars were ornamented with gilded trophies, with the names of Napoleon's victories, Marengo, Austerlitz, Wagram, &c. The galleries above, thronged with countless multitudes of spectators, were also hung with black, with silver and gold emblems, laurels, and golden letters commemorating the principal acts of the emperor's life. Above were hung an immense number of standards, taken from the enemy in different battles. In front of the altar was erected a tomb, standing on pillars and surmounted by an eagle. This structure was of gilt wood, and only temporary; it will soon be replaced by one of marble.

Here were assembled the king, the royal family, and the chief personages of the court, the Archbishop of Paris and other dignitaries of the church, and a great number of generals and veterans of Napoleon's wars. At two o'clock the procession arrived, and the body of Napoleon was brought into the chapel. This was the most impressive part of the whole ceremony. The steps leading to the choir were lined on both sides by the military and the veteran invalids, so many of whom had fought under the deceased emperor. The whole of the aisle was filled with troops, and the whole body of the clergy stood in religious silence, waiting to perform the last offices of religion. The drums rolled, the cannons roared, and the muffled drums announced the approach of the body. At the sight of the coffin, surmounted with the imperial crown of Napoleon, the whole body of spectators appeared to be struck by a sudden thrill. Every one rose up and bent forward, but not a word was uttered; a religious silence and awe pervaded the whole multitude!

Mass was then said over the body according to the forms of the Roman Catholic religion, after which Mozart's celebrated requiem was sung by a choir of musicians. The coffin was then sprinkled with holy water by the Archbishop, and the ceremony concluded. The crowd remained long in the chapel, to satiate their curiosity by gazing on the splendid decorations of the place and the long vista of funeral pomp. At length the military succeeded in clearing the chapel of the throngs of spectators; the people dispersed; and the body of Napoleon lay once more in the silence of the tomb!

A magnificent sarcophagus is being erected over the place where the body is deposited, in the Hotel des Invalides, and will soon be completed, (1848.)

SIMON KENTON, THE PIONEER.

SIMON KENTON, one of the most noted pioneers of the west, was born in Virginia in 1755. He was of humble parentage, and of mixed Scotch and Irish origin. In the spring of 1771, three years before Dunmore's war, when he was just sixteen years of age, he had a serious quarrel with a young man, a neighbor, by the name of Veach. Simon became desperately enamored with a young lady, who soon after married young Veach. Stung to frenzy by this disappointment, and imagining himself exquisitely injured, he, in the heat of passion, attended the wedding uninvited. As soon as he entered the room, he went forward and intruded himself between the groom and his bride. The result was, that young Veach, as soon as his back was turned, knocked him down, gave him a severe beating, and he was expelled from the house with black eyes and sore bones.

A few days after, he met Veach alone, and anxious to repair his wounded honor, had a pitched battle with him. Victory for some time hung on a doubtful balance. Simon at length threw his antagonist to the ground, and as quick as thought drawing his cue of long hair around a small sapling, kicked him in his breast and stomach until all resistance ceased. Veach attempted to rise, but immediately sunk and began to vomit blood. As Simon had not intended to kill him, he now raised him up and spoke kindly to him, but he made no answer, and sunk to the ground apparently lifeless. Erroneously supposing he had murdered him, he was overcome with the most poignant and awful sensations, and immediately fled to the woods. Lying concealed by day, and traveling by night, he passed over the Alleghanies, until he arrived, nearly starved, at a settlement on Cheat River, where he changed his name to Simon Butler. Soon after he went to Fort Pitt. Until Dunmore's war broke out, he employed himself mainly in hunting. Kenton described this as the most happy period of his life. He was in fine health, found plenty of game and fish, and free from the cares of an ambitious world and the vexations of domestic life, he passed his time in that happy state of ease, indolence, and independence, which is the glory of the hunter of the forest.

One cold evening in March, after a hard day's hunt, Kenton and his two companions were reposing upon bear-skin pallets, before a cheerful camp fire, in the Kanawha region, when suddenly the sharp crack of an Indian rifle laid one of their number a lifeless corpse. They were surrounded by a party of lurking Indians. Kenton and his surviving companion sprang to their feet, and instantly fled with only their lives and their shirts. Thus exposed, in winter weather, in the wilderness, they were compelled to wander through briars, over rough stones and frozen ground, without fire and without food for six days, until at last they fell in with a party of hunters descending the Ohio, and obtained relief. Their legs and bodies had become so lacerated and torn that they were more than two days in traveling the last two miles.

During Dunmore's war Kenton was employed as a spy. In the spring of 1775, he descended the Ohio to explore the famous "cane lands" of Kentucky. He and his companion, Williams, landed at the mouth of Limestone, on the site of Maysville, made a camp a few miles inland, and finished a small clearing, where they planted some corn—the first planted north of Kentucky River. Here, tending their corn with their tomahawks, they remained the undisputed masters of all they could see, until they had the pleasure of eating roasting ears.

In one of his solitary hunting excursions, at this time, Kenton, disguised as an Indian, encountered upon the waters of Elkhorn, Michael Stoner, a hunter from North Carolina, also in Indian guise. A silent contest of Indian strategy for mutual destruction commenced, but not a word was spoken. Each believing his antagonist an Indian, sought, by all the arts of Indian warfare, to protect himself and draw the enemy's fire. After mutual efforts and maneuvres ineffectually to draw each other from his shelter, or to steal his fire, Stoner suspecting that his antagonist was *not* an Indian, from his covert, exclaimed, "For God's sake, if you are a white man, speak!" The spell was broken, and they became companions in the solitary wilderness. Stoner conducted and introduced Kenton to the new settlements of Boonesborough and Harrodsburg. He had before supposed that he and Williams were the first settlers of Kentucky.

He returned a short time after to his camp and clearing. But the Indians had been there and plundered it. Hard by, he found the evidences of a fire, with human bones near it, which proclaimed too sadly the fate of Williams, the first victim of the war in Kentucky.

Kenton returned to Harrodsburg, and served the different stations in the capacity of a spy and ranger, to detect the approach of the Indians. He became highly distinguished for his courage, skill and stratagem against the wary savage. He had then just arrived at manhood, and was a noble specimen of the hardy, active backwoodsman hunter. He was over six feet in stature, erect, graceful and of uncommon strength, endurance and agility. His complexion and hair were light, and his soft, grayish blue eye was lighted up by a bewitching, fascinating smile. He was frank, generous and confiding to a fault, and was more interested in doing a kindness to others than in serving himself. When enraged, his glance was withering. To give a full account of his adventures would fill a volume. A few anecdotes must answer.

Early one morning in the summer of 1778, Kenton, with two companions, was just leaving the fort at Boonesborough, on a hunting excursion, when two men who had gone into a field to drive in some horses, were fired upon by five Indians. They fled, and when within about seventy yards of the fort, an Indian overtook, killed one of them by a blow with his tomahawk, and was commencing to scalp him, when Kenton shot him down. He and his companions then drove the remainder into the forest. In the meantime, Daniel Boone, with ten men, came out to their assistance. As they were advancing, Kenton discovered and shot another Indian, just as he was in the act of firing. By the time Boone had come up, they heard a rush of footsteps upon their left, and discovered that a number of Indians had got between them and the gate. Their peril was extreme. As their only salvation, Boone gave the desperate order to charge through the Indian column; upon which, they first discharged their rifles, and then

clubbing them, dashed down all who stood in their way. The attempt was successful; but Boone would have lost his life if it had not been for Kenton. An Indian bullet broke the leg of Boone, and he fell. An Indian sprang forward, uplifted his tomahawk for the fatal blow, when Kenton shot him through the body, and seizing Boone from the ground, carried him safe into the fort. Of the fourteen men engaged in this affray, seven were wounded, but none mortally. Boone, after they had got in, sent for Kenton, and said, "Well, Simon, you have behaved like a man to-day! indeed you are a fine fellow!" This simple eulogium touched the heart of Kenton.

Boonesborough was twice again besieged by the Indians ere the close of the summer, during which, the garrison was reduced to great extremities for want of food, and would have perished but for his skill and fearless daring. In the dead of night, at the peril of his life, Kenton was accustomed to steal through the camp of the enemy, and plunge into the forest far beyond, in search of deer and elk. In June, 1778, he was the first volunteer, from the Kentucky stations, in Clarke's hazardous expedition against Illinois. He was the first man that entered Fort Gage, and the one who surprised Governor Rocheblave in his bed, and compelled him to surrender the garrison.

The most marked incidents in his history, are the circumstances of his captivity among the Indians. They are briefly these: In September, 1778, Kenton, Montgomery and Clarke, left the stations in Kentucky to obtain horses from the Indians. They crossed the Ohio, and proceeded cautiously to the Indian village, on the site of Oldtown, near the site of Chillicothe. They caught seven horses, and rapidly retreated to the Ohio; but the wind blowing almost a hurricane made the river so rough that they could not induce their horses to take to the water. The next day they were come up with by the Indians in pursuit. The whites happened, at the moment, to be separated. Kenton judging the boldest course to be the safest, very deliberately took aim at the foremost Indian. His gun flashed in the pan. He then retreated. The Indians pursued on horseback. In his retreat, he passed through a piece of land where a storm had torn up a great part of the timber. The fallen trees afforded him some advantage of the Indians in the race, as they were on horseback and he on foot. The Indian force divided; some rode on one side of the fallen timber, and some on the other. Just as he emerged from the fallen timber, at the foot of the hill, one of the Indians met him on horseback, and boldly rode up to him, jumped off his horse and rushed at him with his tomahawk. Kenton concluding a gun barrel as good a weapon of defense as a tomahawk, drew back his gun to strike the Indian before him. At that instant, another Indian, who, unperceived by Kenton, had slipped up behind him, clasped him in his arms. Being now overpowered by numbers, further resistance was useless—he surrendered. While the Indians were binding Kenton with tugs Montgomery came in view and fired at the Indians, but missed his mark. Montgomery fled on foot. Some of the Indians pursued, shot at, and missed him; a second fire was made, and Montgomery fell. The Indians soon returned to Kenton, shaking at him Montgomery's bloody scalp. Clarke, Kenton's other companion, escaped.

The horrors of his captivity during nine months among the Indians may be briefly enumerated, but they cannot be described. The sufferings of

his body may be recounted, but the anguish of his mind, the internal torments of spirit, none but himself could know.

The first regular torture was the hellish one of Mazeppa. He was securely bound, hand and foot, upon the back of an unbroken horse, which plunged furiously through the forest, through thickets, briers, and brush, vainly endeavoring to extricate himself from the back of his unwelcome rider until completely exhausted. By this time Kenton had been bruised, lacerated, scratched, and mangled, until life itself was nearly extinct, while his sufferings had afforded the most unbounded ecstacies of mirth to his savage captors. This, however, was only a prelude to subsequent sufferings.

Upon the route to the Indian towns, for the greater security of their prisoner, the savages bound him securely, with his body extended upon the ground, and each foot and hand tied to a stake or sapling; and to preclude the possibility of escape, a young sapling was laid across his breast, having its extremities well secured to the ground, while a rope secured his neck to another sapling. In this condition, nearly naked, and exposed to swarms of gnats and mosquitoes, he was compelled to spend the tedious night upon the cold ground, exposed to the chilling dews of autumn.

On the third day, at noon, he was within one mile of old Chillicothe, the present site of Frankfort, where he was detained in confinement until the next day. Towards evening, curiosity had brought hundreds, of all sexes and conditions, to view the great Kentuckian. Their satisfaction at his wretched condition was evinced by numerous grunts, kicks, blows and stripes, inflicted amid applauding yells, dancing, and every demonstration of savage indignation. This, however, was only a prelude to a more energetic mode of torture the next day, in which the whole village was to be partakers. The torture of a prisoner is a school for the young warrior, to stir up his hatred for their white enemies, and keep alive the fire of revenge, while it affords sport and mirth to gratify the vindictive rage of bereaved mothers and relatives, by participating in the infliction of the agonies which he is compelled to suffer.

Running the gantlet was the torture of the next day, when nearly three hundred Indians, of both sexes and all ages, were assembled for the savage festival. The ceremony commenced. Kenton, nearly naked, and freed from his bonds, was produced as the victim of the ceremony. The Indians were ranged in two parallel lines, about six feet apart, all armed with sticks, hickory rods, whips, and other means of inflicting pain. Between these lines, for more than half a mile, to the village, the wretched prisoner was doomed to run for his life, exposed to such injury as his tormentors could inflict as he passed. If he succeeded in reaching the council house alive, it would prove an asylum to him for the present. At a given signal, Kenton started in the perilous race. Exerting his utmost strength and activity, he passed swiftly along the line, receiving numerous blows, stripes, buffets and wounds, until he approached the town, near which he saw an Indian leisurely awaiting his advance with a drawn knife in his hand, intent upon his death. To avoid him, he instantly broke through the line, and made his rapid way toward the council house, pursued by the promiscuous crowd, whooping and yelling like infernal furies at his heels. Entering the town in advance of his pursuers, just as he had supposed the council house within his reach, an Indian was perceived leisurely approach-

ing him, with his blanket wrapped around him; but suddenly he threw off his blanket, and sprung upon Kenton as he advanced. Exhausted with fatigue and wounds, he was thrown to the ground, and in a moment he was beset with crowds, eager to strip him, and to inflict upon him each the kick or blow which had been avoided by breaking through the line. Here, beaten, kicked, and scourged until he was nearly lifeless, he was left to die. A few hours afterward, having partially revived, he was supplied with food and water, and was suffered to recuperate for a few days, until he was able to attend at the council house and receive the announcement of his final doom.

After a violent discussion, the council, by a large majority, determined that he should be made a public sacrifice to the vengeance of the nation; and the decision was announced by a burst of savage joy, with yells and shouts which made the welkin ring. The place of execution was Wappatomica, the present site of Zanesfield, in Logan county, Ohio. On his route to this place, he was taken through Pickaway and Mackacheck, on the Scioto, where he was again compelled to undergo the torture of the gantlet, and was scourged through the line. At this place, smarting under his wounds and bruises, he was detained several days, in order that he might recuperate preparatory to his march to Wappatomica. At length, being carelessly guarded, he determined, if possible, to make his escape from the impending doom. In this attempt he had proceeded two miles from the place of confinement, when he was met by two Indians on horseback, who in a brutal manner drove him back to the village. The last ray of hope had now expired, and loathing a life of continual suffering, he in despair, resigned himself to his fate.

His late attempt to escape had brought upon him a repetition of savage torture, which had well nigh closed his sufferings forever, and he verily believed himself a "God-forsaken wretch." Taken to a neighboring creek, he was thrown in and dragged through mud and water, and submerged repeatedly, until life was nearly extinct, when he was again left in a dying state; but the constitutional vigor within him revived, and a few days afterward he was taken to Wappatomica for execution. At Wappatomica he first saw, at a British trading post, his old friend Simon Girty, who had become a renegade, in all the glory of his Indian life, surrounded by swarms of Indians, who had come to view the doomed prisoner and to witness his torture. Yet Girty suspected not the presence of his old acquaintance at Fort Pitt. Although well acquainted with Kenton only a few years before, his present mangled condition and his blackened face left no traces of recognition in Girty's mind. Looking upon him as a doomed victim, beyond the reach of pity or hope, he could view him only as the victim of sacrifice; but so soon as Kenton succeeded in making himself known to Girty, the hard heart of the latter at once relented, and sympathizing with his miserable condition and still more horrid doom, he resolved to make an effort for his release. His whole personal influence, and his eloquence, no less than his intrigue, were put in requisition for the safety of his fallen friend. He portrayed in strong language the policy of preserving the life of the prisoner, and the advantage which might accrue to the Indians from the possession of one so intimately acquainted with all the white settlements. For a time Girty's eloquence prevailed, and a respite was granted; but suspicions arose, and he was again summoned

before the council. The death of Kenton was again decreed. Again the influence of Girty prevailed, and through finesse he accomplished a further respite, together with the removal of the prisoner to Sandusky. Here, again, the council decreed his death, and again he was compelled to submit to the terrors of the gantlet, preliminary to his execution. Still Girty did not relax his efforts. Despairing of his own influence with the council, he secured the aid and influence of Logan, "the friend of white men." Logan interceded with Captain Drouillard, a British officer, and procured through him the offer of a liberal ransom to the vindictive savages for the life of the prisoner. Captain Drouillard met the council, and urged the great advantage such a prisoner would be to the commandant at Detroit, in procuring from him such information as would greatly facilitate his future operations against the rebel colonies. At the same time, appealing to their avarice, he suggested that the ransom would be proportionate to the value of the prisoner.

Drouillard guaranteed the ransom of one hundred dollars for his delivery, and Kenton was given to him in charge for the commandant at Detroit. As soon as his mind was out of suspense, his robust constitution and iron frame recovered from the severe treatment which they had undergone. Kenton passed the winter and spring at Detroit. Among the prisoners were Captain Nathan Bullit and Jesse Coffer. They had the liberty of the town, and could stroll about at pleasure.

With these two men, Kenton began to meditate an escape. They had frequent conferences on the subject; but the enterprise was almost too appalling for even these hardy, enterprising pioneers. If they should make this bold push, they would have to travel nearly four hundred miles through the Indian country, where they would be exposed to death by starvation, by flood, by the tomahawk, or to capture, almost at every step. But the longer they brooded over the enterprise, the stronger their resolutions grew to make the attempt. They could make no movement to procure arms, ammunition, or provision, without exciting suspicion; and should they be once suspected they would be immediately confined. In this situation, they could only brood over their wished flight in secret and in silence. Kenton was a fine looking man, with a dignified and manly deportment, and a soft, pleasing voice, and was, everywhere he went, a favorite among the ladies. A Mrs. Harvey, the wife of an Indian trader, had treated him with particular respect ever since he came to Detroit, and he concluded if he could engage this lady as a confidant, by her assistance and countenance, ways and means could be prepared to aid them in their meditated flight. Kenton approached Mrs. Harvey on this delicate and interesting subject, with as much trepidation and coyness as ever maiden was approached in a love affair. The great difficulty with Kenton was to get the subject opened with Mrs. Harvey. If she should reject his suit and betray his intentions, all his fond hopes would be at once blasted. However, at length he concluded to trust this lady with the scheme of his meditated flight, and the part he wished her to act for him. He watched an opportunity to have a private interview with Mrs. Harvey; an opportunity soon offered, and he, without disguise or hesitation, in full confidence, informed her of his intention, and requested her aid and secrecy. She appeared at first astonished at his proposal, and observed that it was not in her power to afford him any aid. Kenton told her he did not expect or

wish her to be at any expense on their account—that they had a little money for which they had labored, and that they wished her to be their agent to purchase such articles as would be necessary for them in their flight—that if they should go to purchasing it would create suspicion, but that she could aid them in this way without creating any suspicion; and if she would be their friend, they had no doubt they could effect their escape. This appeal from such a fine looking man as Kenton was irresistible. There was something pleasing in being the selected confidant of such a man; and the lady, though a little coy at first, surrendered at discretion. After a few chit chats, she entered into the views of Kenton with as much earnestness and enthusiasm as if she had been his sister. She began to collect and conceal such articles as might be necessary in the journey—powder, lead, moccasins, and dried beef were procured in small quantities, and concealed in a hollow tree some distance out of town. Guns were still wanting, and it would not do for a lady to trade in them. Mr. Harvey had an excellent fowling piece, if nothing better should offer, that she said should be at their service. They had now everything that they expected to take with them in their flight ready, except guns.

At length the third day of June, 1779, came, and a large concourse of Indians were in town engaged in a drunken frolic; they had stacked their guns near Mrs. Harvey's house; as soon as it was dark, Mrs. Harvey went quietly to where the Indians' guns were stacked, and selected the three best looking rifles, carried them into her garden, and concealed them in a patch of peas. She next went privately to Kenton's lodging, and conveyed to him the intelligence where she had hid the Indians' guns. She told him she would place a ladder at the back of the garden (it was picketed,) and that he could come in and get the guns. No time was to be lost; Kenton conveyed the good news he had from Mrs. Harvey to his companions, who received the tidings in ecstacies of joy; they felt as if they were already at home. It was a dark night; Kenton, Bullit and Coffer gathered up their little all and pushed to Mrs. Harvey's garden. There they found the ladder; Kenton mounted over, drew the ladder over after him, went to the pea-patch, found Mrs. Harvey sitting by the guns; she handed him the rifles, gave him a friendly shake of the hand, and bid him a safe journey to his friends and countrymen. She appeared to Kenton and his comrades as an angel. When a woman engages to do an action, she will risk limb, life, or character to serve those whom she respects or wishes to befriend. How differently the same action will be viewed by different persons—by Kenton and his friends her conduct was viewed as the benevolent action of a good angel; while if the part she played in behalf of Kenton and his companions had been known to the commander at Detroit, she would have been looked upon as a traitress, who merited the scorn and contempt of all honest citizens. This night was the last time that Kenton ever saw or heard of her.

A few days before Kenton left Detroit, he had a conversation with an Indian trader, a Scotchman by the name of McKensie, who was well acquainted with the geography of the country and range of the Indians between the lakes and the Ohio and Mississippi. The Scotchman slily observed to Kenton, that if he was going to Kentucky, and did not wish to meet with the Indians, he would steer more west than the common route, and get into Wabash prairies as soon as possible. Kenton did not know

what to think of the remarks of the Scotchman. He began to think that perhaps Mrs. Harvey had divulged his secret to this man, and that he was pumping Kenton; or probably he wished to aid him, and this was offering friendly advice. As no more was said, he did not pretend to notice what the Scotchman said, but treasured the remarks in his mind.

As soon as Kenton and his companions took their leave of their friend and benefactress, Mrs. Harvey, they made their way to the little store in the hollow tree, bundled up, and pushed for the wood, and steered a more westerly than the direct course to Kentucky. They had no doubt but every effort would be made to retake them; they were, consequently, very circumspect and cautious in leaving as few traces, by which they might be discovered, as possible. They went on slowly, traveling mostly in the night, steering their course by the cluster called the seven stars, until they reached the prairie country on the Wabash. In this time, though they had been very sparing of their stock of provision, it was now exhausted, and their lives depended on their guns. In these large prairies there was but little game, and they were days without provision. They, like the Hebrews of old, began to wish themselves again with the flesh pots at Detroit. One day as they were passing down the Wabash, they were just emerging out of a thicket of brushwood, when an Indian encampment presented itself to their view, and not more than one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards from them. No ghastly visit could have set their hair on end sooner. They immediately dodged back into the thicket, and concealed themselves until night. They were now almost exhausted with fatigue and hunger—they could only travel a few miles in a day. They lay still in the thicket, consulting with each other the most proper measures to pursue in this their precarious situation. Bullit and Coffer thought the best plan to save their lives, would be voluntarily to surrender themselves to the Indians. The Indians who had taken them had not treated them so roughly as Kenton had been handled. Kenton wished to lay still until night, and make as little sign as possible, and as soon as it was dark they would push ahead, and trust the event to Providence. After considerable debate, Kenton's plan was adopted. The next morning, Kenton shot a deer. They made a fire and went to cooking; and never did food taste more delicious. They then pursued their toilsome march, and arrived, without further adventure, at the Falls of the Ohio (now Louisville) on the thirty-third day of their escape.

Until the close of the war, he continued an active partisan. From 1784 to 1792, he was in many severe encounters with the savages, and on one occasion with Tecumseh, then a young chief rapidly rising into notice. Kenton was with Wayne, in the capacity of Major, in the early part of his campaign.

When the war was over, he settled on his farm, near Maysville, where he possessed extensive lands, and was considered one of the wealthiest men in Kentucky. His house was the abode of hospitality, and he began to enjoy the comforts of a green old age in peace and competence, but a dark cloud was lowering upon his prospects. Ignorant of the technicalities of the law, he had failed to render his title secure, and, like Boone and Clarke, he was robbed in successive lawsuits, of one piece of land after another, until he found in his declining age, himself and family reduced to poverty and want.

About the year 1802, he settled in Urbana, Ohio, where he remained

some years, and was elected brigadier-general of militia. In the war of 1812, he joined the army of Gen. Harrison, and was at the battle of the Moravian town, where he displayed his usual intrepidity. About the year 1820, he moved to the head of Mad River. A few years after, through the exertions of Judge Burnet and General Vance, a pension of twenty dollars per month was granted to him, which secured his declining age from want. He died in 1836, at which time he had been a member of the Methodist church over a quarter of a century. The frosts of more than eighty winters had fallen on his head without entirely whitening his locks, notwithstanding he had passed through more dangers, privations, perils and hair-breadth escapes than mny men living or dead.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1796.

Friends and Fellow Citizens:

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprize you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom the choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea. I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as

well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead—amid appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation and to recommend to your frequent review some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as

an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of our hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to forsee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth—as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and success.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in like intercourse with the *west*, in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and com

fort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of the indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest, as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue of the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations — *Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western;* whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a

policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain and that with Spain—which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing within itself provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is, the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common counsels, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however

specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitutions of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially, that from the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them upon geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party gener ally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in it greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of the public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight, the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foments occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments

of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From the natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the other, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern—some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric? Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense, by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding, likewise, the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essen tial you should practically bear in mind, that, towards the payment of debts, there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! it is rendered impossible by its vices!

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, and obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject. At other times, it makes the animosity of a nation subservient to the projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common

interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and the wars of the latter without adequate inducements or justification. It leads, also, to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which are apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will and a disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupt or deluded citizens, who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation to a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public counsels! Such an attachment of a small or weak nation, towards a great and powerful one, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us, to implicate ourselves, by artifical ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our

own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergences.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the stream of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, (in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, to enable the government to support them,) conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and natural opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another—that it must pay, with a portion of its independence, for whatever it may accept under that character—that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not having given more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure—which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefits, some occasional good—that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records, and the other evidences of my conduct, must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct, will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been, to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and constancy which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortune.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectations that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking in the midst of my fellow-citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever-favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

THE CITY OF BOSTON.

ONE of the earliest descriptions of Boston is given by Wood. "This harbor," says he, "is made by a great company of islands, whose high clifts shoulder out the boisterous seas; yet may easily deceive any unskilful pilot; presenting many fair openings and broad sounds, which afford too shallow water for ships, though navigable for boats and pinances. It is a safe and pleasant harbor within, having but one common and safe

entrance, and that not very broad, there scarce being room for three ships to come in board and board at a time; but being once in, there is room for the anchorage of five hundred ships. The seamen having spent their old store of wood and water, may here have fresh supplies from the adjacent islands, with good timber to repair their weather-beaten ships. Boston is two miles N. E. of Roxbury. His situation is very pleasant, being a peninsular hemmed in on the south side by the bay of Roxbury, and on the north side with Charles river, the marshes on the back side being not half a quarter of a mile over; so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from the wolves. The greatest wants are wood and meadow ground, which never were in this place, being constrained to fetch their building timber and fire wood from the islands in boats, and their hay in loyters; it being a neck, and bare of wood, they are not troubled with these great annoyances, wolves, rattlesnakes and musquetoes. These that live here upon their cattle, must be constrained to take farms in the country, or else they cannot subsist, the place being too small to contain many, and fittest for such as can trade into England, being the chief place for shipping and merchandise. This neck of land is not above four miles in compass, in form almost square, having on the south side, at one corner, a great broad hill, whereon is planted a fort, which can command any ship as she sails into the harbor within the still bay. On the north side is another hill, equal in bigness, whereon stands a windmill. To the northwest is a high mountain, with three little rising hills on the top of it, wherefore it is called Tramount. From the top of this mountain a man may overlook all the islands which lie within the bay, and descry such ships as are on the seacoast. This town, although it be neither the greatest nor the richest, yet is the most noted and frequented, being the centre of the plantations, where the monthly courts are kept. The inhabitants of this place, for their enlargement, have taken to themselves farm houses in a place called Muddy River, two miles from the town, where there is good ground, large timber, and store of marsh land and meadow. In this place they keep their swine and other cattle in the summer, whilst the corn is in the ground at Boston, and bring them to town in winter."

Josseylin, who arrived at Boston July 28th, 1663, says: "It is in longitude 315°, and 42° 30″ of north latitude. The buildings are hand some, joyning one to another, as in London, with many large streets, most of them paved with pebble; in the high street towards the common, there are fair buildings, some of stone, and at the east end of the town, one among the rest, built by the shore, by Mr. Gibbs, a merchant, being a stately edifice, which it is thought will stand him in little less than £3,000 before it be fully finished. The town is not divided into parishes, yet they have three fair meeting houses or churches, which hardly suffice to receive the inhabitants and strangers that come in from all parts."

Johnson describes Boston thus: "Environed it is with brinish floods, saving one small istmos, which gives free access to the neighboring towns by land, on the south side, on the northwest and on the northeast. Two constant fairs are kept for daily trafique thereunto. The form of this town is like a heart, naturally situated for fortifications, having two hills on the frontier part thereof next the sea, the one well fortified on the superficies thereof, with a store of great artillery well mounted. The other hath a very strong battery built of whole timber, and filled with earth. At the

descent of the hill, in the extreme poynt thereof, betwixt these two strong arms, lies a cove or bay, on which the chief part of this town is built, overtopped with a third hill. All these, like overtopping towers, keep a constant watch, to see the approach of foreign dangers, being furnished with a beacon and loud babbling guns, to give notice by their redoubled echo to all the sister towns. The chief edifice of this city-like town is crowded on the sea banks, and wharfed out with great labor and cost; the buildings beautiful and large, some fairly set forth with brick tile, stone and slate, and orderly placed with semely streets, whose continual enlargement presageth some sumptuous city. The hideous thickets in this place were such that wolves and bears nurst up their young from the eyes of all beholders, in those very places where the streets are full of boys and girls, sporting up and down, with continued concourse of people. Good store of shipping is here yearly built, and some very fair ones. This town is the very mart of the land: Dutch, French and Portugalls come here to trafique."

In his "Atlas Geographus," published at London in 1717, Herman Moll gives the following account of Boston: "The capitol, Boston, is reckoned the biggest in America, except some which belong to the Spaniards. It lies on the coast, convenient for trade, defended by a strong castle in an island at the mouth of the harbor, and on the shore by forts on two or three neighboring hills which command the avenues. Here are abundance of fine buildings, both public and private, as the Court House, the Market Place, Sir William Phipp's house, &c. It has several handsome streets, and the inhabitants are reckoned about twelve thousand. They have four companies of militia, and three parish churches, besides a French church, and two meeting houses, one for church of England men and another for anabaptists. Three or four hundred ships have been loaded here in a year, with lumber, fish, beef, pork, &c., for Europe and America. Here is a market every Tuesday, and two fairs in May and October, which last three days each. 'Tis a very flourishing city, and for the beauty of its structures, and great trade, gives place to few in England."

Thus has Boston been described by the early writers. The quaintness of their style affords amusement, and it is highly gratifying and flattering to be reminded that the site of this busy and crowded city was so recently occupied as a corn field. It derived its name in honor of the Rev. John Cotton, who emigrated from Boston, in Lincolnshire, England, and this name was confirmed by act of court, September 7, 1630, O. S., from which the foundation of the town may be dated. Its original Indian name was Shawmut, and for a short time previous to its being called Boston, it was termed Trimountain. The istmos that Johnson speaks of, or neck, as it is generally denominated, is at the south part of the city, and unites it to the thriving and beautiful town of Roxbury, and forms the basis of three great avenues, viz: Washington street, the Tremont road, and Front street. Boston is also connected by two bridges with South Boston, on the south-east; with Brookline by a solid stone causeway, called the Western avenue, on the south-west; with Cambridge by two bridges on the west, and with Charlestown by two bridges on the north.

The means of intercommunication between the town and country are abundant, there being besides those just enumerated, the Providence, the Worcester, and the Lowell Railroads, the Winnisimmet ferry to Chelsea, and the ferry to Noddle's Island, now called East Boston; upon both of

which steamboats for the conveyance of horses, carriages, merchandise and passengers, are constantly plying. The great Eastern railway, also, whose depot is to be at East Boston, is now in a course of construction, and when it shall have been completed, Boston will be the grand focal centre of four of the finest railways in North America. The surface of the peninsula upon which the city is built, swells into three eminences, viz: Copp's Hill, Fort Hill and Beacon Hill. Copp's Hill received its name from its owner, a Mr. Copp, who was a shoemaker, and one of the elders in Dr. Mather's church. It rises rather abruptly from a point at the northern extremity of the town, about seventy-five feet above high water, and upon its summit is located one of the oldest burying grounds in the city. From this spot the British cannonaded Charlestown in 1775, at the memorable battle of Bunker hill.

Fort Hill is situated on the eastern border of the city, directly opposite the harbor, and is elevated about eighty feet above the level of the sea. First called Corn Hill, it received its present name from a fort constructed on the top of it in 1632, in the building of which the people of Roxbury, Charlestown and Dorchester worked in rotation. Fort Hill is rendered famous by its having been a temporary asylum for Sir Edmund Andros, who repaired the citadel in the Boston revolution of 1689, where he and his accomplices were taken prisoners by the inhabitants, for tyranny and oppression. The old fort was demolished many years since, and no remains are now to be seen of the temporary works erected on its site during the revolutionary war. The summit of the hill has been leveled, and formed into a beautiful circular grass plat, with graveled walks, and ornamented with forest trees.

Beacon Hill is the most elevated spot within the Peninsula—being one hundred and ten feet above high water. It is on the north-western side of the common, and affords an extensive prospect of the harbor, outer bay, and surrounding country. On this hill there were formerly three distinct eminences. The circumstance of these hills exhibiting the appearance of a mountain, when viewed by the first settlers, from the comparatively low grounds of Charlestown, probably led, as is observed in the Picture of Boston, to their calling the peninsula *Tri-mountain;* and from this is derived *Tremont*, a name which has been bestowed upon one of the finest streets in the city, upon one of the best constructed and best regulated theatres, and upon one of the most celebrated public houses in the country. On the summit of Beacon Hill was anciently fixed a *beacon*, whence the eminence has its name. The design of it was, by igniting a barrel of tar on the top of it, to alarm the country in case of invasion. This beacon was prostrated by the wind in 1789. In the year following, there was erected on the same place, a plain column of the Doric order, raised on its proper pedestal, and substantially built of brick and stone. On each square of the column were inscriptions commemorative of the leading events of the American Revolution. Incrusted with cement, it had at the top a large wooden eagle, gilt, and supporting the American arms. The diameter of the column was four feet; the height, including the eagle, sixty feet: and the base was encompassed with rails, on the front of which were benches, for the accommodation of those who ascended the hill.

This monument was taken down in 1810, and the four slabs containing the inscriptions commemorative of the events of the Revolution, are now

to be seen in a recess of the State House, and the eagle is perched inside over the main entrance, or door in front. Beacon Hill was soon after leveled, and elegant houses now occupy the place of the 'beacon, column, and eagle.' A writer has remarked, that 'Boston is not less distinguished for her *three* hills, than Rome for her *seven*.'

The harbor of Boston extends from Nantasket to the city, and spreads from Chelsea and Nahant to Hingham, containing about seventy-five square miles. It is bespangled with upwards of a hundred islands and rocks, and receives the waters from the Mystic, Charles, Neponset, and Manatticut rivers, with several other small streams. The most noted islands are Governor's island, and Castle island: the former is known also by the name of Fort Warren, and the latter by that of Fort Independence. They lie about two and a half miles easterly from the city, dividing the inner from the outer harbor, about one mile distant from each other; and the only channel for large ships passes between them. Bell Isle is to the north of Boston, on the Chelsea coast, with which it is connected by a bridge. Deer island, about five miles east, and Long island about five and a half east by south, commands the outer harbor. Thompson and Spectacle islands lie south-easterly towards Squantum, and within the parallel of Long island. Rainsford or Hospital island is about one mile south-easterly from Long island. Gallop, George, and Lovel's islands lie east by south from seven to eight miles from Boston, and between Broad Sound and Nantasket road. Pethicks' island lies south of Hingham bay. The Light-house island, on which the light-house stands, lies south, sixty-nine degrees east, nine miles distant from the city. The Brewsters, Calf island, Greene island, &c., lie northerly from the light-house, forming a chain of islands, rocks, and ledges, for about three miles to the Graves rocks, between which no ships attempt to pass. These numerous, and irregularly formed and situated islands add not a little to the beautiful appearance of the bay; and many of them are much frequented by pleasure parties in the season of summer. The water of the harbor is so deep that more than five hundred ships of the largest class can safely ride at anchor in it; while, as Wood stated nearly two hundred years ago, the entrance is so narrow as scarcely two admit two ships abreast. Boston enjoys uncommon advantages for commerce. She possesses more vessels than any other city in the United States, except New York, the amount of her shipping being about 200,000 tons. The value of her yearly imports is about $15,000,000, and of her exports $10,000,000. The wharves and piers are numerous and extensive, provided with large and substantial stores and warehouses, and with every convenience for the mooring and securing of ships. Her intercourse with foreign ports as well as those of her own continent, is becoming every year more extended and profitable. 'Her merchants are princes,' and her mechanics and manufacturers are among the most enterprising, liberal, and public spirited of the land. The city exhibits a very picturesque and imposing view when approached from the ocean; and, as Moll informs us, 'for the beauty of its structures, and great trade, gives place to few in England.'

The common, containing fifty acres, is planted with upwards of five hundred trees, and is surrounded with a beautiful and substantial iron fence, the cost of which was 82,500 dollars.

The town was governed by nine selectmen, annually chosen by the peo-

ple till 1822, when it was incorporated into a city, and is now governed by a mayor, eight aldermen, and forty-eight common councilmen, elected by the citizens in the month of December of each year.

Boston is the seat of of several literary and scientific institutions, among which are the following. The Atheneum, with a library comprising 29,000 volumes of very valuable books, the Boston Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, Young Men's Association for the Promotion of Literature and Science, Boston Lyceum, Hanover Lyceum, Handel and Haydn Society, and Boston Academy of Music.

Boston has been called the 'literary emporium of the western world,' and perhaps justly, for it is a fact that a greater portion of men distinguished for acquisitions of this nature have arisen in this city and vicinity, than in any other part of the United States.

The means of diffusing education through all ranks of society, at the public expense, were early provided in Boston, as well as throughout the commonwealth of Massachusetts. This has always been done by means of public schools, which have been established by law for the instruction of the children of all classes of people, in the rudiments of useful knowledge. It has always been considered desirable that the whole population of the city should be thoroughly educated, in order that public affairs, being directed by public opinion, might be managed intelligently by the whole body of the people, that the public might avail themselves of the services of men of the greatest talents, and that the advantages which the community are enabled to offer to individuals might be equally accessible to the children of all classes.

In the public schools, the children of the rich, the middling classes, and the poor, meet together, and early learn that, though wealth has some peculiar advantages, it is not the only nor the most essential requisite for public favor, or for success in life; an important lesson which they would learn nowhere else. The primary schools for young children, the grammar and writing schools for those farther advanced, the English high school for boys who wish to acquire a thorough English education, including the mathematics and philosophy, and the Latin school for such as wish to acquire a knowledge of the learned languages, or prepare for a collegiate course, are open and free alike to all who have the requisite qualifications of age and acquirements, whatever may be their rank in life. The instructors in these schools are men of education and experience, and are well paid, and highly esteemed by their fellow citizens.

The number of Grammar and High schools is twenty-four, having in the aggregate about 10,000 scholars; and the primary schools, 188 in number, have about 8,000 scholars.

There always have been, and still are, a considerable number of private schools in the city, of various descriptions and grades, supported by individual subscriptions. Some of these are highly respectable, but it is not known that they offer advantages superior to the public free schools. The number of children and youth in constant attendance at the schools in Boston may be fairly estimated at 20,000.

An examination of the public schools takes place annually, on which occasion the principal officers of the city charged with the care of the schools, the instructors, distinguished pupils, and invited guests, partake of a public dinner. On one of these occasions a gentleman from Kentucky

gave as a toast, the following sentiment, perhaps not less just than complimentary. "Boston—the city of schools—and the school for cities."

The charitable, benevolent, and humane institutions, are the Asylum for the Blind, the Eye and Ear Infirmary, the Lying-in-Hospital, Provident Institution for Savings, Savings Bank for Seamen, Howard Benevolent Society, Female Orphan Asylum, Penitent Females' Refuge, Seamen's Friend Scociety, Seamen's Aid Society, Fatherless and Widow's Society, Children's Friend Society, Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, Asylum and Farm School for Indigent Boys, and various other societies and associations which dispense the charities of the benevolent with a liberal hand, and speak peace and comfort to the unfortunate and the afflicted.

Among the public buildings are the State House, City Hall, Court House, Jail, Faneuil Hall, Quincy Market, Hospital, Masonic Temple, House of Industry, and House of Reformation. There are about one hundred churches, viz., thirty-one for Congregationalists, eleven for Baptists, ten for Episcopalians, twelve for Methodists, six for Universalists, ten for Roman Catholics, besides some others for Free-Will Baptists, Christians, Friends, and Swedenborgians.

There were in July, 1851, thirty Banks established in the city of Boston with an aggregate capital of $22,900,000. Several others have since been chartered.

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY.

IN the year 1773, the British government, after a long series of efforts to establish the principle of taxation in the American Provinces, attempted to secure its object through the medium of the East India Company. There were then in the warehouses of that body upwards of seventeen million pounds of tea, in addition to which quantity, the importations of the current year were expected to be larger than usual. By an act of Parliament, which had been framed with a view to the circumstances of the period, the East India Company, on exportation of their superfluous teas to America, were to be allowed a drawback to the full amount of the English duties. The Company bound itself to pay the duty of three-pence per pound, which Parliament had laid on teas imported into the Colonies. In accordance with the act of Parliament, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury gave license for the exportation of six hundred thousand pounds of tea; which quantity was to be distributed to various ports along the American coast. So soon as the project became known, applications were made to the directors of the East India Company, by a number of merchants in the colonial trade, soliciting a share of what they conceived would be a very profitable business. Some recommended the establishment of a branch of the East India House in a central port of America, whence minor ramifications might be extended all over the continent. The plan finally adopted was, to bestow the agency on merchants of good repute in

the Colonies, who could give satisfactory security, or obtain the guaranty of London houses. Among these, Richard Clarke and sons, Benjamin Faneuil and Joshua Winslow, were appointed agents for the disposal of the tea in Boston.

The East India Company, and those who solicited or accepted an agency in this affair, considered it merely in a commercial light. They appear not to have understood or felt, that the Americans would object to the proposed measure, on the ground of abstract principle. Whatever doubt was entertained, respecting the profitable nature of the concern, arose from the fact, that large quantities of tea were smuggled from Holland, and might possibly be bought lower than the Company could afford to put their own, when burdened with the colonial duty. It was hoped, however, that the English exporters might be able to undersell the Dutch, even with the duties annexed, or at least to come so near their prices, that the difference would not compensate the risk of smuggling. But no sooner did the news reach the Colonies, than an opposition sprung up, on grounds which had nothing to do with the high or low price of the commodity. The people at once penetrated the design of the British ministry, and saw that, if successful, it would leave them without a plea against any extent of taxation that Parliament, might choose to inflict. In anticipation of the arrival of the tea-ships, public meetings were called at several sea-ports, resolutions were passed to prevent the landing of the cargoes, and the consignees were enjoined to refuse their agency in the disposal of them.

Boston, especially, which had always led their colonial defence against the ministerial aggressions, here again took a prominent part. Soon after the names of the agents were made known, Mr. Richard Clarke and his son were roused from sleep, in the dead of night, by a knocking at their door. Looking forth from their window, they saw in the courtyard, where the moon shone very bright, the figures of two men, one of whom told the consignees, that he had brought them a letter from the country. A servant received it from these midnight messengers. It proved to be a formal summons, in the name of the Freemen of Massachuetts, commanding Richard Clarke and son to appear at Liberty Tree, at high noon on the ensuing Wednesday, then and there to make public surrender of their trust, as agents for the disposal of the tea. A letter in the same terms was likewise delivered to each of the other consignees. The next morning, printed notifications were seen at all the corners and public places, calling on the Freemen of the Province to assemble at Liberty Tree, and witness the public resignation of the agents. At eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the appointed day, the bells of all the churches began to ring, and continued their peal for a full hour; while the town crier went from street to street, summoning the people to the place of meeting. A multitude accordingly assembled, among whom were the selectmen of the town. The consignees, however, shut themselves into one of their warehouses, and would neither obey the summons, nor give any satisfactory reply to a committee, who were sent to them from the Freemen at Liberty Tree. Various other meetings were held, and such a spirit manifested, as convinced the agents, that the patronage of the powerful East India Company ought by no means to have been solicited as a favor but rather deprecated as a calamity. They now wrote to London expressing their doubts whether the commission could be executed.

All these proceedings were anterior to the arrival of the tea. The first of the vessels entered the harbor of Boston on Sunday, the twenty-eighth of November, and was followed in the course of the same week, by two others. On the twenty-ninth, a meeting was convoked at Faneuil Hall, and adjourned on account of the overflowing multitude to the Old South Church, where the consignees were required to appear, and pledge themselves to send back the ships, without payment of the duties which had accrued by their entry at the port. These demands were not complied with. A committee appointed by the meeting took possession of the ships and moored them at Griffin's wharf, in charge of a volunteer watch, consisted of a captain and twenty-five men. If molested in the day time, they were to give notice by ringing the bells; if at night, by tolling them. Six persons were appointed to raise the surrounding country, in case the government should seek assistance from the troops at Castle William, or the vessels of war in the harbor. The meeting of Monday was continued by adjournment to Tuesday, the thirtieth, where Mr. Sheriff Greenleaf read a proclamation from the Governor, requiring the people to disperse, at their utmost peril. This produced no other effect than a general hiss. A pledge was exacted from Mr. Rotch, the owner of one or more of the vessels, that the tea should be returned to England in the same bottom in which it came. Mr. Rotch, after protesting against the people's proceedings, yielded to what he considered the necessity of the case, and gave the required promise. After the adjournment of this meeting, nothing of a decisive nature took place, till about the middle of the ensuing month. Mr. Rotch, who had been observed to be dilatory in his preparations for sending back the vessels, was then again summoned before a great assembly at the Old South Church, and enjoined forthwith to demand a clearance from the Collector of Customs. The result was to be communicated to the people the next day at ten o'clock, till which hour the meeting was adjourned. It was now necessary that prompt measures should be adopted, because, were the duties to remain unpaid beyond twenty days from the arrival of the ships, the Collector would be authorized to seize their cargoes.

At the appointed hour, on Thursday, the sixteenth of December, Mr. Rotch made his appearance at the Old South, and declared himself unable to obtain a clearance, until all the merchandise liable to duty should be landed. He was directed to enter a formal protest against the Collector of Customs, and then demand a passport from the Governor. To await the success of this latter application, the people adjourned till three o'clock of the same day.

At this crisis of our narrative, we may take a momentary glance at the various parties, whose feelings or interests were affected by the circumstances which we have related. The affair had now arrived at that point, where the whole weight of official responsibility was made to press upon Governor Hutchinson. His situation must have been a most irksome one. He was of course a loyalist, a partisan of the ministry in its most offensive measures, and had already suffered, as well as acted, in its behalf. But he was also a New England man, and possessed the sentiments proper to his birth. The tone of his writings proves him to have been deeply imbued with native patriotism, which, had he come to office in earlier times, when there was yet no conflict between the power of Britain and the rights of the Colonies, would have made him as good and just a ruler as New England ever had.

A writer of his country's annals, he must have shrunk from the idea, that future historians would portray him as one of those few colonial Britons, who had shown themselves more English than American. It was undoubtedly with inward trouble, that Governor Hutchinson made his choice between the will of his king and the interests of his country, and with painful reluctance that he hardened his heart to incur the whole odium of ministerial tyranny. His adherents were scarcely more at ease. The favorite Councillors, the officers under the Crown, the Judges, the tory gentlemen; all, in short, who seemed to have the power of the realm on their side, were now cowering beneath the acknowledged supremacy of the people. No advocate of despotism dared speak above his breath; none but the aristocratic dames, who, sipping a decoction of the forbidden herb from diminutive china cups, and snuffing up its exquisite fragrance, declaimed more bitterly against the disloyal mob, with every snuff and every sip.

In estimating the situation of the provincial metropolis, we must not forget the military and naval force, which was as completely at the Governor's command, as if the armed ships had been moored within pistol-shot of Griffin's wharf, and the troops quartered in the churches, or their tents pitched upon the Common. The officers and men, feeling no interest in the country which they were sent to overawe, would smile at the rising tumult of affairs, and nourish, perhaps, an idle hope, that the audacity of the people might not be quelled without the glitter of bayonets in the streets, and at least a volley over their heads. Looking downward from their vessels and the ramparts of Castle William, they ridiculed alike the menaces of the mob, and the imbecility of the Governor for not crushing the sedition with a word and a blow.

We cannot better describe the circumstances of the people, than by resuming our narrative from the point at which we left it. The Freemen of Massachusetts, in public assembly, at the Old South, were awaiting the arrival of Mr. Rotch, with the Governor's ultimate decision on their demands. Would that we might picture them, as if we leaned from the gallery of the sacred edifice, looking down upon a dense mass of visages, old and young, all expressive of the stern determination which made but one heart throughout that great multitude! Perhaps, standing so much nearer to our Puritan forefathers than we do, they had a more imposing mien than their descendants will ever wear. The old original spirit was potent within them. Had it been otherwise, they could not, for a series of years, have braved the threats, and been neither depressed or maddened by the injustice of Britain, and at length been forced into an attitude of defiance by the efforts of her strong arm to bend them upon their knees. In that attitude—not upon their knees, but offering a bold front to the oppressor—we find them now.

Mr. Rotch had been directed to reäppear before the assembly at three o'clock. At that hour, the people had again met, expecting the Governor's reply. If favorable, it would have given a truce to the Colonial troubles. On the other hand, there was probably a general understanding, that, should their demands be negatived, the Freemen were to enforce their will by some immediate act. Wild spirits were among them, doubtless, whom one inflammatory word of their leaders might have excited to burn the vessels at the wharf. But it was the noble characteristic of all the movements of our forefathers, by which they wrought out our freedom, that,

possessing the energy of popular action, they yet secured the result of sage and deliberate councils. The will of the wisest among the people was universally diffused, and became the people's will. There was an example of this truth, even on the verge of the meditated act of violence. As the afternoon declined, and the early December evening began to shed its gloom within the meeting-house, there were murmurs at the delay of Mr. Rotch, who had already long exceeded the time allotted for his absence. The leading men restrained the impatience of the people, by representing the propriety of doing all in their power to send back the tea to England, nor proceeding to a more violent measure, till it should undeniably be the sole alternative. Light being brought, an address from Josiah Quincy filled up the interval of a third hour. At last, after a course of patient determination, which, had it been rightly interpreted, might alone have taught the ministry to despair of subduing such a people, there went a whisper that Mr. Rotch was crossing the threshold. It was a moment of breathless interest. Would the Governor yield? Then might the British king have had one other loyal shout from his New England subjects, such as greeted his ancestors of the Hanover line, when it was proclaimed in Boston, that they had elbowed the Stuarts from their throne!

But that huzza was never to be heard again—"Long live King George" was a cry of departed years—no echo there would answer it. Mr. Rotch announced, as Governor Hutchinson's ultimate reply, that, for the honor of the king, the vessels would not be permitted to leave the port, without a regular settlement of the Custom-house dues.

It was a singular proof of the just estimation in which Mr. Rotch held this assembly, that he dared to appear in the midst of it, with so utter and decisive a negative to its demands. Nothing of injury or insult was offered him. But the dead hush that pervaded the multitude after hearing the Governor's resolve, was suddenly broken by what seemed an Indian war-cry from the gallery. Thitherward all raised their eyes, and perceived a figure in the garb of the old forest chiefs, who had not then been so long banished from their ancient haunts, but that a solitary survivor might have found his way into the church. The signal shout was immediately responded to by twenty voices in the street. That loud, wild cry of a departed race must have pealed ominously in the ears of the ministerial party, as if the unnatural calmness of the mob were at length flung away, and savage violence were now to rush madly through the town. By the people, such a signal appears to have been expected. No sooner was it given, than they sallied forth, and made their way towards the tea-ships with continually increasing numbers, so that the wharves were blackened with the multitude.

Already, when the crowd reached the spot, a score of Indian figures were at work aboard the vessels, heaving up the tea-chests from the holds, tearing off the lids, and scattering their precious contents on the tide. But it was the people's deed; they had all a part in it; for they kept watch while their champions wrought, and presented an impenetrable bulwark against disturbance on the landward side. Three hours were thus employed, under the batteries of the armed vessels, and within cannon-shot of Castle William without so much as a finger lifted in opposition. In this passive acquiescence, the government chose the wisest part. Had the troops been landed, the green at Lexington would not have been hallowed with the first blood of the Revolution; and perhaps another royal Governor might have

been sent to prison, by the same law of the people's will that imposed such a sentence on Sir Edmund Andros.

Thus were the tea-ships emptied. Their rich cargoes floated to and fro upon the tide, or lay mingled with the sea-weed at the bottom of the harbor. Having done their work, the Indian figures vanished, and the crowd, with a thrill, as if ghosts had walked among them, asked whither they had gone, and who those bold men were. The generations that have followed since this famous deed was done, have still asked who they were, and had no answer. Perhaps it is better that it should be so — that the actors in the scene should sleep without their fame—or gilde dimly through a tale of wild, romantic mystery. We will not strive to wipe away the war-paint, nor remove the Indian robe and feathery crest, and show what features of the Renowned were hid beneath—what shapes were in that garb, of men who afterwards rode leaders in the battle-field — or became the people's chosen rulers, when Britain had sullenly left our land to its freedom. But, of those whom the world calls illustrious, there are few whose marble monuments bear such a proud inscription, as would the humblest grave-stone, with only this simple legend under the dead man's name —HE WAS OF THE BOSTON TEA-PARTY!

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

JULY 4TH, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, 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, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are

accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:—

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise—the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states—for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws—giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the *forms* of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts, by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, 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 connexion 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 to 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.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.
SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

RHODE ISLAND.
STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

CONNECTICUT.
ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

NEW YORK.
WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

NEW JERSEY.
RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

PENNSYLVANIA.
ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

DELAWARE.
CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

MARYLAND.
SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton

VIRGINIA.
GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JR.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

NORTH CAROLINA
WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.,
THOMAS LYNCH, JR.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON

GEORGIA.
BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, DELEGATES OF THE STATES AFFIXED TO OUR NAMES, SEND GREETING.

WHEREAS, the delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled did, on the fifteenth day of November, in year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, and in the second year of the independence of America, agree to certain articles of confederation and perpetual union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, in the words following, viz:

Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

ARTICLE 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ART. 2. Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ART. 3. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ART. 4. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these States—paupers, vagabonds and fugitives from justice, excepted—shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided, also, that no imposition, duties or restriction, shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ART. 5. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emoluments of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ART. 6. No State, without the consent of the United States, in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance or treaty with any king,

prince or State; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel-of-war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels-of-war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or State, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels-of-war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ART. 7. When land forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of, or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ART. 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ART. 9. The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances; provided, that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given, by order of Congress, to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties, by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they can not agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination; and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the Secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence, and other proceedings, being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the

acts of Congress, for the security of the parties concerned; provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward;" provided also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil, claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdiction, as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants, or either of them, being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the States; provided, that the legislative right of any State within its own limits, be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating post offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever, in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "a committee of the States," and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States, under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the Legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of

circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the Legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number can not safely be spared out of the same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels-of-war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months; and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secresy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on any question, shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the Legislatures of the several States.

ART. 10. The committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall from time to time think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

ART. 11. Canada, acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ART. 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ART. 13. Every State shall abide by the decision of the United States

in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the Legislature of every State.

And whereas it has pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the Legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual union: *know ye*, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained; and we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by the said confederation, are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent; and that the Union be perpetual.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands, in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
JOSIAH BARTLETT,
JOHN WENTWORTH, JR.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.
JOHN HANCOCK,
SAMUEL ADAMS,
ELBRIDGE GERRY,
FRANCIS DANA,
JAMES LOVELL,
SAMUEL HOLTEN.

RHODE ISLAND.
WILLIAM ELLERY,
HENRY MARCHANT,
JOHN COLLINS.

CONNECTICUT.
ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
OLIVER WOLCOTT,
TITUS HOSMER,
ANDREW ADAMS.

NEW YORK.
JAMES DUANE,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
WILLIAM DUER,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

NEW JERSEY.
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
NATH. SCUDDER.

PENNSYLVANIA.
ROBERT MORRIS,
DANIEL ROBERDEAU,
JONATHAN BAYARD SMITH,
WILLIAM CLINGAN,
JOSEPH REED.

DELAWARE.
THOMAS M'KEAN,
JOHN DICKINSON,
NICHOLAS VAN DYKE.

MARYLAND.
JOHN HANSON,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
JOHN BANISTER,
THOMAS ADAMS,
JOHN HARVIE,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

NORTH CAROLINA.
JOHN PENN,
CONSTABLE HARNETT,
JOHN WILLIAMS.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
HENRY LAURENS,
WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON
JOHN MATTHEWS,
RICHARD HUTSON,
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.

GEORGIA.
JOHN WALTON,
EDWARD TELFAIR,
EDWARD LANGWORTHY

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,

COPIED FROM, AND COMPARED WITH, THE ROLL IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

WE the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SEC. 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro

tempore, in the absence of the vice president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SEC. 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secresy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SEC. 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SEC. 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war in time of peace, enter into any agree-

ment or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SEC. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice president, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability both of the president and vice president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

SEC. 2. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such infe-

rior officers as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. 4. The president, vice president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SEC. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states; and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SEC. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. 3. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SEC. 4. The United States shall guaranty to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature can not be convened,) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEO. WASHINGTON,
President, and deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.
NATHANIEL GORMAN,
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT.
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATTERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS,

DELAWARE.
GEORGE READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND.
JAMES M'HENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THO. JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.
JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.
WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
JOHN RUTLEGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.
WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ART. 1. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ART. 2. A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ART. 3. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ART. 4. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported

by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ART. 5. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ART. 6. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ART. 7. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ART. 8. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ART. 9. The enumeration in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ART. 10. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ART. 11. The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ART. 12. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice president; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for president, shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the vote shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this

purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice president, shall be the vice president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice president; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president, shall be eligible to that of vice president of the United States.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

THE family of Washington, in Virginia, is descended from English ancestors, who were anciently established at Turtfield and Warton, in Lancashire, from a branch of whom came Sir William Washington, of Leicestershire, eldest son and heir of Lawrence Washington, Esq., of Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire. Sir William had, besides other younger brothers, two, named John and Lawrence, who emigrated to Virginia in 1657, and settled at Bridge's creek on the Potomac river, in the county of Westmoreland. John, the father of Lawrence Washington, died in 1697, leaving two sons, John and Augustine. Augustine died in 1743, at the age of forty-nine, leaving several sons by his two marriages. George, the president, was the eldest by his second wife, Mary Ball, and was born at Bridge's creek, on the 22d (or 11th, old style) of February, 1732.

Each of the sons of Augustine Washington inherited from him a separate plantation. To the eldest, Lawrence, he bequeathed the estate on the Potomac river, afterward called Mount Vernon, which then consisted of twenty-five hundred acres, and also other lands and property. The second son, Augustine, received an estate in Westmoreland. To George were left the lands and mansion where his father lived at the time of his decease, situated in Stafford county, on the east side of the Rappahannock river, opposite Fredericksburg; and to each of the other four sons an estate of six or seven hundred acres. The youngest daughter died in infancy, and for the only remaining one a suitable provision was made in the will. Thus it will be seen that Augustine Washington left all his children in a state of comparative independence. His occupation had been that of a planter, and the large estates he was enabled to leave his family had been acquired chiefly by his own industry and enterprise.

Left a widow, with the charge of five young children, the eldest of whom was eleven years of age, Mrs. Washington, the mother of George,

exhibited her resources of mind in the superintendence of their education, and the management of the complicated affairs of her deceased husband, who by his will had directed that the proceeds of all the property of her children should be at her disposal until they should respectively come of age. This excellent woman had the happiness to see all her children come forward with a fair promise into life, filling the sphere allotted to them with equal honor to themselves and to the parent who had been the only guide of their principles, conduct and habits. She lived to witness the noble career of her eldest son, till he was raised to the head of a nation, and applauded and revered by the world. Her death took place at the age of eighty-two, at her residence in Fredericksburg, Virginia, August 25, 1789.

Under the colonial governments, particularly in those of the south, the means of education were limited. Those young men who were destined for the learned professions were occasionally sent to England, when their parents were sufficiently wealthy to bear the expenses; while the planters generally were satisfied with such a home education for their sons as would fit them for the duties of practical life by means of a private tutor, or a teacher of the common schools then in existence. The simplest elements of knowledge only, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and keeping accounts, were taught at schools of this description, to one of which George Washington was sent, and to such slender advantages was he indebted for all the aids his mind received in his juvenile years.

While at school he was noted for an inquisitive, docile and diligent disposition, but displaying military propensities and passion for active sports. He formed his playmates into companies, who paraded, marched, and fought mimic battles, in which he was always the commander of one of the parties. He had also a fondness for running, jumping, wrestling, and other active sports and feats of agility.

His early proficiency in some branches of study is shown by his manuscript schoolbooks, which, from the time he was thirteen years old, have been preserved. These books begin with geometry, and he had already become familiar with arithmetic in the most difficult parts. Many pages of the manuscript in question are filled with what he calls *Forms of writing*, such as notes of hand, bills of exchange, bonds, land-warrants, leases, deeds, and wills, written out with care, and in a clerk's hand. Then follow selections in poetry of a moral and religious cast, and *Rules of Behavior in Company and Conversation*, which code of rules it is believed had an influence upon his whole life. Of an ardent temperament and strong passions, it was his constant effort and ultimate triumph, through the varied scenes of his eventful life, to check the one and subdue the other. His intercourse with men, private and public, in every walk and station, was marked with a consistency, a fitness to occasions, a dignity, decorum, condescension, and mildness, which were at once the dictates of his own good sense and judgment, and the fruits of unwearied discipline.

The last two years which he passed at school were devoted to the study of geometry, trigonometry, and surveying, for which he had a decided partiality. He thus qualified himself for his subsequent profession as a surveyor, in the practice of which he had an opportunity of acquiring information respecting vacant lands, and of forming those opinions concerning their future value, which afterward greatly contributed to increase

his private fortune. Except the above branches of the mathematics, his acquirements did not extend beyond the subjects usually taught to boys of his age at the common schools. It is even doubtful whether he received any instructions in the principles of language. By practice, reading and study in after-life, he gradually overcame his early defects in composition, till at length he wrote with accuracy, purity of idiom, and a striking appropriateness of phraseology and clearness of style. No aid was derived from any other than his native tongue. He never even commenced the study of the ancient classics. While in the army, after the French officers had joined the Americans, he bestowed some attention on the French language, but at no time could he write or converse in it, or indeed translate any paper.

In the year 1746, while he was yet at school, a midshipman's warrant was obtained for him in the British army, by his eldest brother, Lawrence, who had been an officer in the British service, and served at the siege of Carthagena and in the West Indies. George, who was then fourteen years of age, was desirous thus early of embracing the opportunity presented for a naval life, but the interference of an affectionate mother deferred the commencement and changed the course of his military career.

Soon after leaving school, in his sixteenth year, he went to reside with his brother Lawrence, at his seat on the Potomac river, which had been called Mount Vernon, in compliment to the admiral of that name. The winter passed in the study of mathematics and in the exercise of practical surveying. At this time he was introduced to Lord Fairfax, and other members of the Fairfax family, established in that part of Virginia. With this family his brother Lawrence was connected by marriage, and to his intimate acquaintance with them was George Washington mainly indebted for the opportunities of performing those acts which laid the foundation of his subsequent success and advancement.

Lord Fairfax was possessed of large tracts of wild lands in the valleys of the Alleghany mountains, which had not been surveyed; and so favorable an opinion had he formed of the abilities and attainments of young Washington, that he intrusted to him the responsible service of surveying and laying out the lands in question. He set off on this surveying expedition soon after he had attained his sixteenth year, accompanied by George Fairfax, a young man who was a relative of Lord Fairfax. The enterprise was arduous, and attended with privations and fatigues, but the task was executed in such a manner as to give satisfaction to his employer, and establish his reputation as a surveyor. Having received a commission or appointment as a public surveyor, he devoted three years to this pursuit, which at that time was lucrative and important.

At the age of nineteen he was appointed one of the adjutant-generals of Virginia, with the rank of major. His military propensities had increased with his years, and he prepared himself by the study of books on the military art and by the manual exercise, for the life of a soldier. But he had scarcely engaged in this service, when he was called upon to accompany his brother Lawrence on a voyage to the West Indies for his health. They sailed for Barbadoes in September, 1751, and soon after landing on that island, George was seized with the smallpox. The disease was severe, but with good medical attendance he was able to go abroad in three weeks. Leaving his brother Lawrence to embark for Bermuda, he

returned to Virginia in February, having been absent over four months. His brother soon followed him, without recovering his health, and died the following summer. Large estates were left by the deceased brother to the care and management of George, who was appointed one of the executors, with a contingent interest in the estate of Mount Vernon and other lands. But his private employments did not prevent his attention to his public duties as adjutant-general, the sphere of which office was enlarged by new arrangements.

The plan formed by France for connecting her extensive dominions in America, by uniting Canada with Louisiana, now began to develop itself. Possession was taken by the French of a tract of country then deemed to be within the province of Virginia, and a line of posts was commenced from Canada to the Ohio river. The attention of Lieutenant Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, was attracted by these movements, and he deemed it his duty to send a messenger to the French officers to demand, in the name of the king of Great Britain, that they should desist from the prosecution of designs which violated, as he thought, the treaties between the two crowns. Washington, at his own desire, was selected for this hazardous enterprise, and he engaged in it with alacrity, commencing his journey the day on which he was commissioned, in October, 1753. His course was through a dreary wilderness, inhabited for the most part only by Indians, many of whom were hostile to the English. Conducted by guides over the Alleghany mountains, he suffered many hardships, and experienced many narrow escapes, but succeeded in reaching the French forts on the Alleghany branches of the Ohio. After delivering the lieutenant governor's letter to St. Pierre, the French commanding officer, and receiving an answer, he returned, with infinite fatigue, and much danger from the hostile Indians, to Williamsburg. The manner in which he performed his duty on this occasion raised him much in public opinion, as well as in that of the lieutenant governor. His journal, which extended to sixty days, was published by authority, and laid the foundation of Washington's fame, as it gave strong evidence of his sagacity, fortitude and sound judgment.

As the French commandant on the Ohio showed no disposition, in his answer sent by Washington, to withdraw his forces from that country, the assembly of Virginia determined to authorize the governor and council to raise a regiment of three hundred men, to be sent to the frontier, for the purpose of maintaining the rights of Great Britain to the territory invaded by the French. The command of this regiment was given to Colonel Fry. Major Washington was appointed lieutenant colonel, and obtained permission to march with two companies in advance of the other troops to the Great Meadows. In a dark rainy night, May 28, 1754, Colonel Washington surrounded and surprised a detachment of the French troops, a few miles west of the Great Meadows. The Americans fired about daybreak upon the French, who immediately surrendered. One man only escaped, and the commanding officer of the party, M. de Jumonville, and ten of his men, were killed. Being soon after joined by the residue of the regiment, also by two companies of regulars, and Colonel Fry having died, the command devolved on Colonel Washington. This body of men, numbering less than four hundred, were, in the following month of July, attacked by about fifteen hundred French and Indians, at Fort Necessity, situated at

the Great Meadows, and after a contest which lasted a whole day, the French offered terms of capitulation, and articles were signed, by which the fort was surrendered, and the garrison allowed the honors of war, and permitted to return unmolested into the inhabited parts of Virginia. Great credit was given to Colonel Washington by his countrymen, for the courage displayed on this occasion, and the legislature were so satisfied with the conduct of the party as to vote their thanks to him and the officers under his command. They also ordered three hundred pistoles to be distributed among the soldiers, as a reward for their bravery.

Soon after this campaign, Washington retired from the militia service, in consequence of an order from the war department in England, which put those of the same military rank in the royal army over the heads of those in the provincial forces. This order created great dissatisfaction in the colonies, and Washington, while refusing to submit to the degradation required, declared that he would serve with pleasure when he should be enabled to do so without dishonor.

The unfortunate expedition of General Braddock followed in 1755. The general, being informed of the merit of Washington, invited him to enter into his family as a volunteer and aid-de-camp. This invitation Colonel Washington accepted, as he was desirous to make one campaign under an officer supposed to possess some knowledge in the art of war. The disastrous result of Braddock's expedition is well known. In the battle of the Monongahela, in which General Braddock was killed, Washington had two horses shot under him, and four balls passed through his coat, as his duty and situation exposed him to every danger. Such was the general confidence in his talents, that he may be said to have conducted the retreat.

Soon after his return to his home at Mount Vernon, Colonel Washington was appointed by the legislature of the colony, commander-in-chief of all the forces raised and to be raised in Virginia, which appointment he accepted, and for about three years devoted his time to recruiting and organizing troops for the defence of the colony. In the course of his duties in this service, he had occasion to visit Boston on business with General Shirley, who was then the British commander-in-chief in America. This journey of five hundred miles, Washington, accompanied by his aid and another officer, performed on horseback in the winter of 1756. He stopped several days in the principal cities on the route, where his military character and services in the late campaign procured for him much notice.

While in New York he was entertained at the house of Mr. Beverly Robinson, between whom and himself an intimacy subsisted till it was broken off by their opposite fortune twenty years afterward in the revolution. The sister of Mrs. Robinson, Miss Mary Phillips, was an inmate of the family, and being a young lady of rare accomplishments, her charms made a deep impression upon the heart of the Virginia colonel. He imparted his secret to a confidential friend whose letters kept him informed of every important event He soon learned that a rival was in the field, and was advised to renew his visits; but he never saw the lady again, till she was married to that same rival, Captain Morris, his former associate in arms, and one of Braddock's aids-de-camp.

In 1758 Colonel Washington commanded an expedition to Fort Du Quesne, which terminated successfully, and the French retired from the

western frontier. By gaining possession of the Ohio the great object of the war in the middle colonies was accomplished, and having abandoned the idea he had entertained of making an attempt to be united to the British establishment, he resigned his commission in the colonial service, in December, 1758, after having been actively engaged in the service of his country more than five years.

Having paid his addresses successfully the preceding year to Mrs. Martha Custis, Colonel Washington was married to that lady on the sixth of January, 1759. She was three months younger than himself, and was the widow of John Parke Custis, and daughter of John Dandridge. Distinguished alike for her beauty, accomplishments and wealth, she was possessed also of those qualities which adorn the female character, and contribute to render domestic life attractive and happy. Mr. Custis, her first husband, had left large landed estates, and forty-five thousand pounds sterling in money. One-third of this property his widow held in her own right, the other two-thirds being equally divided between her, a son and daughter—the former six years old, the latter four, at the time of her second marriage.

An accession of more than one hundred thousand dollars was made to Colonel Washington's fortune by this marriage, in addition to what he already possessed in the estate of Mount Vernon, and other lands which he had selected during his surveying expeditions, and obtained at different times. His extensive private affairs now required his constant attention. He was also guardian to the two children of Mrs. Washington, and this trust he discharged with all the care of a father, till the son became of age, and the daughter died in her nineteenth year. This union was in every respect felicitous, and continued forty years—the lady surviving her distinguished husband only about eighteen months. To her intimate acquaintances, and to the nation, the character of Mrs. Washington was ever a theme of praise. Affable, courteous and charitable, exemplary in her deportment, unostentatious and without vanity, she was much esteemed in private life, and filled with dignity every station in which she was placed.

To the delightful retreat of Mount Vernon, the late commander of the Virginia forces, released from the cares of a military life, and in possession of everything that could make life agreeable, withdrew, three months after his marriage, and gave himself up to domestic pursuits. These were conducted with so much judgment, steadiness and industry, as greatly to enlarge and improve his estate. He had a great fondness for agricultural pursuits, and in all the scenes of his public career, there was no subject upon which his mind dwelt with so lively an interest as on that of agriculture. The staple product of Virginia, particularly in the lower counties, was tobacco, to the culture of which Washington chiefly directed his care. This he exported to England for a market, importing thence, as was then the practice of the Virginia planters, implements of agriculture, wearing apparel, and most other articles of common family use. For the study of English literature he had a decided taste, and his name is frequently to be found as subscriber to such works as were published in the colonies.

The enjoyments of private life at Mount Vernon, and the exercise of a generous hospitality at that mansion, continued uninterrupted for a period of about fifteen years, with the exception of his absence from home during

the session of the Virginia legislature, to the house of burgesses of which colony Washington was first elected a representative from the county of Frederic, during his last military campaign, without his personal solicitation or influence. He took his seat in that body at Williamsburg, in 1759, and from that time till the beginning of the revolution, a period of fifteen years, he was constantly a member of the house of burgesses, being returned by a majority of votes at every election. For seven years he represented, jointly with another delegate, the county of Frederic, and afterward the county of Fairfax, in which he resided. There were commonly two sessions in a year, and sometimes three. He gave his attendance punctually, and from the beginning to the end of almost every session.

His influence in public bodies was produced more by the soundness of his judgment, his quick perceptions, and his directness and sincerity, than by eloquence or art. He seldom spoke, never harangued, and it is not known that he ever made a set speech, or entered into a stormy debate. But his attention was at all times awake, and he was ever ready to act with decision and firmness. His practice may be inferred by the following counsel. In a letter to a nephew, who had been chosen and taken his seat as a member of the assembly, he says: "The only advice I will offer, if you have a mind to command the attention of the house, is to speak seldom, but on important subjects, except such as properly relate to your constituents, and in the former case make yourself perfectly master of the subject. Never exceed a decent warmth, and submit your sentiments with diffidence. A dictatorial style, though it may carry conviction, is always accompanied with disgust."

In the Virginia legislature Washington acquitted himself with reputation, and gained no inconsiderable knowledge of the science of civil government. During this period the clashing claims of Great Britain and her colonies were frequently brought before the colonial assembly. In every instance he took a decided part in the opposition made to the principle of taxation claimed by the mother country, and went heart and hand with Henry, Randolph, Lee, Wythe, and the other prominent leaders of the time. His disapprobation of the stamp act was expressed in unqualified terms. He spoke of it in a letter written at the time, as an "unconstitutional method of taxation," and "a direful attack on the liberties of the colonists." And subsequently he said: "The repeal of the stamp act, to whatever cause owing, ought much to be rejoiced at. All, therefore, who were instrumental in procuring the repeal, are entitled to the thanks of every British subject, and have mine cordially." He was present in the Virginia legislature when Patrick Henry offered his celebrated resolutions on this subject, and from his well known sentiments expressed on other occasions, it is presumed that Washington concurred with the patriotic party which supported these early movements in favor of colonial rights and liberties.

In the subsequent acts of the people of the colonies in resisting the claims and aggressions of the British government, Washington cordially sympathized, and approved of the most decisive measures proposed in opposition, particularly of the agreements not to import goods from Great Britain. "The northern colonies," he remarks in a letter to George Mason, "it appears, are endeavoring to adopt this scheme. In my opinion, it is a good one, and must be attended with salutary effects, provided

it can be carried pretty generally into execution." In these sentiments Mr. Mason concurred, and with a view to bring about a concert of action between Virginia and the northern colonies, he drew up a series of articles in the form of an association. The house of burgesses met in May, 1769, and as Mr. Mason was not a member, Washington took charge of the non-importation agreement paper, which, on being presented by him, after the dissolution of the assembly, was unanimously adopted by the members, who assembled in a body at a private house. Every member subscribed his name to it, and it was then printed and distributed in the country for the signatures of the people. Washington was scrupulous in observing this agreement, enjoining his correspondents in London to send him none of the articles enumerated in the agreement of association, unless the offensive acts of parliament should be repealed.

In the autumn of 1770, Washington, accompanied by a friend, visited the western lands of Virginia on the Ohio river, for the purpose of selecting tracts awarded to the officers and soldiers for their services in the French war. Proceeding to Pittsburgh on horseback, he there embarked in a canoe, and descended the Ohio river to the Great Kenhawa, a distance of 265 miles. After examining the lands on the latter river, and making selections, he returned up the Ohio and thence to Mount Vernon.

The Virginia assembly, which had been prorogued by the governor, Lord Dunmore, from time to time, until March, 1773, is distinguished as having brought forward the resolves instituting a committee of correspondence, and recommending the same to the legislatures of the other colonies; Washington was present and gave his support to those resolves. At the next session, which took place in May, 1774, the assembly adopted still more decisive measures. The news having reached Williamsburg at the commencement of the session, of the passage of the act of the British Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston, the sympathy and patriotic feelings of the burgesses were strongly excited, and they forthwith passed an order deprecating such a procedure, and setting apart the first of June to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer to implore the Divine interposition in behalf of the colonies. The governor thereupon dissolved the house the next morning.

The delegates, eighty-nine in number, immediately repaired to the Raleigh tavern, organized themselves into a committee, and drew up and signed an association, among other matters advising the committee of correspondence to communicate with the committees of the other colonies, on the expediency of adopting deputies to meet in a general correspondence. Although the idea of a congress had been suggested by Doctor Franklin the year before, and proposed by town meetings at Providence, (Rhode Island) Boston, and New York, yet this was the first public assembly by which it was formally recommended.

Twenty-five of the Virginia delegates, who had remained in Williamsburg, among whom was Washington, met on the twenty-ninth of May, and issued a circular letter to the people of Virginia, recommending a meeting of deputies from the several counties at Williamsburg, on the first of August, for the purpose of a more full and deliberate discussion. Meetings were accordingly held in the several counties, resolutions were adopted, and delegates appointed to the proposed convention. In Fairfax county, Washington presided as chairman, and was one of a committee to prepare

a series of resolves, expressive of the sense of the people. These resolves are twenty-four in number, and were drawn by George Mason; they constitute an able and luminous exposition of the points at issue between Great Britain and the colonies. They are of special interest as containing the opinions of Washington at a critical time, when he was soon to be raised by his countrymen to a station of the highest trust and responsibility.

In a letter to his friend Bryan Fairfax, dated July 20, 1774, Washington writes as follows:

"Satisfied, then, that the acts of the British Parliament are no longer governed by the principles of justice, that they are trampling upon the valuable rights of Americans, confirmed to them by charter and by the constitution they themselves boast of, and convinced beyond the smallest doubt, that these measures are the result of deliberation, and attempted to be carried into execution by the hand of power, is it a time to trifle, or risk our cause upon petitions, which with difficulty obtain access, and afterward are thrown by with the utmost contempt? Or should we, because heretofore unsuspicious of design, and then unwilling to enter into disputes with the mother-country, go on to bear more, and forbear to enumerate our just causes of complaint? For my own part, I shall not undertake to say where the line between Great Britain and the colonies should be drawn; but I am clearly of opinion that one ought to be drawn, and our rights clearly ascertained. I could wish, I own, that the dispute had been left to posterity to determine, but the crisis is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition that can be heaped upon us, till custom and use shall make us tame and abject slaves."

One of the principal acts of the Virginia convention, which met at Williamsburg on the first of August, 1774, of which body Washington was a member, was to adopt a new association, whose objects were resistance to parliamentary aggressions, by non-intercourse with Great Britain. The convention appointed Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, and Edmund Pendleton, delegates to the first continental Congress, which met at Philadelphia on the fifth of September. Two of Washington's associates, Mr. Henry and Mr. Pendleton, stopped on their way at Mount Vernon, whence they all pursued their journey together, and were present at the opening of the Congress. As the debates of that distinguished assembly were never made public, the part performed by each individual cannot now be known. In its transactions, however, Washington took an active part, and Mr. Wirt, in his life of Patrick Henry, relates an anecdote which shows in what estimation he was held by his associate members of Congress. Soon after Patrick Henry returned home, being asked whom he thought the greatest man in Congress, he replied: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

Replying to a letter from his friend, Captain Mackenzie of the British army, then stationed at Boston, in which that officer spoke of the rebellious conduct of the Bostonians, their military preparations, and their secret aim at independence, Washington wrote, while attending the Congress, giving his sentiments and views on the state of public affairs. The following are extracts:

"Although you are taught to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious, setting up for independence, and what not, give me leave, my good friend, to tell you that you are abused, grossly abused. Give me leave to add, and I think I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence; but this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of every free state, and without which, life, liberty, and property, are rendered totally insecure.

"Again, 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 yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America, and such a vital wound will be given to the peace of this great country, as time itself cannot cure, or eradicate the remembrance of."

What is here said of independence is confirmed by the address of the first Congress to the people of Great Britain. "You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies." That such were at this time the sentiments of the leaders in America, there can be no reasonable doubt; being accordant with all their public acts and private declarations.

It is not easy to determine at what precise date the idea of independence was first entertained by the principal persons in America. The spirit and form of their institutions led the colonists frequently to act as an independent people, and to set up high claims in regard to their rights and privileges; but there is no sufficient evidence to prove that any province, or any number of prominent individuals, entertained serious thoughts of separating entirely from the mother country, till very near the actual commencement of the war of the revolution.

While Washington and his principal coadjutors had no confidence in the success of petitions to the king and parliament, and looked forward to the probable appeal to arms, they were still without any other anticipations than by a resolute vindication of their rights to effect a change in the conduct and policy of the British government, and restore the colonies to their former condition.

On returning from Congress to his farm, Colonel Washington was soon interrupted in his private occupations by the calls of his fellow citizens of Virginia, to assist in organizing military companies for the defense of the colony, and to prepare for the approaching contest with Great Britain. He was consulted as the first military character in Virginia, and it seemed to be the expectation of the people that in the event of a war he would be placed in command of the Virginia forces. Being solicited to act as field officer in an independent company, he wrote to his brother as follows: "I shall very cheerfully accept the honor of commanding it, if occasion require it to be drawn out, as it is my full intention to devote my life and fortune in the cause we are engaged in, if needful."

Washington was a delegate to the second Virginia convention, which met at Richmond on the 20th of March, 1775, and approved of the proceedings of the continental Congress of 1774. A committee, of which

Washington was a member, was appointed, on motion of Patrick Henry, and reported a plan of defense, by embodying, arming, and disciplining the militia. He was also on a committee to devise a plan for the encouragement of domestic arts and manufactures. The people were advised to form societies for that purpose, and the members of the convention agreed that they would use home manufactures in preference to any others, themselves. The former delegates were again chosen by the convention to represent Virginia in the next continental Congress, and Washington with his colleagues repaired to Philadelphia, where that body assembled on the 10th of May, 1775.

Hostilities having commenced between Great Britain and the colonies, Congress first proceeded to consider the state of the country and to provide for defense. The military fame and reputation of Washington were universally acknowledged by his countrymen and duly appreciated by his associates in the national councils. He was appointed chairman of the various committees charged with the duty of making arrangements for defense, including the devising of ways and means, making estimates, and preparing rules and regulations for the government of the army. The forces under the direction of Congress were, on motion of John Adams, called "the continental army."

The selection of a commander-in-chief of the American armies was a task of great delicacy and difficulty. There were several older officers than Colonel Washington, of experience and reputation, who had claims for the appointment, but it was considered good policy to make the selection from Virginia, and all acknowledged the military accomplishments and other superior qualifications of Washington. The New England delegates were among the foremost to propose and the most zealous to promote the appointment of Colonel Washington. John Adams, one of the Massachusetts delegates, on moving that the army then besieging the British troops in Boston should be adopted by Congress as a continental army, said it was his intention to propose for the office of commander-in-chief a gentleman from Virginia, who was at that time a member of their own body. When the day for the appointment arrived, (the fifteenth of June, 1775,) the nomination was made by Mr. Thomas Johnson of Maryland. The choice was by ballot, and Colonel Washington was unanimously elected. As soon as the result was ascertained, the house adjourned. On the convening of Congress the next morning, the president communicated to him officially the notice of his appointment, and he rose in his place, and signified his acceptance in the following brief and appropriate reply:

"Mr. President: Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

"But lest some unlucky event should happen unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.

"As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuni

ary consideration could have tempted me to accept this 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."

In a letter to his wife, announcing his appointment, dated Philadelphia, June 18, 1775, Washington expressed similar sentiments to the foregoing, as follows:

"My Dearest: I am now set down to write to you on a subject which fills me with inexpressible concern, and this concern is greatly aggravated and increased, when I reflect upon the uneasiness I know it will give you. It has been determined in Congress, that the whole army raised for the defense of the American cause shall be put under my care, and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take upon me the command of it.

"You may believe me, when I assure you in the most solemn manner, that, so far from seeking this appointment, I have used every endeavor in my power to avoid it, not only from my unwillingness to part with you and the family, but from a consciousness of its being a trust too great for my capacity, and that I should enjoy more real happiness in one month with you at home, than I have the most distant prospect of finding abroad, if my stay were to be seven times seven years. But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose. You might and I suppose did perceive, from the tenor of my letters, that I was apprehensive I could not avoid this appointment, without exposing my character to such censures as would have reflected dishonor upon myself and given pain to my friends. This, I am sure, could not, and ought not, to be pleasing to you, and must have lessened me considerably in my own esteem. I shall rely, therefore, confidently on that Providence which has heretofore preserved and been bountiful to me."

The appointment was made on the 15th of June, four days after which he received his commission from the president of Congress, declaring him commander-in-chief of all the forces then raised, or that should be raised, in the united colonies, or that should voluntarily offer their services for the defence of American liberty. The members of Congress by resolution, unanimously pledged themselves to maintain, assist, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes, in the same cause. Four major-generals, eight brigadier-generals, and an adjutant-general, were likewise appointed by Congress for the continental army.

On the 21st of June, Gen. Washington hastened from Philadelphia to join the continental army at Cambridge near Boston. He was accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler, and escorted by a volunteer troop of light horse which continued with him to New York. On his way he was everywhere received by the people with enthusiasm, and the respect to which his new rank entitled him. The particulars of the battle of Bunker's hill reached him at New York, and increased his anxiety to hasten forward to the army. Leaving Gen. Schuyler in command at New York, Washington again pursued his journey, escorted by volunteer military companies, to Springfield, Massachusetts, where he was met by a committee of the provincial Congress of that colony, which attended him to Cambridge. He

arrived at the latter place on the second of July, and took the command of the army the next day.

At this time Gen. Washington found the British intrenched on Bunker's hill, having also three floating batteries in Mystic river, and a twenty-gun ship below the ferry between Boston and Charlestown. They had also a battery on Copp's hill, and were strongly fortified on Boston Neck. The Americans were intrenched at various points, so as to form a line of siege around Boston and Charlestown.

The effective force of the American army placed under the command of Washington, amounted to fourteen thousand five hundred men, raised in the New England colonies. Several circumstances concurred to render this force very inadequate to active operations. Military stores were deficient in camp, and the whole amount in the country was inconsiderable. Under all these embarrassments, the general observed, that "he had the materials of a good army; that the men were able-bodied, active, zealous in the cause, and of unquestionable courage." He immediately instituted such arrangements as were calculated to increase their capacity for service. The army was distributed into brigades and divisions, and on his recommendation, general staff-officers were appointed. Economy, union, and system, were introduced into every department. As the troops came into service under the authority of distinct colonial governments, no uniformity existed among the regiments. In Massachusetts, the men had chosen their officers, and (rank excepted) were in other respects, frequently their equals. To form one uniform mass of these discordant materials, and to subject freemen, animated with the spirit of liberty, and collected for its defense, to the control of military discipline, required patience, forbearance, and a spirit of accommodation. This delicate and arduous duty was undertaken by General Washington, and discharged with great address. When he had made considerable progress in disciplining his army, the term for which enlistments had taken place was on the point of expiring. The commander-in-chief made early and forcible representations to Congress on this subject, and urged them to adopt efficient measures for the formation of a new army. They deputed three of their members, Mr. Lynch, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Harrison, to repair to camp, and in conjunction with him and the chief magistrates of the New England colonies, to confer on the most effectual mode of continuing, supporting and regulating a continental army. By them it was resolved to enlist 23,722 men, as far as practicable, from the troops before Boston, to serve till the last day of December, 1776, unless sooner discharged by Congress.

In the execution of this resolve, Washington called upon all officers and soldiers to make their election for retiring or continuing. Several of the inferior officers retired. Many of the men would not continue on any terms. Several refused, unless they were indulged with furloughs; others, unless they were allowed to choose their officers. So many impediments obstructed the recruiting service, that it required great address to obviate them. Washington made forcible appeals, in general orders, to the pride and patriotism of both officers and men. He promised every indulgence compatible with safety, and every comfort that the state of the country authorized. In general orders, of the 20th of October, he observed:

"The times, and the importance of the great cause we are engaged in, allow no room for hesitation and delay. When life, liberty, and property

are at stake; when our country is in danger of being a melancholy scene of bloodshed and desolation; when our towns are laid in ashes, innocent women and children driven from their peaceful habitations, exposed to the rigors of an inclement season, to depend perhaps on the hand of charity for support; when calamities like these are staring us in the face, and a brutal, savage enemy threatens us and everything we hold dear with destruction from foreign troops; it little becomes the character of a soldier to shrink from danger, and condition for new terms. It is the general's intention to indulge both officers and soldiers who compose the new army with furloughs for a reasonable time; but this must be done in such a manner as not to injure the service, or weaken the army too much at once."

In the instructions given to the recruiting officers, the general enjoined upon them, "not to enlist any person suspected of being unfriendly to the liberties of America, or any abandoned vagabond, to whom all causes and countries are equal and alike indifferent."

Though great exertions had been made to procure recruits, yet the regiments were not filled. Several causes operated in producing this disinclination to the service. The sufferings of the army had been great; fuel, clothes, and even provisions, had not been furnished them in sufficient quantities; the small-pox deterred many from entering; but the principal reason was a dislike to a military life. Much, also, of that enthusiasm which brought numbers to the field, on the commencement of hostilities, had abated. The army of 1775 was wasting away by the expiration of the terms of service, and recruits for the new entered slowly.

Unfortunately, an essential error had been committed in constituting the first military establishment of the Union, the consequences of which ceased only with the war. The soldiers were enlisted for the term of one year, if not sooner discharged by Congress. This fatal error brought the American cause more than once into real hazard.

General Washington had earnestly urged Congress to offer a bounty; but this expedient was not adopted till late in January; and on the last day of December, 1775, when the old army was disbanded, only nine thousand six hundred and fifty men had been enlisted for the army of 1776.

The general viewed with deep mortification the inactivity to which he was compelled to submit. His real difficulties were not generally known; his numbers were exaggerated; his means of acting on the offensive were magnified; the expulsion of the British army from Boston had been long since anticipated by many; and those were not wanting who insinuated that the commander-in-chief was desirous of prolonging the war, in order to continue his own importance.

Congress having manifested dispositions favorable to an attack on Boston, General Washington continued to direct his utmost efforts to that object. In January, 1776, a council of war resolved, "that a vigorous attempt ought to be made on the ministerial troops in Boston, before they can be reinforced in the spring, if the means can be provided, and a favorable opportunity should offer;" and for this purpose that thirteen regiments of militia should be required from Massachusetts and the neighboring colonies. The colonies complied with this requisition; but such was the mildness of the early part of the winter, that the waters continued open, and of course impassable.

Late in February, appearances among the British troops indicated an

intention to evacuate Boston. But as these appearances might be deceptive, General Washington determined to prosecute a plan which must force General Howe either to come to an action or abandon the town.

Since the allowance of a bounty, recruiting had been more successful, and the regular force had been augmented to fourteen thousand men. The commander-in-chief had also called to his aid six thousand militia. Thus reinforced, he determined to take possession of the heights of Dorchester and fortify them. As the possession of this post would enable him to annoy the ships in the harbor, and the soldiers in the town of Boston, he was persuaded that a general action would ensue. Should this hope be disappointed, his purpose was to make the works on the heights of Dorchester preparatory to seizing and fortifying other points which commanded the harbor, a great part of the town, and the beach from which an embarkation must take place in the event of a retreat.

To facilitate the execution of this plan, a heavy bombardment and cannonade were commenced on the British lines on the second of March, which were repeated on the succeeding nights. On the east of them a strong detachment, under the command of General Thomas, took possession of the heights, and labored with such persevering activity through the night, that the works were sufficiently advanced by the morning nearly to cover them.

It was necessary to dislodge the Americans or to evacuate the town, and General Howe determined to embrace the former part of the alternative. Three thousand chosen men, commanded by Lord Percy, embarked, and fell down to the castle, in order to proceed up the river to the intended scene of action, but were scattered by a furious storm. Before they could be again in readiness for the attack, the works were made so strong that the attempt to storm them was thought unadvisable, and the evacuation of the town became inevitable.

This determination was soon known to the Americans. A paper signed by some of the selectmen, and brought out by a flag, communicated the fact. This paper was accompanied by propositions said to be made by General Howe, relative to the security of the town and the peaceable embarkation of his army. The advances of the American troops were discontinued, and considerable detachments were moved toward New York before the actual evacuation of Boston. That event took place on the seventeenth of March, 1776; and in a few days the whole fleet sailed out of Nantasket road, directing its course eastward; immediately after which the American army proceeded by divisions to New York, where it arrived on the fourteenth of April.

Washington and the continental army were received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants of Boston. The legislature of Massachusetts presented the commander-in-chief with an address, congratulating him on the successful result of the siege of Boston, and expressing their obligations for the great services he had rendered to his country. The continental Congress also passed a unanimous vote of thanks to him, and a gold medal was ordered to be struck commemorative of the evacuation of Boston, and as an honorable token of the public approbation of his conduct.

General Howe, with the British army of about ten thousand men, and one thousand refugees or tories, sailed for Halifax in seventy-eight ships and transports; but anxious for the safety of New York, and apprehensive

that the British commander might have concealed his real designs and directed his course to that important point, the American commander-in-chief had directed his march to New York, as already stated. They went by land to Norwich, Connecticut, and thence by water through Long Island sound. When it was ascertained that the British fleet had put to sea, ten days after the evacuation of Boston, Washington set off for New York, passing through Providence, Norwich, and New London. At Norwich he had an interview with Governor Trumbull, who came there to meet him. On the thirteenth of April he arrived in New York.

General Washington found it impracticable, or inconsistent with his duties, to carry out his original design of visiting his family at Mount Vernon in the winter, and attending for a short space to his private affairs. Mrs. Washington therefore joined him at head quarters at Cambridge, in December, 1775, where she remained till the next spring. This was her practice during the war. She passed the winters with her husband in camp, and returned at the opening of the campaigns to Mount Vernon.

His large estates were consigned to the care of a superintendent, Mr. Lund Washington, who executed the trust with diligence and fidelity. Notwithstanding the multitude of public concerns, which at all times pressed heavily, and which he never neglected, the thoughts of General Washington constantly reverted to his farms. In the midst of the most stirring events of the war, he kept up an unremitted correspondence with his manager, in which he entered into details, gave minute instructions, and exacting reports, relating to the culture of his lands, and every transaction of business. From the beginning to the end of the revolution, Lund Washington wrote to the General, as often at least as two or three times a month, and commonly every week, detailing minutely all the events that occurred on the plantation. These letters were regularly answered by the general, even when the weight and embarassment of public duties pressed heavily upon him.

An extract from one of his letters to Lund Washington on these topics, dated December, 1775, will show a trait of character, and the footing on which he left his household at Mount Vernon:

"Let the hospitalities of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness; and I have no objection to your giving my money in charity, to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that is my desire that it should be done. You are to consider, that neither myself nor wife is now in the way to do these good offices. In all other respects, I recommend it to you, and have no doubt of your observing the greatest economy and frugality; as I suppose you know that I do not get a farthing for my services here, more than my expenses. It becomes necessary, therefore, for me to be saving at home."

To detail the operations of Washington in public affairs in the years which followed, would be to repeat the history of the war of the American revolution, and, of course, greatly exceed the limits of the part of this work allotted to a memoir of his life. We can therefore only allude to the prominent events with which his personal history was connected during that eventful period, following him rapidly in his movements, until peace

and the acknowledgement of American independence by Great Britain crowned his efforts in the cause of his country.

The evacuation of Boston varied the scene, but did not lessen the labors of Washington. Henceforward he had a much more formidable enemy to contend with. The royal army in Boston was, on a small scale, calculated to awe the inhabitants of Massachusetts into obedience, but the campaign of 1776 was opened in New York with a force far exceeding anything hitherto seen in America. Including the navy, as well as the army, it amounted to forty-five thousand men, and was calculated on the idea of reducing the whole united colonies. The operations contemplated could be best carried on from the central province of New York, and the army could be supplied with provisions from the adjacent islands, and easily defended by the British navy. For these reasons, the evacuation of Boston, and the concentration of the royal forces at New York, had been for some time resolved upon in England.

The reasons that had induced the British to gain possession of New York, weighed with Washington to prevent or delay it. He had, therefore, as already stated, detached largely from his army before Boston, and sent General Lee to take the command, following the main army himself immediately after the evacuation and departure of the British army from Boston; and he now made every preparation in his power for the defense of New York. Considerable time was allowed for this purpose, in consequence of the delay of General Howe at Halifax, where that officer waited for promised reinforcements from England.

Besides the preparations for defense against the British army, Washington had to guard against the numerous disaffected persons and tories, or American loyalists, on Long island, Staten island, and in the city of New York. By the persevering representations of Washington, Congress adopted measures for the apprehension of this class of enemies to the American cause. Many tories were apprehended in New York and on Long island; some were imprisoned, others disarmed. A deep plot, originating with the British governor Tryon, who continued on board a vessel at the Hook, was defeated by a timely and fortunate discovery. His agents were found enlisting men in the American camp, and enticing them with rewards. The infection spread to a considerable extent, and even reached the general's guard, some of whom enlisted. A soldier of the guard was found guilty by a court-martial and executed. It was a part of the plot to seize General Washington and convey him to the enemy.

General Howe, with a part of the British fleet and army arrived at the Hook from Halifax, in the latter part of June, and took possession of Staten island. The general then awaited the arrival of his brother, Lord Howe, who was on his way from England with another fleet, and proposals from the British ministry for an accommodation to be offered to the Americans, before hostilities should be renewed.

General Washington had visited Philadelphia in the month of May, for the purpose of advising with Congress on the state of affairs and concerting arrangements for the campaign. He was absent fifteen days, examining on his way, Staten island and the Jersey shore, with the view of determining the proper places for works of defense. He seems to have been disappointed and concerned at dissensions in Congress which portended no good to the common cause. It was known, from late proceedings in Par-

liament, that commissioners were coming out from England with proposals of accommodation. In a letter to his brother, dated at Philadelphia, May 31, 1776, Washington expresses his gratification that the Virginia convention had passed a vote with great unanimity, recommending to Congress to declare the united colonies free and independent states. "Things have come to such a pass now," he writes, "as to convince us, that we have nothing more to expect from the justice of Great Britain; also that she is capable of the most delusive arts; for I am satisfied that no commissioners were ever designed, except Hessians and other foreigners; and that the idea was only to deceive and throw us off our guard. The first has been too effectually accomplished; as many members of Congress, in short, the representation of whole provinces, are still feeding themselves upon the dainty food of reconciliation; and though they will not allow that the expectation of it has any influence upon their judgment with respect to their preparations for defense, it is but too obvious that it has an operation upon every part of their conduct, and is a clog to their proceedings. It is not in the nature of things to be otherwise; for no man that entertains a hope of seeing this dispute speedily and equitably adjusted by commissioners, will go to the same expense and run the same hazards to prepare for the worst event, as he who believes that he must conquer, or submit to unconditional terms, and the concomitants, such as confiscation, hanging, and the like."

Notwithstanding the hesitancy of some of the members of Congress, there was still a large majority for vigorous action; and while he was there they resolved to reinforce the army at New York, with thirteen thousand eight hundred militia, drawn from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey; and a flying camp of ten thousand more, from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware.

The Declaration of Independence by Congress, on the fourth of July, 1776, was received by General Washington, and read to the troops under his command on the ninth, at six o'clock in the evening; the regiments being paraded for the purpose. The document was read in the hearing of all, and received with the most hearty demonstrations of joy and satisfaction. In the orders of the day it was said, "The General hopes that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing, that now the peace and safety of his country depend, under God, solely on the success of our arms, and that he is now in the service of a state possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit, and advance him to the highest honors of a free country."

Lord Howe arrived at Staten island on the twelfth of July, joining his brother, the General, with the expected additional forces from England. The command of the fleet had been conferred upon the former, and both the brothers were commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies. Lord Howe was not deterred by the declaration of independence from trying the influence of his powers for pacification, although he regarded the declaration as a circumstance unfavorable to the success of his mission. He sent on shore a circular letter, dated off the coast of Massachusetts, addressed severally to the late governors under the crown, (whom he supposed to be still in power) enclosing a declaration which he requested them to make public. It announced his authority to grant pardons, and to declare any colony or place under the protection of the king. Assurances

were also given that the meritorious services of all persons who would aid in restoring tranquillity in the colonies would be duly considered.

These papers were transmitted by the commander-in-chief to Congress, who directed their publication, that the people "might be informed of what nature were the commissioners, and what the terms with the expectation of which the insidious court of Britain had sought to amuse and disarm them."

About the same time Lord Howe despatched a letter to General Washington by a flag, which the general refused to receive, as it did not acknowledge the public character with which he was invested, being directed "*To George Washington, Esq.*" The course pursued was approved by Congress, and a resolve was passed, that in future no letters should be received from the enemy, by commanders in the American army, which should not be directed to them in the characters they sustained. A few days afterward General Howe wrote to Washington, repeating the same superscription as had been used by his brother. This letter was likewise refused, but an explanation took place through an interview between Colonel Patterson, adjutant-general of the British army, and General Washington. General Howe was induced to change his superscription, and from that time all letters addressed by the British commanders to General Washington bore his proper titles.

In the conference between Washington and Colonel Patterson, the adjutant-general observed that "the commissioners were armed with great powers, and would be very happy in effecting an accommodation." General Washington replied, "that from what appeared, these powers were only to grant pardons; that they who had committed no fault wanted no pardon."

General Howe, perceiving that all attempts at conciliation were hopeless, prepared for the operations of the campaign. He, however, delayed for some time active measures, as he was still waiting for further reinforcements. This period was employed by Washington in strengthening his works on New York island. Fort Washington, on an eminence in the north part of the island, on the east bank of the Hudson, and Fort Lee, on the opposite shore in New Jersey, were commenced, and between these forts the channel of the river was obstructed by hulks of vessels and chevaux-de-frise. Batteries were erected on the margins of the North and East rivers—redoubts were thrown up at different places, and the island generally placed in a state of defense.

The British reinforcements had all arrived by the middle of August, and the aggregate of their army was estimated at over twenty-four thousand men. To this army, aided in its operations by a numerous fleet, was opposed the American army, a force unstable in its nature, incapable from its structure of receiving discipline, and inferior to the enemy in numbers, in army, and in every military equipment. In a letter dated the 8th of August, General Washington stated his army consisted of only seventeen thousand two hundred and twenty-five men, of whom three thousand six hundred and sixty-eight were sick. This force was rendered the more inadequate to its objects by being necessarily divided for the defense of posts, some of which were fifteen miles distant from others, with navigable waters between them. The army was soon afterward reinforced by regulars and militia, which augmented it to twenty-seven thousand men, of

whom one-fourth were sick. The diseases incident to new troops prevailed extensively, and were aggravated by a deficiency of tents.

The American troops were so judiciously distributed on York island, Long island, Governor's island, Paulus Hook, and on the sound toward New Rochelle, East and West Chester, that the enemy were very cautious in determining when or where to commence offensive operations. Every probable point of embarkation was watched, and guarded with a force sufficient to embarrass, though very insufficient to prevent a landing. From the arrival of the British army at Staten island, the Americans were in daily expectation of being attacked. General Washington was therefore strenuous in preparing his troops for action. He tried every expedient to kindle in their breasts the love of their country, and a high tone of indignation against its invaders. Thus did he, by infusing into every bosom those sentiments which would stimulate to the greatest individual exertion, endeavor to compensate for the want of arms, of discipline, and of numbers.

Early in the morning of the twenty-second of August, the principal part of the British Army landed on Long island, under cover of the guns of the fleet; and extended their line from the Narrows, through Utrecht and Gravesend, to the village of Flatbush. On the twenty-seventh, the fifth day after landing, a general action took place between the two armies; the Americans on Long island, then commanded by General Putnam, being attacked by the British army, under General Clinton. The variety of ground, and the different parties employed in different places, both in the attack and defense, occasioned a succession of small engagements, pursuits and slaughter, which lasted for many hours.

The Americans were defeated in all directions. The circumstances which eminently contributed to this, were the superior discipline of the assailants, and the want of early intelligence of their movements. There was not a single corps of cavalry in the American army. The transmission of intelligence was of course always slow, and often impracticable. From the want of it, some of their detachments, while retreating before one portion of the enemy, were advancing toward another, of whose movements they were ignorant.

In the height of the engagement Washington passed over to Long island, and with infinite regret saw the slaughter of his best troops, but had not the power to prevent it; for had he drawn his whole force to their support he must have risked everything on a single engagement. He adopted the wiser plan of evacuating the island, with all the forces he could bring off. In superintending this necessary, but difficult and dangerous movement, and the events of the preceding day, Washington was indefatigable. For forty-eight hours he never closed his eyes, and was almost constantly on horseback. In less than thirteen hours the field artillery, tents, baggage, and about nine thousand men, were conveyed from Long island to the city of New York, over the East river, and without the knowledge of the British, though not six hundred yards distant. The darkness of the night and a heavy fog in the morning, together with a fair wind after midnight, favored this retreat. It was completed without interruption some time after the dawning of the day.

The loss of the Americans at the battle of Long island, was twelve hundred men, about a thousand of whom were captured. The loss of the British was less than four hundred.

Immediately after the success of the British arms on Long island, Admiral Lord Howe, as one of the king's pacificators, made another attempt at negotiation. He admitted General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner, to his parole, and sent him to Philadelphia with a verbal message to Congress, the purport of which was, that although not authorized to treat with Congress as such, it being an illegal assembly, yet he was desirous of conferring with some of its members as private gentlemen only, whom he would meet at any place they might appoint. To this, Congress sent a reply by General Sullivan, refusing to authorize any of their body to confer with his lordship in their private capacity; but saying that they would send a committee to inquire into his authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress, and to hear his propositions for peace. Instructions were at the same time sent to General Washington by Congress, that no propositions for peace ought to be received, unless directed in writing to the representatives of the United States; and to inform those who might make application for a treaty, that Congress would cheerfully conclude a treaty of peace whenever such should be proposed to them as representatives of an independent people.

Doctor Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge, were appointed by Congress to confer with Lord Howe, whom they met for that purpose on Staten Island. As Lord Howe declined conferring with the committee, except as private gentlemen, he being unauthorized to recognize Congress as a legal body, the conference terminated without effecting anything. The commissioners absolutely refused to entertain any propositions except they were made to them as the representatives of a free and independent people. The interview was therefore closed, with the understanding that war or absolute independence were the only alternatives that the Americans chose to recognize.

General Howe now took measures to drive the Americans out of the city of New York. He made preparations to have troops landed from the ships on opposite sides of the upper part of the island, while the main body of the fleet entered the harbor, and took a position nearly within cannon-shot of the city. By this arrangement the Americans would be hemmed in, and be compelled to evacuate the city, or suffer the privations and dangers of a siege.

Viewing these preparations of the British commander with alarm, Washington called a council of war on the twelfth of September, sixteen days after the battle of Long island, and recommended an immediate withdrawal of the troops. This measure was finally determined upon, and with great activity the Americans commenced removing the artillery and stores far above the city, to Dobb's ferry, on the Western shore of the Hudson. The commander-in-chief retired to the heights of Harlem, and a force of nine thousand men was stationed at Mount Washington, King's bridge, and other posts in the vicinity, while about five thousand remained near the city. The residue were placed between these extreme points, to act at either place, as occasion might require.

On the fifteenth, a division of the British army landed at Kipp's bay, on the East river, three miles above the city, and attacked the American batteries erected there. The troops stationed at this place fled with precipitation, without waiting for the approach of the enemy. Two brigades were put in motion to support them. General Washington rode to the scene of

action, and to his great mortification met the whole party retreating. While he was exerting himself to rally them, on the appearance of a small corps of the enemy, they again broke and ran off in disorder. Such dastardly conduct raised a tempest in the usually tranquil mind of Washington. He viewed with infinite concern this behavior of his troops, as threatening ruin to his country. His soul was harrowed up with apprehensions that his country would be conquered, her army disgraced, and her liberties destroyed, while the unsuccessful issue of the present struggle would, for ages to come, deter posterity from the bold design of asserting their rights. Impressed with these ideas, he hazarded his person for some considerable time in the rear of his own men, and in front of the enemy, with his horse's head toward the latter, as if in expectation that, by an honorable death, he might escape the infamy he dreaded from the dastardly conduct of troops in whom he could place no dependence. His aids, and the confidential friends around his person, by indirect violence, compelled him to retire. In consequence of their address and importunity, a life was saved for public service, which otherwise, from a sense of honor and a gust of passion, seemed to be devoted to almost certain destruction.

The troops referred to continued their retreat, until they reached the main body of the army at Harlem heights. The division in or near the city, under the command of General Putnam, retreated with great difficulty, leaving behind them their heavy artillery, and a large portion of the baggage, provisions, and military stores, including the tents, which had not been removed. The loss of the tents was severely felt by the army, at the approach of winter. Fifteen of the Americans were killed, and three hundred taken prisoners. The British army entered the city without much loss and took formal possession of it, to the great joy of the tories; but they had hardly become quiet before a fire broke out, which raged until it had destroyed about a third of the city.

General Howe having organized a temporary government, and left some troops in the city, marched with the main body of his army up York island, and encamped near the American lines in front of Harlem heights. The British lines extended across the island, while their shipping defended their flanks. Washington had made his strongest post at King's bridge, as that preserved his communication with the country. On the day after the retreat from New York, a skirmish took place between advanced parties of both armies, in which the Americans gained a decided advantage, though with the loss of two gallant officers, Colonel Knowlton of Connecticut, and Major Leitch of Virginia. This was the first advantage the army under the command of Washington had gained in the campaign. Its influence on the army was great, and the general gave public thanks to the troops engaged therein.

On the twenty-second of October, Washington fell back to White Plains, in Westchester county, and on the twenty-eighth, a partial action was fought there, which resulted in the repulse of the Americans, with some loss. Washington retired to Northcastle, five miles farther north, and Howe discontinued further pursuit, directing his attention to the American posts on the Hudson river. Forts Washington and Lee were taken by the British army in November, the garrison in the former consisting of nearly three thousand men, surrendering as prisoners-of-war, and the British losing about a thousand men in the assault. The garrison in Fort Lee

made a hasty retreat, and joined the main army, leaving behind them their cannon, tents and stores, which fell into the hands of the victors.

It having become evident to General Washington, that General Howe had changed his plan of operations, and designed an invasion of New Jersey, he crossed the North river with the American army, and, retreating before Lord Cornwallis, who had entered New Jersey with six thousand men, he took post along the Hackensack river. His situation there was nearly similar to that which he had abandoned; for he was liable to be enclosed between the Hackensack and Passaic rivers. He therefore, on the approach of the enemy, passed over to Newark, on the west side of the latter river, where he stood his ground some days; but being incapable of any effectual opposition, he retreated to New Brunswick, on the day Lord Cornwallis entered Newark. At New Brunswick, Washington kept his troops in motion, and even advanced a detachment, as if intending to engage the enemy. Nor did he quit his position till their advanced guards were in sight. He then retreated toward Trenton, pursuing a route near the Raritan river, that he might be in the way to prevent General Howe from throwing in a strong detachment between him and Philadelphia. Although this retreat was effected without loss from the enemy, the small force which began it was daily lessening, by the expiration of the term of service for which they were engaged. This terminated in November with many, and in December with nearly two-thirds of the residue. No persuasions were availing to induce their continuance. They abandoned their general when the advancing enemy was nearly in sight. General Lee, who commanded the eastern troops at White Plains, was ordered by Washington to cross the North river, and join the retreating army in New Jersey. Lee was so tardy in obeying the order, that he was three weeks reaching Morristown. While on his march he lodged one night at a house about three miles from camp, where he was taken prisoner by a company of British light-horse. The command of his division devolved on General Sullivan, who marched it to the main army. Four regiments under General Gates, soon after arrived from Ticonderoga. These forces, with others, joined Washington after he had crossed the Delaware with his army of about three thousand men, which he accomplished on the seventh of December. The enemy did not attempt to cross the river, General Howe contenting himself with having overrun New Jersey. It was, however, expected that, as soon as the ice should become sufficiently strong, the enemy would cross the Delaware, and bring all their force to bear upon Philadelphia. Anticipating this event, Congress adjourned to Baltimore; and General Putnam, who took the command of the militia in Philadelphia, was instructed to prepare for an obstinate defence of that city.

In this very dangerous crisis, and which may be considered the most gloomy period of the war, Washington made every exertion to procure reinforcements. These exertions were in a great measure unavailing, except in and near Philadelphia. Fifteen hundred of the citizens of that metropolis marched to the aid of Washington. The American army now amounted to about seven thousand men, after the arrival of the forces under Sullivan and Gates. The two armies were separated from each other by the river Delaware. The British, in the security of conquest, cantoned their troops in Burlington, Bordentown, Trenton, and other towns of New Jersey. On receiving information of their numbers and different canton-

ments, Washington observed: "Now is the time to clip their wings, when they are so spread." Yielding to his native spirit of enterprise, which had hitherto been repressed, he formed the bold design of recrossing the Delaware, and attacking the British posts on its eastern banks.

In a letter to Joseph Reed, dated Bristol, Pennsylvania, December 23, 1776, Washington thus discloses his designs:

"Christmas-day, at night, one hour before day, is the time fixed upon for our attempt on Trenton; our numbers, sorry am I to say, being less than I had any conception of; but necessity, dire necessity, will, nay must, justify an attack."

The desperate situation of the American cause at this time is thus alluded to by him, in a letter to his brother, John Augustine Washington, dated December 18, 1776:

"We were obliged to cross the Delaware with less than three thousand men fit for duty; the enemy's numbers, from the best accounts, exceeding ten or twelve thousand men.

"Since I came on this side I have been joined by about two thousand of the city militia, and I understand that some of the country militia are on their way; but we are in a very disaffected part of the province, and, between you and me, I think our affairs are in a very bad condition.

"You can form no idea of the perplexity of my situation. No man, I believe, ever had a greater choice of difficulties, and less means to extricate himself from them. However, under a full conviction of the justice of our cause, I cannot entertain an idea that it will finally sink, though it may remain for a time under a cloud."

In the evening of Christmas-day, General Washington made arrangements for passing over the Delaware, in three divisions. At Trenton were three regiments of Hessians, amounting to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British light-horse. Small detachments of the British army were stationed at Bordentown, Burlington, Black Horse, and Mount Holly. General Cadwallader was to cross at Bristol, and attack the latter posts; General Ewing was to cross a little below Trenton, to intercept the retreat of the enemy in that direction, while the commander-in-chief, with twenty-four hundred continental troops, should cross nine miles above Trenton, to make the principal attack. But Generals Cadwallader and Ewing were unable to pass, from the quantity of floating ice which obstructed the boats. The division commanded by Washington, accompanied by Generals Greene, Sullivan, Stirling, Mercer, and St. Clair, alone succeeded. These troops began to cross early in the evening, but were so retarded by ice, that it was nearly four o'clock in the morning of the twenty-sixth, before the whole body, with the artillery, was landed on the New Jersey bank of the river. They were formed in two divisions, and marched by different roads to Trenton, where they arrived within three minutes of each other, about eight o'clock in the morning. They met with but slight opposition, except from two or three pieces of artillery, which were soon taken. The surprised Hessians attempted a retreat to Princeton, but were intercepted, and, finding themselves surrounded, soon laid down their arms, and surrendered as prisoners of war. Between thirty and forty Hessians, among whom was Colonel Bahl, their commander, were killed. The American loss was two privates killed, and two others frozen to death. Captain William Washington, distinguished at a later period of the war as an officer of

cavalry, and Lieutenant James Monroe, afterward president of the United States, were wounded in taking the enemy's artillery. The number of prisoners was nearly one thousand, and the trophies of victory were six brass field pieces, a thousand stand of arms, and considerable ammunition. The British light-horse, and about five hundred Hessians, escaped at the beginning of the action, and fled to Bordentown, where they joined the British and Hessian troops in that vicinity, and all retreated to Princeton; thus the whole line of the enemy's encampments on the Delaware was broken up. It was thought most prudent by Washington to recross the Delaware, with all his prisoners and military stores, on the same day, which he accomplished the same evening, and gained his encampment on the Pennsylvania side.

This brilliant exploit of Washington, and unexpected success of the continental troops under his command, electrified the American people, particularly those of the middle states, who were either desponding or disaffected at the aspect of affairs, before the tables were turned by this fortunate event. The British generals, Howe and Cornwallis, were astonished and bewildered at this display of vigor on the part of the American general. Previous to this affair at Trenton, New Jersey appeared to be subdued, Pennsylvania was supposed to be anxious for British pardon, and instead of offensive operations, the total dispersion of the small remnant of the American army was confidently anticipated. Finding that he was contending with an adversary who could never cease to be formidable, and that the conquest of America was more difficult than had been supposed, Gen. Howe determined, in the depth of winter, to commence active operations. Lord Cornwallis, who had retired to New York, with the intention of embarking for England, returned to New Jersey in great force, for the purpose of recovering the ground which had been lost. The British army was assembled at Princeton, with the design of making an attack upon the Americans under Washington, who had again crossed the Delaware, and taken post at Trenton, determined to act on the offensive, after being joined by considerable reinforcements of regulars and militia.

Lord Cornwallis advanced on the morning of the second of January, 1777, and his van reached Trenton the same afternoon. On its approach, General Washington retired across the creek which runs through the town. The British finding the fords of the creek well guarded, desisted from attempts to cross, and kindled their fires. The Americans kindled their fires likewise, and a cannonade was kept up till dark.

The situation of General Washington was once more extremely critical. The passage of the Delaware was rendered difficult by the ice, and if he remained at Trenton, an attack on the following morning, by an overwhelming force, seemed certain, which must render the destruction of his army inevitable. In this embarrassing state of things, he formed the bold design of abandoning the Delaware, and marching by a circuitous route along the left flank of the British army, into its rear at Princeton; and, after beating the troops at that place, to move rapidly on Brunswick, where the baggage and principal magazines of the British army lay, under a weak guard.

This plan being approved by a council of war, Washington silently withdrew his army from Trenton, favored by the darkness of the night, while the enemy were at rest; leaving a few of his men at work with pickaxes, and the camp fires kindled, for the purpose of deceiving the

British into the belief that the Americans were throwing up intrenchments. Before dawn these men left their work, and hastened to join the American army, who were then on a rapid march toward Princeton, where three British regiments had encamped the preceding night. Two of these regiments, commencing their march toward Trenton early in the morning, to join the rear of their army, met the Americans a mile and a half from Trenton. The morning being foggy, the enemy at first mistook the Americans for Hessians, but the mistake was soon discovered, and a smart skirmish ensued. The British commander sent to Princeton for the other regiment, which was soon on the spot, and after a battle of more than an hour, the American militia gave way in disorder. Gen. Mercer, attempting to rally them, was mortally wounded. Washington pushed forward at the head of his division, and rallied the flying troops, who, encouraged by his example, made a stand, and compelled the British to retreat in various directions. In the course of the engagement, one hundred of the enemy were killed and wounded, and about three hundred taken prisoners. The rest made their escape; some by pushing on to Trenton, others by returning to Brunswick. The American loss was about one hundred.

At break of day Lord Cornwallis perceived, to his great astonishment, that the Americans had deserted their camp at Trenton, and at once penetrating the designs of Washington upon New Brunswick, marched hastily toward that place to protect his stores there, and was close in the rear of the Americans, before they could leave Princeton. General Washington, finding his army exhausted with fatigue, and closely pursued by a superior force, abandoned the remaining part of his original plan, and took the road leading up the country to the north. Lord Cornwallis continued his march to Brunswick, and Washington retired to Morristown, where he established his headquarters. Having given his army some repose, he entered the field again in an offensive attitude, and in a short time overran the whole country, as far as the Raritan to the south. He also took possession of Newark, Elizabethtown, and Woodbridge. The British army, meanwhile, was restricting its operations to a small part of New Jersey.

The victories of Trenton and Princeton produced the most extensive effects, and had a decided influence on subsequent events. Philadelphia was saved for that winter, New Jersey was mostly recovered from the enemy, and the drooping spirits of the Americans were revived. Their gloomy apprehensions yielded to a confidence in their general and their army, and in the ultimate success of their struggles for liberty and independence.

Gen. Washington had been invested by Congress a few days before the successful affair at Trenton, with additional and extraordinary powers as commander-in-chief, which additional powers were conferred on him for a period of six months, and the wisdom of the measure was soon seen and felt by the favorable turn of American affairs. After the recent successes, he hoped that his country would have placed at his disposal a large and sufficient army, to enable him to undertake decisive operations before reinforcements to the British army should arrive in the ensuing spring. Congress, at his instance, passed the requisite resolutions; but these could not be carried into effect without the aid of the state legislatures. The recruiting service was therefore retarded by the delays consequent upon the action of thirteen legislative bodies, and Washington, with infinite reluctance, was

obliged to give up his favorite project of an early active campaign. The remainder of the winter season passed over in a light war of skirmishes They were generally in favor of the Americans; but Washington's views were much more extensive; he cherished hopes of being able to strike a decisive blow against the British forces during the winter, but being disappointed, he went into winter-quarters with the main army, at Morristown. Cantonments were likewise established at various points from Princeton on the right, where General Putnam commanded, to the Highlands on the left, which post continued under the charge of General Heath. The first care of General Washington, after putting the troops in winter-quarters, was drawn to the completion of the army for the next campaign; and he wrote circular letters to the governors of the middle and eastern states, urging them to adopt prompt and effectual methods for raising recruits, and filling up their regiments. To stimulate the activity of the States, by reiterated representations to their governors and legislatures, by argument, persuasion, and appeals to every motive of pride, honor and patriotism, was the task which he was obliged to repeat every winter; and this was a source of increasing anxiety, from the time the troops went into winter-quarters till they again took the field to combat the enemy. Congress, embarrassed by the indefinite nature of their powers, deliberated with caution, and were seldom ready to act in military affairs, till incited by the counsels or earnest entreaties of the commander-in-chief.

As the recruits for the American army were collected, the camp at Morristown was broken up, and the army assembled on the twenty-eighth of May, 1777, at Middlebrook, in New Jersey, ten miles from Brunswick. The exertions made during the winter by the commander-in-chief, to raise a powerful army for the ensuing campaign, had not been successful. On the twentieth of May, the total of the army in New Jersey, excluding cavalry and artillery, amounted to only eight thousand three hundred and seventy-eight men, of whom upward of two thousand were sick, and more than half were raw recruits. Anticipating a movement of the British army toward Philadelphia, Washington had given orders for assembling an army of militia, with a few continental troops, on the western bank of the Delaware, to be commanded by General Arnold. The primary objects to which Washington directed his attention in this campaign, were to endeavor to prevent the British from obtaining possession of Philadelphia, or the Highlands on the Hudson river, and he made such an arrangement of his troops as would enable him to oppose either. The northern troops were divided between Ticonderoga and Peekskill, while those from New Jersey, and other middle states, were encamped at Middlebrook.

On the twelfth of June, General Howe assembled the main body of his army at Brunswick, in New Jersey, and gave strong indications of an intention to reach Philadelphia by land. The American army under Washington, was now swelled to about fourteen thousand. Howe feigned a design to cross the Delaware, by making toward that river, but failing to draw Washington into a general engagement, by his various manœuvers, he withdrew his forces to Amboy, and passed over to Staten island, leaving the Americans in quiet possession of New Jersey. Having abandoned the idea of forming a junction with General Burgoyne, who, having arrived from England with a powerful army, was invading the northern states by way of Canada, General Howe turned his attention toward Philadelphia.

He resolved to proceed to that city by way of the Chesapeake bay, and accordingly embarked at Staten island, with about eighteen thousand troops, on board of the British fleet under Lord Howe. He left Sir Henry Clinton, with a large force, to defend New York, and in the latter part of July appeared off the capes of Delaware; but the fleet suddenly again put to sea, and its destination was for some time a matter of uncertainty to the Americans. In the meanwhile, Washington marched the main body of his army to Germantown, to await certain information respecting the movements of General Howe. During his suspense he took an opportunity of conferring with committees of Congress, at Philadelphia; and it was at this time that he had his first interview with the Marquis de Lafayette, on his arrival from France, to offer his services to the Americans. Congress appointed the marquis a major-general in the army, and he was invited by General Washington to become a member of his military family, which position he maintained during the war.

The British fleet having sailed up the Chesapeake, reached Elk river on the twenty-fifth of August, where the troops under General Howe were landed, and commenced their march toward Philadelphia. The day before the landing of the British, the American army marched through Philadelphia, toward Wilmington, in Delaware. Advance parties from each army soon met, and several skirmishes took place.

As the British army approached, Washington took post on the river Brandywine, and awaited the attack of the enemy. A general action took place early on the eleventh of September, which continued all day, and terminated in favor of the British, who remained in possession of the field of battle, while the Americans retreated to Chester, and the following day to Philadelphia.

The British force in this engagement, was stated at about eighteen thousand; that of the Americans a little over eleven thousand. The American loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, was over a thousand; that of the British was less than six hundred.

Washington made every exertion to repair the loss which had been sustained. The battle of Brandywine was represented as not being decisive. Congress and the people wished to hazard a second engagement, for the security of Philadelphia; General Howe sought for it, and Washington did not decline it. He therefore advanced on the Lancaster road, with an intention of meeting the British army. Both armies were on the point of engaging, but were prevented by a violent storm. When the rain ceased, the Americans, finding that their ammunition was ruined, withdrew to a place of safety. The British, instead of urging an action, afterward began to march toward Reading. To save the stores at that place, Washington took a new position, and left the British in undisturbed possession of the roads which led to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down with a succession of severe duties. There were in his army above a thousand men who were barefooted, and who had performed all their late movements in that condition.

Though Washington had failed in his object of saving Philadelphia, yet he retained the confidence of Congress and the states. With an army inferior in numbers, discipline and equipments, he had delayed the British army thirty days in advancing sixty miles through an open country, without fortifications.

The British army entered Philadelphia on the twenty-sixth of September, and pushed forward to Germantown. Congress had previously adjourned to Lancaster. While the British camp at Germantown was weakened by detachments sent against the American forts on the Delaware, Gen. Washington, having received considerable reinforcements to his army, resolved to attack the enemy in their encampment. Accordingly, in the evening of the third of October, the Americans advanced in four divisions, and after a march of fourteen miles to Germantown, at daybreak the next morning took the British by surprise. A battle commenced, and for a time victory seemed to incline to the Americans; but finally, after a severe action, they were repulsed with great slaughter, losing about eleven hundred men, in killed, wounded and prisoners. The British loss was not more than half that number. General Howe shortly after evacuated Germantown, and concentrated his forces at Philadelphia, where the British army under his command took up their winter-quarters. Howe at first directed his attention to the opening of the navigation of the Delaware river, which had been obstructed by many ingenious contrivances placed there by the Americans. This task employed the British for more than six weeks; and after a great display of gallantry on both sides, it was finally accomplished.

When the Delaware was cleared, and there was a free inland communication for the British between Philadelphia and New York, General Howe determined to close the campaign by an attack upon Washington, then stationed at Whitemarsh, about eleven miles from Philadelphia. On the night of the fourth of December, Howe marched out of the city and took post upon Chestnut Hill, in front of the American army, which had been reinforced by detachments from the northern army. Finding Washington's position too strong to risk a general attack, after a few days' skirmishing, Howe fell back upon Philadelphia.

While the British arms were successful on the banks of the Delaware, intelligence arrived that General Burgoyne and the British army of the north, had surrendered prisoners-of-war to the American northern army, under General Gates. This event took place at Saratoga, in the state of New York, on the seventeenth of October. On the receipt of this important information, General Washington took measures to obtain large reinforcements to the forces under his immediate command, from the victorious troops of the north. He therefore deputed one of his aids, Colonel Alexander Hamilton, to wait on General Gates, and communicate his wishes to that officer. In his letter of instructions to Hamilton, Gen. Washington writes as follows, under date of October 30, 1777:

"It has been judged expedient by the members of a council of war held yesterday, that one of the gentlemen of my family should be sent to General Gates, in order to lay before him the state of this army, and the situation of the enemy, and to point out to him the many happy consequences that will accrue from an immediate reinforcement being sent from the northern army. I have thought proper to appoint you to that duty, and desire that you will immediately set out for Albany.

"What you are chiefly to attend to is, to point out to General Gates the absolute necessity that there is for his detaching a very considerable part of the army at present under his command, to the reinforcement of this; a measure that will, in all probability, reduce General Howe to the same

situation in which General Burgoyne now is, should he attempt to remain in Philadelphia.

"I have understood that General Gates has already detached Nixon's and Glover's brigades to join General Putnam. If this be a fact, you are to desire General Putnam to send the two brigades forward with the greatest expedition, as there can be no occasion for them there."

To the president of Congress, Washington also wrote on the first of November, as follows: "I cannot conceive that there is any object now remaining, that demands our attention and most vigorous efforts so much as the destruction of the [British] army in this quarter. Should we be able to effect this, we shall have little to fear in future." And on the seventeenth of November, he wrote to the same functionary thus: "I am anxiously waiting the arrival of the troops from the northward, who ought to have been here before this. The want of these troops has embarrassed all my measures exceedingly."

Instead of promptly seconding the desires of Washington, when communicated to them by Hamilton, Generals Gates and Putnam were unwilling to part with a sufficient number of the troops under their respective commands to effect the object designed. The former general was then contemplating an expedition to Ticonderoga, and the latter an attack on the British forces in New York. After considerable delay, those generals, at the earnest request of Colonel Hamilton, finally sent on about five thousand men to the aid of General Washington; but in the mean time Sir Henry Clinton, who commanded the British forces stationed at the city of New York, detached about six thousand men to the aid of General Howe in Philadelphia.

Thus will it be seen that the well-formed plans of General Washington, to follow up the capture of the British army under Burgoyne, by that of the forces under Howe, were frustrated by the want of cordial coöperation on the part of Gates and Putnam. Had Washington succeeded, by their prompt aid, in effecting his purpose at Philadelphia, he would doubtless have moved upon New York, and by an attack upon that city; with the whole American forces, have either compelled the surrender of the forces under Sir Henry Clinton, or the evacuation by them of that point; and thus the campaign of 1777 would have been closed by a succession of American victories and British reverses, from which the latter could not have recovered. Is it too much to say that in that event Great Britain would have sought for peace in 1778, as she did afterward in 1782, and that the American alliance with France would have thus been rendered unnecessary? This view is confirmed by the correspondence of Washington, who evidently was of opinion that a protracted war for years was unnecessary. In a letter to John Parke Custis, dated February 28, 1781, more than three years after the fall of Philadelphia, he says, "We have brought a cause, which might have been happily *terminated years ago*, by the adoption of proper measures, to the very verge of ruin," &c.

The following extract of a letter from Washington to Patrick Henry, dated November 13, 1777, soon after the British had entered Philadelphia, throws farther light upon the state of affairs at this period, and shows particularly that Washington's army had been weakened by reinforcements sent to the aid of General Gates:

"I was left to fight two battles, in order, if possible, to save Philadel

phia, with less numbers than composed the army of my antagonist, while the world has given us double.

"How different is the case in the northern department. There the states of New York and New England, resolving to crush Burgoyne, continued pouring in their troops till the surrender of that army. Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighboring states, we might before this time have had General Howe nearly in the situation of General Burgoyne.

"My own difficulties in the course of the campaign have been not a little increased by the extra aid of continental troops which the gloomy prospect of our affairs, immediately after the reduction of Ticonderoga, induced me to spare from this army."

The campaign of 1777 having closed, Washington communicated in general orders his intention of retiring with his army into winter-quarters. He expressed to his officers and soldiers his high approbation of their past conduct; gave an encouraging statement of the prospects of the country, and exhorted the men to bear the hardships inseparable from their condition. Valley Forge, about twenty miles northwest from Philadelphia, was selected by Washington for the winter-quarters of the army. This position was preferred to distant and more comfortable villages, as being calculated to give security to the country from the enemy. In the latter end of December, the troops were compelled to build huts for their own accommodation, and during the winter, which was unusually severe, their sufferings being great, from want of both clothing and food, Washington was compelled to make seizures from the inhabitants, as he was authorized by Congress to do, for the sustenance of the army. The commander-in-chief and his principal officers sent for their wives, from the different states to which they belonged, to pass the winter with their husbands at headquarters.

To the other vexations and troubles which crowded on General Washington at this time, was added one of a peculiar nature. This was the formation of a cabal among members of Congress, and a few officers in the northern division of the army, the object of which was to supersede him in the command of the army, or to induce his resignation. This intrigue is known in American history as *Conway's cabal*. Generals Gates, Mifflin and Conway, are the only officers of note who are known to have been engaged in it. The former of these generals was proposed to supersede Washington. About the same time a board of war was created by Congress, of which General Gates was appointed president.

These machinations did not abate the ardor of Washington in the common cause. His patriotism was too solid to be shaken, either by envy or ingratitude. Nor was the smallest effect produced in diminishing his well-earned reputation. Zeal the most active, and services the most beneficial, and at the same time disinterested, had riveted him in the affections of his country and the army. Even the victorious troops under General Gates, though comparisons highly flattering to their vanity had been made between them and the army in Pennsylvania, clung to Washington as their political saviour. The resentment of the people was generally excited against those who were supposed to be engaged in, or friendly to, the scheme of appointing a new commander-in-chief of the American army.

The sufferings of the army while encamped at Valley Forge, are memorable in the history of the war. They were not only greatly in want of the

necessary supplies of food, but of blankets and clothing. "Naked and starving as they are," says Washington in one of his letters, "we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been ere this excited by their sufferings, to a general mutiny and desertion." Although the officers were better provided than the soldiers, yet none were exempt from privations and hardships.

When the encampment was begun at Valley Forge, the whole number of men in the field was 11,098, of whom 2,898 were unfit for duty, "being barefoot and otherwise naked." Much of the suffering of the army was attributed to mismanagement in the quartermaster's department; while reforms on this subject were proposed in Congress, the distresses of the troops approached their acme. General Washington found it necessary to interpose his personal exertions to procure provisions from a distance. In a few days the army was rescued from the famine with which it had been threatened. It was perceived that the difficulties which had occurred, were occasioned more by the want of due exertion in the commissary department, and by the efforts of the people to save their stock for a better market, than by a real deficiency of food in the country.

The impression made on the British nation by the capitulation of Burgoyne, at length made its way into the cabinet, and Lord North brought into Parliament two bills, which were adopted, having conciliation for their object. The first surrendered the principle of taxation, and the second empowered the crown to appoint commissioners to treat for peace with the United States. This movement was prompted by the apprehension that France would acknowledge the independence of America, and join in the war against England.

The terms held out by these bills were such as would have been accepted by the Americans in the early stages of the controversy, but they now came too late. It was no part of the plan of the British ministers to treat with the American states as an independent power. They were to go back to their old condition as colonies, favored with certain privileges; but having declared their independence, and shed their blood, and expended their means to sustain it, these new offers of the British government were not likely to gain the confidence, or change the sentiments of those who had taken the lead in the cause of American liberty. Washington, in a letter to a member of Congress, after he had learned the purport of the conciliatory bills, expressed himself thus: "Nothing short of independence, it appears to me, can possibly do. A peace on other terms would, if I may be allowed the expression, be a peace of war. The injuries we have received from the British nation were so unprovoked, and have been so great and so many, that they can never be forgotten. Our fidelity as a people, our gratitude, our character as men, are opposed to a coalition with them as subjects, but in case of the last extremity." The subject appeared in the same light to Congress, and they unanimously resolved that no advances on the part of the British government would be met, unless, as a preliminary step, they either withdrew their armies and fleets, or acknowledged, unequivocally, the independence of the United States.

On the second of May, 1778, ten days after Congress had passed their resolves respecting Lord North's bill of conciliation, a messenger arrived in the United States, bearing treaties of amity, commerce, and alliance, between France and America, signed at Paris on the sixth of February,

1778, by which the independence of the United States was formally acknowledged by the former power. This intelligence was received with joy by the Americans, and the army participated in the rejoicings of the people on the occasion, and a day was set apart by the commander-in-chief for a public celebration in camp.

The British kept possession of Philadelphia through the winter and the spring following; and although Washington's camp was within twenty miles of the city, yet no enterprise was undertaken to molest him in his quarters. Foraging parties were sent out, and committed depredations on the inhabitants; but they were watched by the Americans, who sometimes met them in fierce and bloody rencontres. The British army in New York and Philadelphia, amounted to nearly thirty thousand, of which number 19,500 were in Philadelphia, and 10,400 in New York. There were besides 3,700 at Rhode Island. The American army on the 8th of May, 1778, did not exceed 15,000 men, including the detachments on the North river, and at other places. The number at Valley Forge was 11,800. The new establishment agreed upon by a committee of Congress at Valley Forge, was to consist of forty thousand continental troops, besides artillery and horse; but it was not supposed by a council of war, held on the eighth of May, that it could soon be raised higher than twenty thousand effective men, while the British army in the middle and eastern states amounted, as above stated, to upward of thirty-three thousand men.

Sir William Howe, having at his own request been recalled, resigned the command of the British army to Sir Henry Clinton, and embarked for England. About the same time, orders were received for the evacuation of Philadelphia. The great naval force of France rendered the city a dangerous position, and determined the British cabinet to withdraw their army from the Delaware.

On the morning of the eighteenth of June, Philadelphia was evacuated by the British army, which crossed the Delaware, and landed on Gloucester point. Their line extended nearly twelve miles, and as they were encumbered with numerous wagons, and compelled to stop and build bridges over the streams in their route, their progress was slow. It was the first purpose of Sir Henry Clinton to proceed to the Raritan, and embark his troops at Brunswick, or South Amboy, for New York; but finding Washington with his army in motion in that direction, he turned to the right, and took the road leading to Monmouth and Sandy Hook.

A council of war, called by Washington, to discuss the best mode of attacking the enemy on their march, was divided in opinion; Gen. Lee and others advising to avoid a general battle, but to harass the enemy upon flank and rear. Washington determined to act according to his own judgment, and sent forward a detachment to commence an attack, while he, with the rest of the army, followed to support the advance corps. Sir Henry Clinton, with the British army, encamped near Monmouth courthouse, whence they commenced their march on the twenty-eighth of June, and were attacked by the Americans. The battle became general, and lasted till night, when both armies remained on the field. The British troops withdrew during the night, and soon after proceeded to Sandy Hook, where they embarked on board a fleet for New York.

The battle of Monmouth, although favorable to the Americans, was not a decided victory; yet Congress viewed it somewhat in that light, and

passed a vote of thanks to the commander-in-chief and the army. The American loss was sixty-nine killed, while the British loss was much greater, being nearly three hundred. On their march through New Jersey, the British army lost by battle, captured as prisoners, and desertion, more than twelve hundred men. The conduct of General Lee at the battle of Monmouth, in ordering a hasty retreat of his detachment, and otherwise, was severely censured by Washington; he was consequently tried by a court-martial, found guilty of the charges against him, and suspended from his command for one year. He left the service, and died four years afterward, in Philadelphia.

After the action of Monmouth, General Washington marched with his army to the Hudson river, which he crossed, and encamped at White Plains, about twenty-five miles north of the city of New York. Before crossing the river, he heard of the arrival on the coast of a French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, consisting of twelve ships-of-the-line and four frigates. No time was lost by the American general in sending a letter of congratulation to the French admiral, and proposing to coöperate with him in plans for attacking the enemy. It was at first proposed to attack New York, by land and water; but the scheme was abandoned, and the French squadron sailed for Rhode Island, to attack the British forces there, chiefly in garrison at Newport. Various causes conspired to the failure of this expedition, by defeating the combined action of the land and naval forces. After leaving Newport, the French fleet was crippled by a storm and engagement at sea, and put into the harbor of Boston to refit, where they remained until November.

The American army was employed in various operations in the northern and eastern states, during the campaign of 1778, to guard against an apprehended attack by the British on Boston, or some other point at the eastward; but it was finally ascertained that the enemy had no design in that direction. Washington established his headquarters at Fredericksburg, thirty miles from West Point, on the borders of Connecticut, and at the close of the campaign put his army in winter-quarters at West Point, and at several other places, his headquarters being at Middlebrook, in New Jersey.

Notwithstanding the flattering prospects which the alliance with France held out for the American cause, General Washington at this time had many causes of anxiety which oppressed him, and filled his mind with the most gloomy feelings. Among the most prominent subjects of anxiety and apprehension, he viewed that of the apathy and dissensions among members of Congress, with alarm. The men of talent who had taken the lead in Congress, in the early period of the war, had gradually withdrawn from that body, until it had become small in numbers and comparatively feeble in counsels and resources. At no time were private jealousies and party feuds more rife or mischievous in their effects.

To those in whom he had confidence, Washington laid open his fears, and endeavored to awaken a sense of the public danger. To Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, he thus writes, on the 30th of December, 1778: "I confess to you that I feel more real distress on account of the present appearances of things, than I have done at any one time since the commencement of the dispute. But Providence has heretofore taken us up,

when all other means and hope seemed to be departing from us. In this I will confide."

A project for conquering Canada was at this time entertained in Congress; but Washington, being requested to communicate his sentiments on the subject, replied in a long letter to Congress, showing that the plan was impracticable, requiring resources in troops and money which were not to be had; also, that there were political reasons why it would be against the future interests of the United States for Canada to be restored to France, as would probably be the case if conquered by the allied forces of France and America. He afterward, in December, 1777, visited Philadelphia; and on a more full discussion of the subject with a committee of Congress, the Canada scheme was given up. The French government was also decidedly opposed to it, and it was the policy of that court that Canada and Nova Scotia should remain in the power of Great Britain.

The winter and spring of 1779 passed away without the occurrence of any remarkable event. The British remained within their lines at New York, apparently making no preparation for any enterprise of magnitude. General Washington, in the meantime, turned his attention to the fitting out of an expedition against the hostile Indians in the state of New York. General Sullivan was despatched with a large force to the Susquehannah river, and was completely successful in subduing the Indians.

Washington removed his headquarters to New Windsor, a few miles above West Point, distributing his army chiefly in and near the highlands of the Hudson river, but stationing a force below, to check any sudden incursion of the enemy. Washington at this time resolved upon an attack on the strong British post at Stony Point, on the Hudson river, and intrusted the enterprise to General Wayne. That officer stormed the works on the night of the 15th of July, with a body of picked men, and the assault was successful in all its parts. The number of prisoners captured by the Americans was 543, and the number killed on the side of the British was 63; while the American loss was 15 killed, and 83 wounded.

The campaign of 1779 having terminated, the American army went into winter quarters; the main body in the neighborhood of Morristown, in New Jersey, and various detachments on the Hudson river and in Connecticut. The headquarters of Washington were at Morristown. A descent upon Staten island by a party of Americans under Lord Stirling, a retaliatory incursion of the enemy into New Jersey, and a skirmish near White Plains, were the only military events during the winter.

In April, 1780, the marquis de Lafayette arrived at Boston from France, with the cheering intelligence that the French government had fitted out an armament of naval and land forces, which might soon be expected in the United States. On the 10th of July, the French fleet arrived at Newport, in Rhode Island. The armament consisted of seven or eight ships-of-the-line, two frigates, two bombs, and upward of five thousand men. The fleet was commanded by De Ternay, and the army by Count de Rochambeau. The general and troops were directed by the French government to be in all cases under the command of General Washington.

Having a decided naval superiority, the British fleet, under Admiral Arbuthnot, blockaded the French squadron in the harbor of Newport, and Rochambeau's army was obliged to remain there for its protection. This

state of things continued through the season, and no military enterprise was undertaken. Both parties stood on the defensive, watching each other's motions, and depending on the operations of the British and French fleets. General Washington encamped on the west side of the Hudson, below Orangetown, or Tappan, on the borders of New Jersey, which station he held till winter.

A conference was held between the commanders of the two allied armies, being suggested by Rochambeau, and readily assented to by Washington. They met at Hartford, in Connecticut, on the 21st of September. During the absence of General Washington, the army was left under the command of General Greene. No definite plan of operations could be agreed upon between the American and French commanders, as a naval superiority was essential to any effectual enterprise by land, and the French fleet was inferior to that of the British naval force on the American station.

At this time General Arnold held the command at West Point, and other fortified posts on the Hudson river, in the highlands. On Washington's return to West Point from the conference with the French commander at Hartford, he was filled with astonishment at the discovery of a plot which had been formed between General Arnold and Sir Henry Clinton, to deliver up the American post to the enemy—the agent employed by the British General being Major John André, adjutant-general in the British army. On the detection of his treachery, Arnold fled to a British sloop-of-war in the Hudson river, immediately after the arrival of Washington at West Point, on the 25th of September. Major André had been taken by the Americans, and was soon after removed to the headquarters of the army at Tappan.

On discovering the treason of Arnold, Washington took immediate measures to secure the posts. Orders were despatched to all the principal officers, and every precaution was taken. It was soon ascertained by Washington that no other officer in the American army was implicated in the conspiracy of Arnold; and he forthwith ordered a court of inquiry, consisting of a board of general officers, for the trial of Major André. Various papers were laid before the board, which met on the twenty-ninth of September, and André himself was questioned and desired to make such statements and explanations as he chose. After a full investigation, the board reported the essential facts which had appeared, with their opinion that he was a spy and ought to suffer death. General Washington approved this decision, and Major André was executed at Tappan, on the second of October. He met his fate with composure and dignity.

While André's case was pending, Sir Henry Clinton used every effort in his power to rescue him from his fate. He wrote to General Washington, and endeavored to show that he could not be regarded as a spy, inasmuch as he came on shore at the request of an American general, and afterward acted by his direction. Connected with all the circumstances, this argument could have no weight. There was no stronger trait in the character of Washington than humanity; the misfortunes and sufferings of others touched him keenly; and his feelings were deeply moved at the part he was compelled to act, in consenting to the death of André; yet justice to the office he held, and to the cause for which his countrymen were shedding their blood, left him no alternative.

While these operations were going on at the north, all the intelligence

from the southern states showed that the American cause was in a gloomy condition in that quarter. The British forces under Lord Cornwallis were overrunning the Carolinas, and preparations were making in New York to detach a squadron with troops to fall upon Virginia. The city of Charleston had been taken by the British in May, 1780, and the American army of six thousand, under General Lincoln, stationed there, surrendered prisoners-of-war. The defeat of General Gates near Camden, in South Carolina, in August, was a heavy blow to the Americans. Congress requested General Washington to appoint an officer to succeed Gates in the command of the southern army. With his usual discrimination and judgment, he selected General Greene, who repaired to the theatre of action, in which he was so eminently distinguished during the subsequent years of the war.

Congress at length adopted the important measures, in regard to the army, which Washington had earnestly and repeatedly advised. They decreed that all the troops thenceforward to be raised, should be enlisted to serve during the war; and that all the officers who continued in the service to the end of the war, should be entitled to half-pay for life. Washington ever believed that if this system had been pursued from the beginning, it would have shortened the war, or at least have caused a great diminution of the expense. Unfortunately, the states did not comply with the former part of the requisition, but adhered to the old method of filling up their quotas with men raised for three years, and for shorter terms. The extreme difficulty of procuring recruits, was the reason assigned for persevering in this practice.

The army went into winter quarters at the end of November; the Pennsylvania line near Morristown, the New Jersey regiments at Pompton, and the eastern troops in the Highlands. The headquarters of the commander-in-chief were at New Windsor, on the Hudson river. The French army remained at Newport, Rhode Island, except the duke de Lauzun's legion, which was cantoned at Lebanon, in Connecticut.

Washington felt with infinite regret, the succession of abortive projects throughout the campaign of 1780. In that year he had indulged the hope of terminating the war. In a letter to a friend, he wrote as follows: "We are now drawing to a close an inactive campaign, the beginning of which appeared pregnant with events of a very favorable complexion. I hoped, but I hoped in vain, that a prospect was opening which would enable me to fix a period to my military pursuits, and restore me to domestic life." * * * * * * * "But alas! these prospects, flattering as they were, have proved delusory; and I see nothing before us but accumulating distress. We have been half of our time without provisions, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines, nor money to form them. We have lived upon expedients until we can live no longer. In a word, the history of the war is a history of false hopes and temporary devices, instead of system and economy. It is in vain, however, to look back; nor is it our business to do so. Our case is not desperate, if virtue exists in the people, and there is wisdom among our rulers. But to suppose that this great revolution can be accomplished by a temporary army, that this army will be subsisted by state supplies, and that taxation alone is adequate to our wants, is, in my opinion, absurd."

A dangerous mutiny broke out in January, 1781, among the Pennsylvania troops stationed near Morristown, which was suppressed by the

prudence and good management of Gen. Wayne, acting under the advice of Washington, and aided by a committee of Congress. The latter proposed terms to the revolters, which were accepted. This mutiny was followed by a similar revolt of the New Jersey troops, which was promptly put down by an armed force under General Howe, by direction of Washington. Two of the ringleaders were tried by a court-martial and shot. By this summary proceeding, the spirit of mutiny in the army was subdued.

Colonel John Laurens, having been appointed on a mission to France, to obtain a loan and military supplies, Washington wrote a letter to that gentleman, in support of the application of Congress, which was first presented by the commissioner to Dr. Franklin, and afterward laid before the French king and cabinet. The French government having determined to grant the aid requested, previous to the arrival of Colonel Laurens, suggested that the money to be appropriated for the army, should be left at the disposal of General Washington.

On the first of May, 1781, General Washington commenced a military journal, from which the following is an extract: "I begin at this epoch a concise journal of military transactions, &c. I lament not having attempted it from the commencement of the war, in aid of my memory; and wish the multiplicity of matter which continually surrounds me, and the embarrassed state of our affairs, which is momentarily calling the attention to perplexities of one kind or another, may not defeat altogether, or so interrupt my present intention and plans, as to render it of little avail."

After briefly sketching the wants and condition of the army at the time, he adds: "In a word, instead of having anything in readiness to take the field, we have nothing; and instead of having the prospect of a glorious and offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and gloomy prospect of a defensive one; unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships, troops, and money, from our generous allies, and these at present are too contingent to build upon."

While the Americans were suffering the complicated calamities which introduced the year 1781, their adversaries were carrying on the most extensive plan of operations against them which had ever been attempted. The war raged in that year, not only in the vicinity of the British headquarters at New York, but in Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and in Virginia.

While the war raged in Virginia, the governor thereof, its representatives in Congress, and other influential citizens, urged his return, in defense of his native state. But, considering America as his country, and the general safety as his object, he deemed it of more importance to remain on the Hudson. In Washington's disregard of property, when in competition with national objects, he was in no respect partial to his own. While the British were in the Potomac, they sent a flag on shore to his estate at Mount Vernon requiring a fresh supply of provisions. To save the buildings from destruction his agent granted the supply of provisions required by the enemy. For this he received a severe reprimand from the general, who in a letter to the agent observed, that "it would have been a less painful circumstance to me to have heard, that in consequence of your noncompliance with the request of the British, they had burnt my house, and laid my plantation in ruins. You ought to have considered yourself as my representative, and should have reflected on the bad example of

communicating with the enemy, and making a voluntary offer of refreshment to them, with a view to prevent a conflagration."

Though, in conducting the war, General Washington often acted on the Fabian system, by evacuating, retreating, and avoiding decisive engagements, yet this was much more the result of necessity than of choice. His uniform opinion was in favor of energetic offensive operations, as the most effectual means of bringing the war to a termination. On this principle he planned attacks, in almost every year, on some one or other of the British armies or strong posts in the United States. He endeavored, from year to year, to stimulate the public mind to some great operation, bnt was never properly supported. In the years 1778, '79, and '80, the projected operations with the French, as has been related, entirely miscarried. The idea of ending the war by some decisive military exploit, continually occupied his active mind. To insure success, a naval superiority on the coast, and a loan of money, were indispensably necessary. To obtain these necessary aids, the French government were applied to, as already stated. His most Christian majesty (Louis XVI.) gave his American allies a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed in Holland. A naval coöperation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foes projected.

To mature the plan for the campaign, and to communicate personally with the French commanders, General Washington made a journey to Newport. He left headquarters on the second of March, and was absent nearly three weeks. The citizens of Newport received him with a public address, expressive of their attachment and gratitude for his services. A second meeting for consultation took place between the American and French commanders, at Wethersfield, in Connecticut, on the twenty-second of May. The two principal objects considered were, first, a southern expedition to act against the enemy in Virginia; secondly, a combined attack on New York. The French commander leaned to the former, but he yielded to the stronger reasons for the latter, which was decidedly preferred by General Washington. It was believed that Sir Henry Clinton's force in New York had been so much weakened by detachments, that the British general would be compelled either to sacrifice that place and its dependencies, or recall part of his troops from the south to defend them.

It was therefore agreed that Count de Rochambeau should march with the French army, as soon as possible, from Newport, and form a junction with the American army near the Hudson river.

The attention of Washington was but partially taken up with the affairs under his own eye. He held a constant correspondence with Generals Greene and Lafayette, who kept him informed of the operations at the south, and asked his advice and directions. Other sections of the country also required and received his care and attention.

On the sixth of July, the French army formed a junction with the American forces on the Hudson, a few miles north of the city of New York. The French army, which had marched in four divisions from Providence, by way of Hartford, occupied the left, in a single line extending to the river Bronx. The Americans encamped in two lines, with their right resting on the Hudson.

Preparations were made for an attack on New York, and Washington pushed forward with the main army to within four miles of King's bridge,

but finally fell back to Dobb's ferry, at which place the two armies continued six weeks. The American commander, observing how tardily his call on the respective states for troops was responded to, resolved not to make an attack until the arrival of the French fleet, under Count de Grasse, from the West Indies, then daily expected. At length, in August, he received a letter from De Grasse, informing him that he was about to sail with his whole fleet, and 3,200 land troops for the Chesapeake. Washington at once resolved to abandon the project of an attack upon New York, and, with the coöperation of Count de Rochambeau, proceeded without delay toward Virginia, with the whole of the French army, and as many Americans as could be spared from the posts on the Hudson. Washington and De Rochambeau preceded the army, and reached Lafayette's head quarters, at Williamsburg, Virginia, on the fourteenth of September, where, soon after, the whole army arrived. On his way, Washington made a flying visit to his seat at Mount Vernon, for the first time in six years, so completely had he devoted himself to the service of his country.

The French fleet under Count de Grasse, consisting of twenty-six ships-of-the-line and several frigates, entered the Chesapeake, where they were joined by the French squadron from Newport. Three thousand troops, under the marquis de St. Simon, disembarked from the French fleet, ascended the James river, and joined the allied armies at Williamsburg. The whole combined forces then took up their line of march for Yorktown, where the British army, under Lord Cornwallis, was intrenched; having erected strong fortifications at that place, and at Gloucester point, on the opposite shore.

On the thirtieth of September the allied armies completely invested Yorktown, the Americans being on the right, and the French on the left, in a semicircular line, each wing resting on York river. The post at Gloucester was invested by part of the French army and marines, with some Virginia militia. On the ninth and tenth of October, the Americans and French opened their batteries, and destroyed an English frigate and transport in the harbor. The siege lasted seventeen days, and was vigorously kept up, when, on the seventeenth of October, Lord Cornwallis proposed a cessation of hostilities, and the appointment of a commission to conclude upon terms for surrendering the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester. The proposition was accepted by General Washington, commissioners appointed, terms of surrender settled; and the articles were signed on the nineteenth of October, 1781.

On the afternoon of the day on which the capitulation was signed, the garrison marched out, and laid down their arms. The soldiers were surrendered to Washington, and the shipping in the harbor to the Count de Grasse. The number of prisoners was over seventeen thousand. The British lost, during the siege, between five and six hundred killed; the Americans about three hundred. The allied army consisted of about seven thousand American continental troops, five thousand French, and four thousand militia. The British force was only about half that of the allies; and doubtless Lord Cornwallis would have abandoned Yorktown before its investment, had he not confidently expected reinforcements from New York. On the very day of the surrender of Cornwallis, Sir Henry Clinton left New York with seven thousand men, on board of a fleet, to

reinforce the former; but on reaching the capes of the Chesapeake, he heard of the capture of Yorktown, and returned to New York.

The surrender of the British army at Yorktown was the last important military operation of the war of the Revolution. It was generally considered throughout the country as decisive of the contest in favor of the American cause. The year 1781 (says Ramsay) terminated, in all parts of the United States, in favor of the Americans. It began with weakness in Carolina, mutiny in New Jersey, and devastation in Virginia; nevertheless, at its close, the British were confined in their strongholds in or near New York, Charleston and Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured.

Washington endeavored, but in vain, to induce the count de Grasse to remain and assist in the reduction of Charleston; he pleaded special engagements in the West Indies, whence he sailed immediately, leaving with Rochambeau the three thousand land troops he brought with him. The French army cantoned during the winter at Williamsburg, in Virginia, whither the prisoners taken at Yorktown were marched; and the main body of the American army returned to its late position in New Jersey and upon the Hudson. A detachment, under General St. Clair, was sent to the south, to strengthen the army of General Greene. The French army remained in Virginia until the summer of 1782, when they joined the Americans on the Hudson. On the cessation of hostilities, they embarked from Boston for St. Domingo, in December, 1782.

Vigilant measures were adopted by Washington for the campaign of 1782; but fortunately they were unnecessary, for active hostilities soon after ceased. In the southern states some skirmishes took place; but these combats were chiefly partisan, carried on between whigs and tories.

General Washington left Yorktown on the fifth of November, and hastened to Eltham, where his wife was attending the death bed of her only son, Mr. Custis. He remained there a few days to mingle his grief with the relatives of Mr. Custis, who died at the age of twenty-eight, leaving four young children, the two youngest of whom, a son and daughter, were adopted by the general, and they resided in his family till the end of his life. From Eltham he proceeded by the way of Mount Vernon, to Philadelphia, receiving and answering various public addreses while on his journey. He attended Congress the day after his arrival, and was greeted with a congratulatory address by the president of that body. By request, he remained some time in Philadelphia, to confer with Congress, and that he might enjoy some respite from the fatigues of war; and joined the army in the following month of April, establishing his headquarters at Newburgh, on the Hudson river.

Sir Guy Carleton, who was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton in command of the British forces in America, arrived at New York early in May, 1782, bearing instructions to use all honorable means to bring about an accommodation with the United States. Both parties, therefore ceased offensive warfare, and preparations were made to conclude terms of peace. On the twentieth of January, 1783, the preliminary treaty was signed between France, Spain, and Great Britain, and on the third of September, definitive treaties of all the powers were signed at one time. Congress ratified the one with America on the fourteenth of January, 1784.

On the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, (April 19, 1783) a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in the American army. On the third of November following, the army was disbanded by the orders of Congress, and the three cities occupied by British troops were evacuated —Savannah in July, New York in November, and Charleston in December, of the same year.

The conclusion of peace, and the disbanding of the army, were events that reflecting men looked forward to with feelings of mingled joy and fear. Although the struggle had been brought to a triumphant issue by the United States, the country was impoverished. Much of the territory had been laid waste, commerce was nearly annihilated, a heavy burden of debt incurred by the war was weighing upon the people, and the circulating medium of paper money had become so utterly worthless, that, by a decree of Congress, its functions were terminated. Added to this, an army of about ten thousand men were large creditors to Congress, their pay being greatly in arrears. It was manifest that Congress was unable to meet the claims of the soldiers, and could only recommend their case to their respective states.

In the month of December, 1782, the officers in the army resolved to memorialize Congress upon the subject of their grievances, proposing that the half-pay for life should be commuted for a specific sum, and requesting government to give security for the fulfillment of its engagements. Congress had a stormy debate upon the subject; but as nine states could not be obtained to vote the commutation proposition, the whole matter was dropped. This neglect of Congress to provide for their wants, produced a violent ferment among the officers, and through them the whole army became excited, and many minds among them determined upon coercive measures. In the midst of this ferment, an anonymous notice for a meeting of the general and field-officers, and a commissioned officer from each company, was circulated in the camp, accompanied with a letter, or address, complaining of their great hardships, and asserting that their country, instead of relieving them, "trampled upon their rights, disdained their cries, and insulted their distresses."

Fortunately, Washington was in the camp, and, with his usual promptness and wisdom, called a general meeting of all the officers, in place of the irregular one. He condemned the tone of the letter, as implying a proposal either to desert their country or turn their arms against her, and then gave them the strongest pledges that he would use his utmost power to induce Congress to grant their demands. His address was a feeling one, and appealed directly to their patriotism and the nobler sentiments of the heart. When he had concluded, he immediately retired from the meeting. The deliberations of the officers were exceedingly brief, and resulted in the adoption of resolutions thanking the commander-in-chief for the course he had pursued, and expressing their unabated attachment to him, and confidence in the justice and good faith of Congress. They then separated, and with hearts glowing with warmer patriotism, resolved still longer to endure privations for their beloved country. Congress soon after made arrangements for granting the officers full pay for five years, instead of half-pay for life, and four months full pay for the army, in part payment of arrearages. But as there were no funds to make this payment

immediately, it required all the address of Washington to induce the soldiers to quietly return to their homes.

On the 24th of March, 1783, a letter was received from Lafayette, announcing the signing of the preliminary treaty; and Sir Guy Carleton gave official notice of the same soon after. In June, Washington wrote a circular letter to the governors of the States, having for its theme the general welfare of the country, in which he exhibited great ability, and the most truthful features of genuine patriotism. During the summer, many of the troops went home on furlough, and the commander-in-chief was employed, with Congress, in arranging a peace establishment, and making preparations for the evacuation of New York by the British troops. On the eighteenth of October, Congress issued a proclamation, discharging the troops from further service; and thus, in effect, the continental army was disbanded. This proclamation was soon followed by General Washington's Farewell Address to the Army, November 2, 1783; an address replete with sound wisdom and evidences of a virtuous attachment to the men and the cause with whom, and for which, he had labored for eight years.

A small body of troops, who had enlisted for a definite period, were retained in the service, and assembled at West Point, under General Knox. Arrangements having been made with Carleton for the evacuation and surrender of New York on the twenty-fifth of November, these troops proceeded to the city, and, as soon as the British were embarked, they entered in triumphal procession, with Governor Clinton and other civil officers of the State. The ceremonies of the day were ended by a public entertainment given by Governor Clinton, and, throughout the whole transaction, perfect order prevailed.

On the fourth of December Washington bade a final adieu to his companions in arms. "At noon," says Marshall, "the principal officers of the army assembled at Francis's tavern, in New York, soon after which their beloved commander entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them and 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 drank, he added: 'I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. The tear of manly sensibility was in every eye, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the dignified silence, and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to Whitehall, where a barge waited to convey him to Paulus's Hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and, waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment; and, after the barge had left them, returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled."

Washington then repaired to Annapolis, where Congress was in session, and on the twenty-third of December, resigned into their hands the commission he had received from that body more than eight years before, appointing him conmander-in-chief of the continental armies. In all the towns and villages through which he passed, public and private demonstrations of joy and gratitude met him on every side; and Congress resolved that the resignation of his commission should be in a public audience. A large concourse of distinguished persons was present; and, at the close of a brief address, Washington stepped forward and handed his commission to the president, (General Mifflin) who made an affectionate and appropriate reply. He then "hastened with ineffable delight" (to use his own words) to his seat at Mount Vernon, resolved there to pass the remainder of his days amid the pure and quiet pleasures of his domestic circle, enhanced a thousand-fold by the consideration that his country was free and independent, and had taken a place among the other nations of the earth.

The conclusion of the revolutionary war permitted Washington to return to those domestic scenes in which he delighted, and from which no views of ambition seem to have had the power to draw his affections. One of the greatest proofs of his patriotism was his refusal to receive any pecuniary compensation for his services as commander-in-chief during the eight years in which he had served his country in that capacity. When he accepted the appointment, he announced to Congress his determination to decline payment for his services. He simply asked the reimbursement of his expenses, an exact account of which he kept and presented to the government, drawn up by his own hand at the close of the war.

In the month of September, 1784, Washington made a tour to the western country, for the purpose of inspecting the lands he possessed beyond the Allegheny mountains, and also of ascertaining the practicability of opening a canal between the head-waters of the rivers running eastward into the Atlantic, and those that flow westward to the Ohio. The extent of this journey was six hundred and eighty miles, which he traveled on horseback. He crossed the mountains, and examined the waters of the Monongahela river, with the special view of deciding the question in his own mind, whether the Potomac and James rivers could be connected by internal navigation with the western waters. He conversed on the subject with such intelligent persons as he met, and kept a journal in which he recorded the results of his observations and inquiries. His thoughts had been turned to this enterprise before the Revolution; and soon after returning from this western tour, in October, 1784, he communicated to the governor of Virginia the fruits of his investigations in a letter, one of the ablest, most sagacious, and most important productions of his pen. The governor laid this letter before the legislature. It was the first suggestion of the great system of internal improvements which has since been pursued in the United States.

Washington was not long allowed to remain in retirement. To remedy the distress into which the country had been thrown by the war, and to organize a permanent plan of national government, a national convention of delegates from the several states was called, and met at Philadelphia in 1787. Having been chosen one of the delegates from Virginia, Washington was appointed to preside over the deliberations of the convention,

and used his influence to cause the adoption of the constitution of the United States.

By the unanimous voice of his fellow-citizens and of the electoral colleges, he was called, in 1789, to act as president of the United States, and cheerfully lent his aid in organizing the new government. Amid all the difficulties which occurred at that period from differences of opinion among the people, many of whom were opposed to the measures proposed and adopted, the national government would probably have perished in its infancy, if it had not been for the wisdom and firmness of Washington. During his first term the French revolution commenced, which convulsed the whole political world, and which tried most severely his moderation and prudence. His conduct was a model of firm and dignified moderation. Insults were offered to his authority by the minister of the French republic (Mr. Genet) and his adherents, in official papers, in anonymous libels, and by tumultuous meetings. The law of nations was trampled under foot. No vexation could disturb the tranquillity of his mind, or make him deviate from the policy which his situation prescribed. During the whole course of that arduous struggle, his personal character gave that strength to a new magistracy which in other countries arises from ancient habits of obedience and respect. The authority of his virtue was more efficacious for the preservation of America, than the legal powers of his office. During this turbulent period he was unanimously reëlected to the presidency, in 1793, for another term, although he had expressed a wish to retire. The nation was then nearly equally divided into two great political parties, who united on the name of Washington. Throughout the whole course of his second presidency the danger of the United States was great and imminent. The spirit of change, indeed, shook all nations. But in other countries it had to encounter ancient and strong established power; in America the government was new and weak; the people had scarcely time to recover from the effects of a recent civil war. Washington employed the horror excited by the atrocities of the French revolution for the best purposes; to preserve the internal quiet of his country; to assert the dignity and to maintain the rights of the commonwealth which he governed, against foreign enemies. He avoided war, without incurring the imputation of pusillanimity. He cherished the detestation of the best portion of his countrymen for anarchy, without weakening the spirit of liberty; and he maintained the authority of the government without infringing on the rights of the states, or abridging the privileges of the people. He raised no hopes that he did not gratify; he made no promises that he did not fulfill; he exacted proper respect due to the high office he held, and rendered to others every courtesy belonging to his high station.

Having determined to retire from the presidency at the expiration of his second term, in March, 1797, he issued in September, 1796, a farewell address to the people of the United States, which will be found in this volume, and which will remain as a permanent legacy to his countrymen through future generations, for its sentiments of patriotism, and sound maxims of political sagacity. He remained at the seat of goverment until the inauguration of his successor, Mr. Adams, which occasion he honored with his presence, and immediately retired to Mount Vernon to pass the remainder of his days in quiet retirement; but when, in 1798, the United States armed by sea and land, in consequence of their difficulties with

France, he consented to act as lieutenant-general of the army; but was never afterward called upon to take the field, although he bore the commission until his death. On Thursday, the twelfth of December, 1799, he was seized with an inflammation in his throat, which became considerably worse the next day, and which terminated his life on Saturday, the fourteenth of the same month, in the sixty-eighth year of his age.

"No man," says Colonel Knapp, in his biographical sketch, "was ever mourned so widely and sincerely as Washington. Throughout the United States, eulogies were pronounced upon his character, sermons were preached, or some mark of respect paid to his memory. It was not speaking extravagantly to say that a nation was in tears at his death. There have been popular men, who were great in their day and generation, but whose fame soon passed away. It is not so with the fame of Washington, it grows brighter by years. The writings of Washington (a portion only of which comprise eleven octavo volumes) show that he had a clear, lucid mind, and will be read with pleasure for ages to come."

"General Washington," says Judge Marshall, "was rather above the common size; his frame was robust, and his constitution vigorous—capable of enduring great fatigue, and requiring a considerable degree of exercise for the preservation of his health. His exterior created in the beholder the idea of strength united with manly gracefulness.

"His manners were rather reserved than free, though they partook nothing of that dryness and sternness which accompany reserve when carried to an extreme; and on all proper occasions he could relax sufficiently to show how highly he was gratified by the charms of conversation, and the pleasures of society. His person and whole deportment exhibited an unaffected and indescribable dignity, unmingled with haughtiness, of which all who approached him were sensible; and the attachment of those who possessed his friendship, and enjoyed his intimacy, was ardent, but always respectful.

"His temper was humane, benevolent, and conciliatory; but there was a quickness in his sensibility to anything apparently offensive, which experience had taught him to watch and to correct.

"In the management of his private affairs he exhibited an exact yet liberal economy. His funds were not prodigally wasted on capricious and ill-examined schemes, nor refused to beneficial though costly improvements. They remained, therefore, competent to that extensive establishment which his reputation, added to an hospitable temper, had in some measure imposed upon him, and to those donations which real distress had a right to claim from opulence.

"In his civil administration, as in his military career, were exhibited ample and repeated proofs of that practical good sense, of that sound judgment, which is perhaps the most rare, and is certainly the most valuable quality of the human mind.

"In speculation he was a real republican, devoted to the constitution of his country, and to that system of equal political rights on which it is founded. But between a balanced republic and a democracy, the difference is like that between order and chaos. Real liberty, he thought, was to be preserved only by preserving the authority of the laws, and maintaining the energy of government."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF ANDREW JACKSON.

THE ancestors of Andrew Jackson, the seventh president of the United States, were among the emigrants from Scotland to the province of Ulster, in Ireland, at a period when it was the policy of the English government to promote the colonization of settlers from England and Scotland to the confiscated lands of the Irish. The family of Jackson was therefore of Scottish origin; and they were attached to the Presbyterian church. Hugh Jackson, the grandfather of the subject of the present sketch, was a linen draper, near Carrickfergus, in Ireland. His four sons were respectable farmers; of whom Andrew, the youngest, married Elizabeth Hutchinson, and had in Ireland two sons, Hugh and Robert. The unfortunate condition of his native country induced him to dispose of his farm, and in 1765, with his wife and children, to emigrate to America, and settle in South Carolina. Samuel Jackson, a son of another of the brothers, at a subsequent period, emigrated to Pennsylvania, and became a citizen of Philadelphia.

Three of the neighbors of Andrew Jackson, named Crawford, emigrated to America with him, and the four emigrants purchased lands and settled in the Waxhaw settlement, South Carolina, near the line of North Carolina.

On this plantation of his father, at Waxhaw settlement, Andrew Jackson, the subject of this memoir, was born, on the 15th of March, 1767. His father died about the time of his birth, leaving his farm to his widow, and his name to his infant son.

Left with three young sons, and moderate means, Mrs. Jackson gave her two oldest a common school education, while the youngest she desired to see prepared for the ministry, and, at a proper age, placed him under the tuition of Mr. Humphries, principal of the Waxhaw academy, where he made considerable progress in his studies, including Latin and Greek, until interrupted by the events of the war of the revolution. Although but about eight years of age, when the first conflicts between the British and Americans took place, Andrew Jackson soon became accustomed to the stirring scenes around him, of the friends and neighbors of his mother training themselves for battle, and preparing to defend their homes from the attacks and ravages of the invading foe.

The British commanding officers in America having resolved to carry the war into the southern states, Savannah, in Georgia, was taken in 1778, and South Carolina invaded in the spring of 1779. The militia were summoned to the field to repel them, and Hugh Jackson, the oldest brother of Andrew, lost his life in the fatigues of the service. A battle took place at the Waxhaw settlement, between the British and Americans, in May, 1780, when 113 Americans were killed, and 150 wounded. Considerable ammunition and stores fell into the hands of the enemy. In the Waxhaw meetinghouse, where the wounded were carried, Andrew Jackson, then thirteen

years of age, first saw the horrors of war. The mangled bodies of his countrymen confirmed the impression made upon his youthful mind by the tales of English oppression and cruelty which he had so often heard from his mother and kindred, while relating scenes of tyranny in Ireland, from which his father had fled to find a retreat in America.

In the summer of 1780, Andrew Jackson, being then but little more than thirteen years of age, in company with his brother Robert, joined a corps of volunteers, under the command of Colonel Davie, to attempt the defence of that part of the country against a body of British troops and tories who had penetrated into the interior of the Carolinas. Davie's corps was attached to General Sumpter's brigade, and an action took place on the 6th of August, 1780, between the American troops and the British and tories, at a place called Hanging Rock. The corps of Davie, in which the young Jacksons fought, particularly distinguished itself, and suffered heavy loss.

Not being regularly attached to any military corps, on account of their youth, Robert and Andrew Jackson did not participate in many of the numerous affairs in which the Americans were engaged with the British during their long campaign in the Carolinas. They retired with their mother into North Carolina for some time, leaving their home on the approach of the British army in that quarter. In 1781, both of the boys were taken prisoners by a party of dragoons. While a prisoner, Andrew Jackson was ordered by a British officer to clean his muddy boots, which the young soldier refusing, he received a wound with a sword from the officer, and the wound left a scar which Jackson carried with him to his grave. His brother Robert, for a similar offence, received a wound on his head, from the effects of which he never recovered. The brothers were retained some time in captivity, at Camden, where their sufferings were great from their wounds and the smallpox, then prevalent among the prisoners. Being finally released, by exchange, the Jacksons, accompanied by their mother, returned home to the Waxhaw settlement, where Robert died in two days afterward. By kind nursing and the care of a physician, Andrew finally recovered from a dangerous sickness. His mother died soon after this, from the effects of a fever taken on board the prison-ship at Charleston, whither she went on an adventure of kindness and mercy, for the relief of some of her relatives and friends confined on board of that vessel. Thus every member of the Jackson family which came from Ireland to America to escape British oppression, perished through the effects of the same oppression in America. The only remnant of the family was an American-born son, who, through many perils, lived to be the avenger of his race.

At the close of the war of the revolution, Andrew Jackson was left alone in the world, his own master, with some little property, but without the benefit of parental counsel or restraint. At first associating with idle young men, he imbibed loose and extravagant habits, which he suddenly determined to reform. Changing his course of life, he commenced the study of law, at Salisbury, North Carolina, with Spruce M'Cay, Esq., then an eminent counsellor, and subsequently a judge of distinction. This was in the winter of 1784, when he was in his eighteenth year. He finished his studies under Colonel Stokes, and in a little more than two years he was licensed to practice law. Soon after this, without solicitation on his

part, he received from the Governor of North Carolina the appointment of solicitor for the western district of that state, embracing the present state of Tennessee.

At the age of twenty-one, in 1788, Andrew Jackson, accompanied by Judge McNairy, crossed the mountains to take up his abode in Tennessee, then the western district of North Carolina. For several months he resided at Jonesborough, then the principal seat of justice in that district. In 1789, he first visited the infant settlement on the Cumberland river, near the present site of Nashville. The settlers had at this time many difficulties with the Indians, who were then numerous, and hostile to the whites. During this perilous period, Jackson performed twenty-one journeys across the wilderness of two hundred miles, then intervening between Jonesborough and the Cumberland settlements. He was frequently under arms, with other settlers, to protect parties of emigrants from the attacks of the Indians. He was also engaged in several expeditions against the Indians, in one of which, in 1794, the native town of Nickajack, near the Tennessee river, was destroyed. By his gallantry in these affairs, Jackson became well known to the Indians, who gave him the names of "*Sharp Knife*" and "*Pointed Arrow.*" He gained equally their respect and that of his companions, the hardy settlers of Tennessee.

Having determined to make the neighborhood of Nashville his permanent home, Jackson, with his friend Judge Overton, became boarders in the family of Mrs. Donelson, the widow of Colonel John Donelson, an emigrant from Virginia. Mrs. Rachel Robards, her daughter, who afterward became the wife of Jackson, was then living with her mother. This lady was celebrated for her beauty, affability, and other attractions. Her husband, Captain Robards, was a man of dissolute habits and jealous disposition. A separation took place, and Robards applied to the legislature of Virginia for a divorce; soon after intelligence was received that his petition had been granted. Mrs. Robards was then at Natchez, on the Mississippi, and Jackson, considering that she was free to form a new connection, in the summer of 1791 went down to Natchez, paid her his addresses, and was accepted. In the fall they were married, and returned to the Cumberland, where they were cordially received by their mutual friends.

In December, 1793, Jackson learned, for the first time, that the act of the Virginia legislature did not grant a divorce, but only authorized a suit for divorce in a Kentucky court, which had just been brought to a successful issue. Surprised and mortified at this information, on his return to Nashville, in January, 1794, he took out a license, and was again regularly married. The conduct of Jackson in this affair was considered, by those familiar with the circumstances, correct and honorable, and perfectly consistent with true morality. His friend and confidential associate remarks: "In his singularly delicate sense of honor, and in what I thought his chivalrous conception of the female sex, it occurred to me that he was distinguished from every other person with whom I was acquainted."

Jackson, after his marriage, applied himself with renewed diligence to his profession in the practice of the law. Circumstances connected with his professional business required the exercise of his firmness of character and courage, in no ordinary degree. There had been a combination of debtors against him, as he was employed by creditors for the collection of claims, which he succeeded in breaking down, but not without making bit-

ter enemies. Bullies were stimulated to attack and insult him, and thus brought him into several personal contests, which generally ended in a severe punishment of the aggressors, by the bold and fearless Jackson.

In 1795, the people of Tennessee elected delegates to a convention for the formation of a state constitution, preparatory to admission into the Union. Of that convention Jackson was chosen a member by his neighbors, and took an active part in the formation of the constitution. The convention sat at Knoxville from the 11th of January to the 6th of February, 1796, and Tennessee was admitted into the Union as a state, by act of Congress, on the 1st of June, the same year. Jackson was chosen the first representative from the new state in Congress, and took his seat in the house on the 5th of December, 1796. His term expired on the 3d of March following, and he was prevented from continuing longer in that body, being elected by the legislature of Tennessee to the senate of the United States, where he took his seat on the 22d of November, 1797, being then only a few months over thirty years of age. He appears not to have been ambitious or anxious for political distinction at that time, for, after serving one session, he resigned his seat in the senate. During his short career in Congress, it is believed that he made no speeches; but in his votes he acted with the democratic party, opposing the administration of Washington at its close, and subsequently that of John Adams. While a member of the house, he was one of a minority of twelve democrats, among whom were Edward Livingston, Nathaniel Macon, and William B. Giles, who voted against an answer to Washington's last speech to Congress; because that answer expressly approved of the measures of Washington's administration, some of which were condemned by the democratic party. The state gave her first vote for president to Mr. Jefferson, in 1796, which vote she repeated in 1800. In the political revolution which elevated Mr. Jefferson to the presidency, Jackson participated, and acted with the friends of Mr. Jefferson; but little effort was required, however, to secure the vote for the democratic candidates, in a state so uniformly devoted to that party as Tennessee.

At this period, the popularity of Jackson in Tennessee was equal, if it did not exceed that of any other citizen of the state. Soon after his resignation as senator, the legislature again honored him by conferring upon him the appointment of judge of the supreme court of the state. This office he accepted, and for a time performed the duties of the station; but, owing to ill health, he determined to resign and retire to private life. This intention he was induced to defer for the present, in consequence of remonstrances from members of the legislature and others, who entreated him to remain upon the bench.

The circumstances in which Jackson was placed, and his course in several public affairs, occasioned a misunderstanding between him and other leading men in Tennessee. Among those who became his enemies, were Judge McNairy and Governor Sevier. A personal quarrel with the latter occasioned a challenge from Judge Jackson, which was accepted by the governor, and the parties, without any formal arrangement, met on horseback, each armed with a brace of pistols, the governor having also a sword, while Jackson had a cane, which he carried as a spear. Putting spurs to his horse, he charged upon his antagonist in a bold and unexpected manner, and the governor dismounted to avoid the shock. The interference

of the governor's attendants prevented any serious mischief, and by the intercession of mutual friends, further hostile intentions were abandoned. The affair, however, occasioned sundry angry publications by the friends of the respective parties, which show the peculiar state of society then existing in the frontier settlements, where men holding the highest public stations were engaged in personal renconters.

Previous to his affair with Governor Sevier, Jackson was appointed major-general of the militia of the state, viz., in 1802. His competitor was John Sevier, who was then also a candidate for governor. The votes of the officers by whom the appointment of general was made being equally divided, the decision devolved on Governor Roane, who gave it in favor of Jackson.

On the purchase of Louisiana from France, in 1803, by the United States, there were apprehensions of a difficulty with Spain, when the Americans should take possession of the territory. The Tennessee militia were called upon for aid in case of need, and by request of the secretary of war, General Jackson caused boats to be prepared to transport the troops to New Orleans; but neither the boats, nor his own proffered services, were required, as the Spaniards made no resistance to the peaceful transfer and occupation of Louisiana.

In 1804, General Jackson, having served six years on the bench, resigned his office of judge of the supreme court. His biographer and friend, Mr. Kendall, remarks that he "was not made for what is usually called a first-rate lawyer. His mode of reasoning would not permit him to seek for justice through a labyrinth of technicalities and special pleading. Yet few, if any, exceeded him in seizing on the strong points of a case, and with vigor and clearness applying to them the great points of law. As a lawyer, in criminal prosecutions, the case of his client always became his own, and he was considered one of the most eloquent and effective among his contemporaries. As a judge, his opinions were always clear, short, and to the point, aiming at justice, without the affectation of eloquence, or of superior learning. His retirement from the bench gratified only those who feared his justice, while it was deeply regretted by a large majority of the community."

After his resignation as judge, General Jackson found that retirement which he had long desired. Having acquired a moderate fortune, he took up his residence on his plantation on the banks of the Cumberland, near Nashville, and not far from that which he subsequently occupied under the name of the Hermitage. His time was now devoted to the pursuits of agriculture, in one of the finest districts of country in the United States, and his house was always the abode of hospitality, where his numerous friends and acquaintances were received by him with a cordial welcome.

In addition to other pursuits on his plantation, much of General Jackson's attention was given to the raising of fine horses, from the most improved breeds of the southern states. He consequently became a frequenter of race-courses at the west, to bring out his favorite horses, and occasionally lost and won in the sports of the turf. These affairs led to one of the most unfortunate events of his life. In consequence of a quarrel, which ended in blows, between Jackson and Charles Dickinson, on the subject of a bet made at a horse-race, followed by an abusive publication on the part of Dickinson, charging Jackson with cowardice, the general

sent Dickinson a challenge. The duel took place at Harrison's mills, on Red river, in Kentucky, on the 30th of May, 1806. The word being given Dickinson fired first, his ball taking effect in Jackson's breast, and shattering two of his ribs; the next instant Jackson fired, although thus severely wounded, and Dickinson fell; he was taken to a neighboring house, and survived but a few hours. This melancholy affair caused much excitement in Tennessee at the time, and various publications on the subject appeared from the friends of the respective parties, and General Jackson himself; but the certificates of the seconds declared that the duel had been fairly conducted, according to the previous understanding of the parties. The firmness of nerve displayed by General Jackson in this duel was remarkable, considering that he was wounded before discharging his pistol. Some weeks transpired before he recovered from the effects of his wounds.

During the short period while General Jackson was a member of Congress, he had formed the acquaintance of Colonel Aaron Burr, who, in 1805, visited the western country, and spent several days at the residence of Jackson. Burr, in his journal, describes the general as "once a lawyer, after a judge, now a planter; a man of intelligence; and one of those prompt, frank, ardent souls whom I love to meet." The general treated him with great kindness and hospitality, and understanding that his object was the settlement of a tract of land in Louisiana, and the making arrangements for the invasion of Mexico, in case of a war with Spain, he rendered him such assistance as he could afford, and procured for him a boat to descend the Cumberland river.

In 1806, Colonel Burr again returned to the western country, and commenced preparations for an expedition. General Jackson offered to accompany him to Mexico with a body of troops, in case of a war with Spain; but declined holding communication with him if he had any hostile intentions against the United States. Burr assured him, in the most positive terms, that he had no such hostile design; but Jackson having his suspicions, the previous intimacy between him and Burr ceased. He afterward received orders from the war department to call out the military, if necessary, to suppress Burr's projects, and arrest Burr himself. Twelve military companies of the militia under his command, were ordered out by General Jackson, but as Burr had descended the Cumberland and Mississippi rivers, with only a few unarmed men, the general dismissed the troops, and reported his proceedings to the government.

After Burr was arrested and taken to Richmond, Virginia, for trial, on a charge of treason against the United States, General Jackson was summoned as a witness, but was not examined. He knew nothing tending to criminate the accused, and his evidence, if given, would have been in favor of Burr. It may be here remarked, that Colonel Burr's respect for General Jackson continued through life; and he always spoke of him as a man of integrity and honor. It is believed that he was the first to name him (though this was then unknown to the general himself), as early as 1815, in his private correspondence, as a suitable candidate for the presidency.

General Jackson continued in private life, attending to his agricultural employments, until the war of 1812 with Great Britain. Having become interested in a mercantile establishment in Nashville, the management of which he intrusted to his partner in that business, he became seriously

involved in the debts of the concern, which he was compelled to close; and, for the payment of his debts, sold his residence and plantation. He then retired into a log cabin, near the place since called "the Hermitage," and commenced the world anew. By a prudent and economical management of his affairs, he soon retrieved his pecuniary condition, and again became possessed of the means of comfort and enjoyment.

But a period approached when the pleasures and endearments of home were to be abandoned, for the duties of more active life. War with Great Britain was declared by the Congress of the United States on the 12th of June, 1812. General Jackson, ever devoted to the interests of his country, from the moment of the declaration knew no wish so strong as that of entering into her service against a power which, independent of public considerations, he had many private reasons for disliking. In her he could trace sufferings and injuries received, and the efficient cause why, in early life, he had been left forlorn and wretched, without a single relation in the world. His proud and inflexible mind, however, could not bend to solicit an appointment in the army which was about to be raised. He accordingly remained wholly unknown, until, at the head of the militia employed against the Creek Indians, his constant vigilance, and the splendor of his victories, apprized the general government of those great military talents which he so eminently possessed and conspicuously displayed, when opportunities for exerting them were afforded.

The acts of Congress on the 6th of February and July, 1812, afforded the means of bringing into view a display of those powers which, being unknown, unfortunately might have slumbered in inaction. Under the authority of these acts, authorizing the president to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers, he addressed the citizens of his division, and twenty-five hundred flocked to his standard. A tender of them having been made, and the offer accepted, in November he received orders to place himself at their head, and to descend the Mississippi, for the defence of the lower country, which was then supposed to be in danger. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, 1812, those troops rendezvoused at Nashville, prepared to advance to their place of destination; and although the weather was then excessively severe, and the ground covered with snow, no troops could have displayed greater firmness. The general was everywhere with them, inspiring them with the ardor that animated his own bosom.

Having procured supplies, and made the necessary arrangements for an active campaign, they proceeded, the 7th of January, 1813, on their journey, and descending the Ohio and Mississippi, through cold and ice, arrived and halted at Natchez. Here Jackson had been instructed to remain, until he should receive further orders. Having chosen a healthy site for the encampment of his troops, he devoted his time to training and preparing them for active service. The clouds of war, however, in that quarter having blown over, an order was received from the secretary of war, dated the fifth of January, directing him, on receipt thereof, to dismiss those under his command from service, and to take measures for delivering over every article of public property in his possession to General Wilkinson. When this order reached his camp, there were one hundred and fifty on the sick report, and almost the whole of them destitute of the means of defraying the expenses of their return. The consequence of a strict com-

pliance with the secretary's order, would have been, that many of the sick must have perished, while most of the others, from their destitute condition, would, of necessity, have been compelled to enlist in the regular army, under General Wilkinson.

General Jackson could not think of sacrificing or injuring an army that had shown such devotedness to their country; and he determined to disregard the order, and march them again to their homes in Tennessee, where they had been embodied. This determination met with the disapprobation of his field officers, and of General Wilkinson; but persisting in his design, General Jackson marched the whole of his division to the section of country whence they had been drawn, and dismissed them from service, as he had been instructed. The sick were transported in wagons, at the same time. It was at a time of the year when the roads were bad, and the swamps lying in their passage deep and full; yet the general placed before his troops an example of patience under hardships that lulled to silence all complaints, and won to him, still stronger than before, the esteem and respect of every one. On arriving at Nashville, he communicated to the president of the United States the course he had pursued, and the reasons that had induced it. His conduct was in the end approved, and the expenses incurred directed to be paid by the government.

The volunteers who had descended the river having been discharged early in May, 1813, there was little expectation that they would again be called for. Tennessee was too remotely situated in the interior, to expect their services would be required for the defence of the state; and thus far, the British had discovered no serious intention of waging operations against any part of Louisiana. Their repose, however, was not of long duration. The Creek Indians, inhabiting the country lying between the Chattahoochee and Tombigbee rivers, and extending from the Tennessee river to the Florida line, had lately manifested strong symptoms of hostility toward the United States. This disposition was greatly strengthened through means used by the northern Indians, who were then making preparations for a war against the United States, and who wished to engage the southern tribes in the same enterprise.

An artful impostor had, about this time, sprung up among the Shawnees, a northern tribe, who, by passing for a prophet, had acquired a most astonishing influence among his own and the neighboring Indian tribes. He succeeded in a short time in kindling a phrensy and rage against the Anglo-Americans, which soon after burst forth in acts of destructive violence. His brother, Tecumseh, who became so famous during the war, and who was killed subsequently at the battle of the Thames, in Canada, was despatched to the southern tribes, to excite in them the same temper. To the Creeks, then the most numerous and powerful of the southern Indians, he directed his principal attention, and in the spring of 1812 he had repeated conferences with the chiefs of that nation. Deriving his powers from his brother, the prophet, whose extraordinary commission and endowments were, previous to this, well understood by the tribes in the south, his authority was regarded with the highest veneration. To afford additional weight to his councils, Tecumseh gave assurances of aid and support from Great Britain; and having made other arrangements to carry out his plans, he returned to his own tribe.

From this time, a regular communication was kept up between the Creeks

and the northern tribes, while depredations were committed on the frontier settlers by parties of the allied Indians. In the summer of 1812, several families were murdered near the mouth of the Ohio, and soon afterward similar outrages were committed in Tennessee and Georgia. These acts were not sanctioned by the chiefs of the Creek nation, for, on application to them by the general government, the offenders were punished with death. No sooner was this done, than the spirit of the greater part of the nation suddenly kindled into civil war.

They first attacked their own countrymen who were friendly to the United States, and compelled them to retire toward the white settlements for protection. After this, they collected a supply of ammunition from the Spaniards at Pensacola, and on the 30th of August, 1813, commenced an assault at Fort Mimms, in the Mississippi territory, which they succeeded in carrying, and put to death nearly three hundred persons, including women and children, with the most savage barbarity. Only seventeen of the whole number in the fort escaped, to bring intelligence of the catastrophe.

This monstrous and unprovoked outrage was no sooner known in Tennessee, than the whole state was thrown into a ferment, and immediate measures were taken to inflict exemplary punishment on the hostile Indians. The legislature, by the advice of numerous citizens, among whom were the governor and General Jackson, authorized the executive to call into the field 3,500 men, to be marched against the Indians. The troops were placed under the command of General Jackson, notwithstanding he was at the time seriously indisposed, from the effects of a fractured arm, owing to a wound received by him from a pistol-shot, in a fight with Colonel Thomas H. Benton, at a public house in Nashville.

The army under General Jackson marched into the Indian country in October, 1813. Crossing the Tennessee river, and learning that a large body of the enemy had posted themselves at Tallushatchee, on the river Coosa, General Coffee was detached with nine hundred men to attack and disperse them. This was effected, with a small loss on the part of the Tennessee troops, while the Indians lost 186 killed, among whom were, unfortunately, and through accident, a few women and children. Eighty-four Indian women and children were taken prisoners, and treated with the utmost humanity.

Another battle with over a thousand of the Creeks, took place shortly after at Talladega, thirty miles below Tallushatchee—the Tennessee troops being commanded by General Jackson in person—when 300 Indians were left dead on the field, and about as many more slain in their flight.

This campaign was protracted much longer than would otherwise have been the case, in consequence of the want of supplies of provisions for the army, which caused large numbers of the troops to return to their homes. Having at length obtained supplies, and being joined by more troops, Gen. Jackson advanced still further into the enemy's country. Several battles took place with the Indians, the most sanguinary of which was that of Tohopeka, or the Horseshoe, at the bend of the Tallapoosa river. On that occasion 557 warriors, of 1,000 in the engagement, were found dead on the field, besides many others who were killed and thrown into the river, while the battle raged, or shot in attempting to escape by swimming. Over 300 prisoners were taken, all, but three or four, women and children

In this and other battles, the whites were assisted by a considerable body of friendly Creek and Cherokee Indians, who engaged in pursuing and destroying their fugitive countrymen with the most unrelenting rigor, "a circumstance," says Eaton, in his life of Jackson, "which the patriot must ever view with abhorrence; and although, from necessity or policy, he may be compelled to avail himself of the advantages afforded by such a circumstance, he can never be induced either to approve or justify it."

The battle of the Horseshoe gave a deathblow to the hopes of the Indians; nor did they venture afterward to make a stand. The principal chiefs came in, made their submission to General Jackson, and sued for peace; the campaign was ended, and the troops were marched back to Tennessee and discharged.

In May, 1814, General Jackson received the appointment of major-general in the army of the United States, on the resignation of General Harrison. Previous to this appointment, a commission as brigadier and brevet major-general had been forwarded to General Jackson, but his commission for the higher office being received the day after the notification of the other, he had not sent his answer to the war department, and the appointment of major-general was accepted.

The contest with the Indians being ended, the first and principal object of the government was, to enter into some definite arrangement which should deprive of success any effort that might thereafter be made, by other powers, to enlist those savages in their wars. None was so well calculated to answer this end, as that of restricting their limits, so as to cut off their communication with British and Spanish agents, in East and West Florida.

No treaty of friendship or boundary had yet been entered into by the government with the Indians; they remained a conquered people, and within the limits, and subject to the regulations and restrictions which had been prescribed in March, 1814, by General Jackson, when he retired from the country. He was now, by the government, called upon to act in a new and different character, and to negotiate the terms upon which an amicable understanding should be restored between the United States and these conquered Indians. Colonel Hawkins, who for a considerable time past had been the agent of the Creek nation, was also associated in the mission.

On the 10th of June, 1814, General Jackson, with a small retinue, reached the Alabama, and on the 10th of August, succeeded in procuring the execution of a treaty, in which the Indians pledged themselves no more to listen to foreign emissaries—to hold no communication with British or Spanish garrisons; guarantied to the United States the right of erecting military posts in their country, and a free navigation of all their waters. They stipulated also, that they would suffer no agent or trader to pass among them, or hold any kind of commerce or intercourse with the nation, unless specially deriving his authority from the president of the United States.

The treaty also settled the boundary and defined the extent of territory secured to the Creeks, and that which they were required to surrender. Sufficient territory was acquired on the south by the United States, to give security to the Mobile settlements, and to the western borders of Georgia, effectually cutting off the communication of the Creeks with the Chicka-

saws and Choctaws, and separating them from the Seminole tribes, and other unfriendly Indians in Florida.

The retreat of the savages in Florida had been always looked upon as a place whence the United States might apprehend serious difficulties to arise. General Jackson entertained the belief that the British, through this channel, with the aid of the Spanish governor, had protected the Indians, and supplied them with arms and ammunition. He received certain information, when on his way to negotiate the treaty with the Indians, that about three hundred English troops had landed; were fortifying themselves at the mouth of the Apalachicola, and were endeavoring to excite the Indians to war. No time was lost in giving the government notice of what was passing, and of the course he deemed advisable to be pursued. The advantages to be secured from the possession of Pensacola he had frequently urged. But the government were unwilling to encounter the risk of a rupture with Spain, by authorizing the United States troops to enter her territory, while she occupied a neutral position; and Jackson was unable to obtain any answer to his repeated and pressing applications to be allowed to make a descent upon Pensacola, and reduce it, which, he gave it as his opinion, would bring the war in the south to a speedy termination. The secretary of war, General Armstrong, however, wrote him a letter on the 18th of July, 1814, which Jackson did not receive until the 17th of January, 1815, after the war was over, in which he remarked that, "If the Spanish authorities admit, feed, arm, and coöperate with the British and hostile Indians, we must strike, on the broad principle of self-preservation; under other and different circumstances we must forbear."

The general, afterward speaking of this transaction, remarked: "If this letter, or any hint that such a course would have been winked at by the government, had been received, it would have been in my power to have captured the British shipping in the bay. But acting on my own responsibility, against a neutral power, it became essential for me to proceed with more caution than my judgment or wishes approved, and consequently, important advantages were lost, which might have been secured."

Having ascertained, through some Indian spies, that a considerable English force had arrived in Florida, and that muskets and ammunition had been given to the Indians, General Jackson wrote to the Spanish governor of Pensacola, apprizing him of the information received, and demanding the surrender to him of such chiefs of the hostile Indians as were with him. The governor, after some delay, replied to this letter, denying that any hostile Indians were with him at that time; nor could he refuse those Indians assistance, on the ground of hospitality, when their distresses were so great, or surrender them without acting in open violation of the laws of nations. He also demanded to be informed if the United States were ignorant that, at the conquest of Florida, there was a treaty between Great Britain and the Creek Indians, and whether they did not know that it still existed between Spain and those tribes. In the same letter, the governor accused the United States government of having harbored traitors from the Mexican provinces, and of countenancing pirates who had committed robberies upon the merchant-vessels of Spain.

The general answered this letter by another equally high-toned, in which, among other things, he says: "Your excellency has been candid enough

to admit your having supplied the Indians with arms. In addition to this, I have learned that a British flag has been seen flying on one of your forts. All this is done, while you are pretending to be neutral. You can not be surprised, then, but, on the contrary, will provide a fort in your town for my soldiers and Indians, should I take it in my head to pay you a visit.

"In future, I beg you to withhold your insulting charges against my government, for one more inclined to listen to slander than I am; nor consider me any more as a diplomatic character, unless so proclaimed to you from the mouths of my cannon."

Captain Gordon, who had been despatched to Pensacola, on his return, reported to the general that he had seen from one hundred and fifty to two hundred officers and soldiers, a park of artillery, and about five hundred Indians, under the drill of British officers, armed with new muskets, and dressed in English uniform.

Jackson directly brought to the view of the government the information he had received, and again urged his favorite scheme, the reduction of Pensacola. Many difficulties were presented; but, to have all things in a state of readiness for action, when the time should arrive to authorize it, he addressed the governors of Tennessee, Louisiana, and the Mississippi territory, informing them of the necessity of holding all the forces allotted for the defence of the southwestern military district, in a state of readiness to march at any notice, and to any point where they might be required. The warriors of the different Indian tribes were ordered to be marshaled, and taken into pay of the government.

On the day after completing his business at Fort Jackson, he departed for Mobile, to place the country in a state of defence. He had already despatched his adjutant-general, Colonel Butler, to Tennessee, with orders to raise volunteers; and on the 27th September, 1814, two thousand able bodied men, well supplied with rifles and muskets, assembled under the command of General Coffee, at Fayetteville, Tennessee, to march for Mobile, a distance of at least four hundred miles. The regular forces, lately enlisted, marched from Nashville to Mobile in about fourteen days.

As General Jackson kept his own determination a secret, the idea could scarcely be entertained, that at this time he intended to advance against Pensacola on his own responsibility. He was not long in doubt as to the course proper to be pursued. Colonel Nicholls had arrived in August at that place, with a squadron of British ships, and taken up his quarters with the Spanish governor, Manrequez. He issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of the southwest, inviting them to join the British standard. After waiting two weeks, he made an unsuccessful attack on Fort Bowyer, which commanded the entrance to Mobile bay. The fort was defended by Major Lawrence in so gallant a manner, that the British were compelled to retire, with the loss of one of their ships and about two hundred men.

The British retired to Pensacola, and General Jackson determined, on his own responsibility, to enter Florida and take that town. General Coffee, with about twenty-eight hundred men, had arrived at Fort St. Stephens, on the Mobile river. General Jackson repaired to Coffee's camp, and made the necessary arrangement for marching into Florida. The quartermasters were destitute of funds, and the government credit was insufficient to procure supplies for the army. Thus situated, from his

own limited funds, and loans effected on his credit and responsibility, he succeeded in carrying his plans into effect, and in hastening his army to the place of its destination.

The difficulty of subsisting cavalry on the route, rendered it necessary that part of the brigade should proceed on foot. Although they had volunteered in the service as mounted men, and expected that no different disposition would be made of them, yet they cheerfully acquiesced in the order; and one thousand, abandoning their horses to subsist as they could, on the reeds that grew along the river-bottoms, prepared to commence their march. Being supplied with rations for the trip, on the 2d day of November the line of march was taken up, and Pensacola was reached on the 6th. The British and Spaniards had obtained intelligence of their approach and intended attack, and everything was in readiness to dispute their passage to the town. The forts were garrisoned, and prepared for resistance; batteries formed in the principal streets; and the British vessels moored within the bay, and so disposed as to command the main entrances which led to Pensacola.

The American army, consisting of Coffee's brigade, the regulars and a few Indians, in all about 3,000 men, had arrived within a mile and a half of the town, and formed their encampment. Before any final step was taken, General Jackson concluded to make a further application to the governor, and to learn of him what course, at the present moment, he would make it necessary for him to pursue. Major Piere was accordingly despatched with a flag, to disclose the object of the visit, and to require that the different forts, Barancas, St. Rose, and St. Michael, should be immediately surrendered, to be garrisoned and held by the United States, until Spain, by furnishing a sufficient force, might be able to protect the province, and preserve her neutral character.

This mission experienced no very favorable result. Major Piere, on approaching St. Michael's, was fired on, and compelled to return. The Spanish flag was displayed on the fort, and under it the outrage was committed, although the British flag had been associated with it until the day before. Notwithstanding this unprovoked outrage, General Jackson acted with forbearance, and sent another letter to the governor, asking an explanation. In answer, the governor stated that what had been done was not properly chargeable on him, but on the English; and he assured the general of his perfect willingness to receive any overtures he might be pleased to make.

Major Piere was again despatched to meet the offer of the governor. The surrender of the fortifications and munitions of war was demanded, to be receipted, and become the subject of future arrangement by the respective governments. The governor, after advising with his council, rejected the propositions; and as soon as the answer was received by Jackson, he resolved to urge his army forward, and, immediately commencing his march, proceeded to the accomplishment of his object, determined to effect it, in despite of danger and of consequences.

The American army was in motion early in the morning of the 7th of November. Pushing forward, they were soon in the streets, and sheltered by the houses from the cannon of the British vessels in the harbor. Captain Laval, who commanded the advance, fell, severely wounded, while he was charging a Spanish battery. From behind the houses and garden

fences, constant volleys of musketry were discharged, until the regulars arriving, met the Spaniards, and drove them from their positions.

The governor, panic-struck, and trembling for the safety of the city, hastened, bearing a flag in his hand, to find the commander, and seek to stay the carnage, and promised to consent to whatever terms might be demanded of him.

No time was lost by General Jackson in procuring what was considered by him of vital importance—the surrender of the forts. A capitulation was agreed on the next day; Pensacola and the different fortresses were to be retained by the United States, until Spain could better maintain her authority; while the rights and privileges of her citizens were to be regarded and respected.

Everything was in readiness the next day to take possession of Barancas fort, fourteen miles west of Pensacola. The American troops were ready for marching, when a tremendous explosion gave notice that all was destroyed. It was ascertained that the fort had been blown up, and that the British shipping had retired from the bay. On their retreat from Pensacola, the British carried off with them three or four hundred slaves, in spite of the remonstrances of the owners.

The American loss in this expedition was quite inconsiderable. The left column alone met resistance, and had fifteen or twenty wounded—none killed. Captain Laval and Lieutenant Flournoy were among the number wounded.

Deeming it unnecessary to think of garrisoning and attempting to hold the forts in Florida, Jackson concluded to redeliver all that had been surrendered, and retire from the territory. Two days, therefore, after entering Pensacola, he abandoned it. He wrote to the Spanish governor, concluding as follows: "The enemy has retreated; the hostile Creeks have fled to the forest; and I now retire from your town, leaving you to occupy your forts and protect the rights of your citizens."

It had been for some time rumored and generally accredited, that a very considerable force might be expected from England, destined to act against some part of the United States, most probably New Orleans. The importance of this place was well known to the enemy; it was the key to the entire commerce of the western country. Had a descent been made upon it a few months before, it might have been taken with all imaginable ease; but the British had confidently indulged the belief that they could possess it at any time, without much difficulty.

There was nothing now so much desired by General Jackson, as to be able to depart for New Orleans, where he apprehended the greatest danger, and where he believed his presence was most material. He had already effected a partial security for Mobile, and the inhabitants in that vicinity. His health was still delicate, which almost wholly unfitted him for the duties he had to encounter; but his constant expectation of a large force appearing on the coast, impelled him to action. General Coffee and Colonel Hinds, with their mounted men, were ordered to march, and take a position convenient to New Orleans, where they could find forage for their horses. Everything being arranged, and the command at Mobile left with General Winchester, Jackson, on the 22d of November, left Mobile for New Orleans, where he arrived on the 1st of December, and where his headquarters were for the present established.

General Jackson was now on a new theatre, and soon to be brought in collision with an enemy different from any he had yet encountered; the time had arrived to call forth all the energies he possessed. His body, worn down by sickness and exhaustion, with a mind constantly alive to the apprehension that, with the means given him, it would not be in his power to satisfy his own wishes, and the expectations of his country, were circumstances well calculated to depress him.

Louisiana, he well knew, was ill supplied with arms, and contained a mixed population, of different tongues, and doubtful as to their attachment to the government of the United States. No troops, arms, or ammunition, had yet descended from the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. His only reliance for defense, if suddenly assailed, was on the few regulars he had, the volunteers of General Coffee, and such troops as the state itself could furnish. Although continually agitated by gloomy forebodings, he breathed his fears to none. He appeared constantly serene, endeavored to impress a general belief that the country could and would be successfully defended. This apparent tranquillity and avowed certainty of success in the general, excited strong hopes, dispelled everything like fear, and impressed all with additional confidence.

While engaged in his operations on the Mobile, he had kept up a correspondence with Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana, urging him to the adoption of measures for the defense of the state. He had also forwarded an address to the people of Louisiana, endeavoring to excite them to a defense of their rights and liberties. Preparations for collecting troops in sufficient strength to repel an invasion, had been actively carried forward. The secretary of war had called upon the governors of Kentucky and Tennessee for quotas of the militia of those states, which requisitions were promptly answered by the governors, and the troops embarked for New Orleans in November.

While the troops from the upper country were expected, General Jackson was active in adopting such measures as could be earliest effected, and which were best calculated for resistance and defense. The volunteer corps of the city, and other militia, were reviewed, the forts in the vicinity visited, to ascertain their situation and capacity for defense, and new works were erected on the banks of the Mississippi, below the city. Having endeavored, without success, to induce the legislature of Louisiana promptly to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and sensible that delay was dangerous, he assumed the responsibility, and superseded their deliberations, by declaring the city and environs of New Orleans under martial law.

The expected British force appeared off Pensacola, early in December, and on the 22d effected a landing of their troops, about fifteen miles south-east of New Orleans. The American gunboats on Lake Borgne, only five in number, were previously attacked by a force of forty-three British boats, and captured, after a gallant defense, on the 14th of December.

With the exception of the Kentucky troops, 2,250 in number, all the forces expected had arrived previous to the 21st of December. The Kentucky troops arrived on the 4th of January. The Tennessee troops, under General Carroll, were about 2,500 in number. The remaining portion of the American forces consisted of Coffee's brigade of mounted men, the Mississippi dragoons, the Louisiana militia, two regiments of United States regular troops, and a company of marines and artillery.

On the approach of the enemy being announced to General Jackson, on the 22d of December, he resolved to march and that night give them battle. He therefore advanced, at the head of about 2,000 men, and the following day a battle took place with a detachment of about 2,500 of the British army, nine miles below New Orleans. The enemy's force was increased during the day to four or five thousand, with which the Americans maintained a severe conflict of more than an hour, and retired in safety from the ground; with the loss of but 24 killed, 115 wounded, and 74 made prisoners, while the British loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was about 400.

General Jackson now withdrew his troops to his intrenchments, four miles below the city. On the 28th of December, and the 1st of January, these were vigorously cannonaded by the enemy, but without success.

On the morning of the 8th of January, General Pakenham, commander-in-chief of the British, advanced against the American intrenchments with the main body of his army, numbering more than twelve thousand men. Behind their breastworks of cotton bales, which no balls could penetrate, six thousand Americans, mostly militia, but the best marksmen in the land, silently awaited the attack. When the advancing columns had approached within reach of the batteries, they were met by an incessant and destructive cannonade; but, closing their ranks as fast as they were opened, they continued steadily to advance, until they came within reach of the American musketry and rifles. The extended American line now presented one vivid stream of fire, throwing the enemy into confusion, and covering the plain with the wounded and the dead.

In an attempt to rally his troops, General Pakenham was killed; General Gibbs, the second in command, was mortally wounded, and General Keene severely. The enemy now fled in dismay from the certain death which seemed to await them. General Lambert, on whom the command devolved, being unable to check the flight of the troops, retired to his encampment. On the 18th, the whole British army hastily withdrew, and retreated to their shipping.

The heartfelt joy at the glorious victory achieved on one side of the river, was clouded by the disaster witnessed on the other. A small body of the American forces was stationed on the right bank of the river. They were attacked by eight hundred chosen troops, under Colonel Thornton, and compelled to retreat.

The loss of the British in the main attack on the left bank has been variously stated. The killed, wounded, and prisoners, ascertained on the next day after the battle, by Colonel Hayne, the inspector-general, places it at 2,600; General Lambert's report to Lord Bathurst makes it 2,070. The loss of the Americans in killed and wounded was but thirteen.

On the 20th of January, 1815, General Jackson, with his army, returned to New Orleans. The general glow excited at beholding his entrance into the city, at the head of a victorious army, was manifested by all those feelings which patriotism and sympathy inspire. All greeted his return, and hailed him as their deliverer. The 23d was appointed a day of thanksgiving. Jackson repaired to the cathedral, which was crowded to excess. Children, robed in white, strewed his way with flowers, and an ode was recited as he passed. A *Te Deum* was sung, and Bishop Dubourg deliv-

ered an address, which he concluded by presenting the general with a wreath of laurel.

Martial law still prevailed in New Orleans, and in February General Jackson arrested Mr. Louallier, a member of the legislature, on a charge of exciting mutiny among his troops, by a publication, on the 10th of February, in the Louisiana Gazette, stating that a treaty of peace had been signed. Louallier applied to Judge Hall for a writ of *habeas corpus*, which was immediately granted. Instead of obeying the writ, the general arrested the judge, and sent him from the city on the 11th of February. On the 13th of the same month, an express reached headquarters, from the war department at Washington city, announcing the conclusion of peace between Great Britain and the United States, and directing a cessation of hostilities. The previous unofficial intelligence on the 10th had been received by Mr. Livingston, through Admiral Cochrane, of the British fleet.

On being restored to the exercise of his functions, Judge Hall ordered General Jackson to appear before him, to show cause why an attachment for contempt should not be awarded, on the ground that he had refused to obey a writ issued to him, detained an original paper belonging to the court, and imprisoned the judge. The general obeyed the summons, and appeared in court in the garb of a citizen, to receive the sentence of the court, having previously made a written defense. The judge sentenced the general to pay a fine of one thousand dollars, which he paid. A sum was soon raised by the people, to relieve him from the payment, but he declined to receive it. The amount, with interest, was subsequently refunded to Jackson, by act of Congress, in 1844.

The war being ended, and the militia having been discharged, and returned to their homes, General Jackson left New Orleans for Nashville, where he arrived in May, 1815, and was received by his fellow-citizens with the most cordial feelings. An address was delivered at the court-house, in behalf of the citizens, welcoming his return. He then retired to his family residence, to repair a broken constitution, and to enjoy that repose to which, for eighteen months, he had been a stranger.

The annunciation of the triumphant defense of New Orleans was, in every section of the United States, hailed with acclamation. The legislatures of many of the states voted to him their approbation and thanks for what he had done. The Congress of the United States did the same, and directed a gold medal to be presented to him, commemorative of the event.

The president, on the resignation of General Thomas Pinckney, in 1815, appointed General Jackson commander-in-chief of the southern division of the United States. Toward the close of the autumn of 1815, he visited Washington city, and on his way met with continued demonstrations of respect from the people. At this period, Colonel Burr wrote from New York, to his son-in-law, Ex-Governor Alston, of South Carolina, dated November 20, 1815, recommending the adoption of measures to bring forward the nomination of General Jackson, as a candidate for president of the United States, previous to the nomination of James Monroe by a congressional caucus, which was then anticipated to take place in December following. "Nothing is wanting," says Burr, "but a respectable nomination before the proclamation of the Virginia caucus, and Jackson's

success is inevitable. Jackson is on his way to Washington. If you should have any confidential friend among the members of Congress from your state, charge him to caution Jackson against the perfidious caresses with which he will be overwhelmed at Washington." On the 11th of December, Colonel Burr wrote to Governor Alston, saying, that since the date of his last, "things are wonderfully advanced. These will require a letter from yourself and others, advising Jackson what is doing—that communications have been had with the northern states, requiring him only to be passive, and asking from him a list of persons to whom you may address your letters." To this letter Governor Alston replied, on the 16th February, 1816, informing Colonel Burr, that his letter was received in January, "too late, of course, had circumstances been ever so favorable, to be acted upon in the manner proposed. I fully coincide with you in sentiment; but the spirit, the energy, the health necessary to give practical effect to sentiment, are all gone. I feel too much alone, too entirely unconnected with the world, to take much interest in anything."

It appears from this correspondence, that accidental circumstances alone, prevented the public nomination of General Jackson by his native state, as a candidate for president, at a very early period after the war with Great Britain, and caused the bringing forward of his name to be deferred until the last term of Mr. Monroe's administration, viz., in 1822. In the spring of 1816, General Jackson again visited New Orleans. After stationing the army in the southern section of his division, he concluded a treaty with the Indians, the object of which was to obtain from them the relinquishment of all the claim they pretended to have to lands within the limits of the United States, and which had been previously ceded by them.

In the year 1818, the services of General Jackson, in his military capacity, were again called into requisition. The Seminole Indians of Florida, had shown their hostility to the United States, by committing depredations on the southern frontiers. General Gaines had been ordered by the president, in October, 1817, to take the necessary measures for the defence of the inhabitants of that section of the Union. He accordingly built three forts, and proceeded to expel the Indians, who resisted him, as far as was in their power, and committed various outrages. At the mouth of Flint river, the Indians fell in with a party of forty men, under Lieutenant Scott, all of whom they killed but six, who escaped by swimming.

When the news of this massacre reached General Jackson, he raised an army of two thousand five hundred volunteers, and mustered them as in the service of the United States. After a rapid march, he arrived with his army, on the 1st of April, at the Mickasucky villages, which were deserted on his approach. Having burnt the villages, he marched to St. Marks, then a Spanish post on the Appalachee bay, in Florida.

Two persons, who were traders with the Indians, namely, Arbuthnot, a Scotchman, and Ambrister, a British lieutenant of marines, were taken prisoners by Jackson, near St. Marks, and confined. They were both accused of exciting the Indians to hostility against the United States, and supplying them with arms and ammunition. They were tried by a court-martial, consisting of officers of the militia, and found guilty. One of them was sentenced to be shot, and the other to be hung, and their execution took place by order of General Jackson.

About the middle of May, General Jackson arrived at the Escambia,

near Pensacola, having been informed that a body of hostile Indians had been harbored at that place. He took possession of Pensacola and Fort Barancas, notwithstanding a remonstrance from the governor of the territory. Two Indian chiefs, who were captured, were hung, by order of General Jackson, under circumstances which he deemed justifiable, but for which he was censured by many.

On the 2d June, 1818, General Jackson addressed a letter to the secretary of war, at the close of which he says: "The Seminole war may now be considered as at a close; tranquillity is again restored to the southern frontier of the United States, and, as long as a cordon of military posts is maintained along the gulf of Mexico, America has nothing to apprehend from either foreign or Indian hostilities. The immutable principles of self-defence justified the occupancy of the Floridas, and the same principles will warrant the American government in holding it, until such time as Spain can guaranty, by an adequate military force, the maintaining of her authority within the colony."

After the campaign in Florida, General Jackson returned to Nashville, and shortly afterward he resigned his commission in the army. During the session of Congress, in January, 1819, he visited Washington, when his transactions in the Seminole war became the subject of investigation by Congress. After a long and exciting debate on the subject, resolutions of censure, for his proceedings in Florida, were rejected in the house of representatives, by a large majority, and his course was sustained by the president and a majority of the cabinet, although the Spanish posts in Florida were restored.

When the congressional investigation had terminated favorably to General Jackson, he visited the cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, and various other parts of the United States, being received with enthusiasm by his friends in all quarters, and with distinguished attention by the public authorities and others.

In June, 1821, the president appointed him governor of Florida, which office he accepted, and in August he took possession of the territory, according to the treaty of cession. The Spanish governor, Callava, having refused to give up certain public documents, deemed of importance, he was taken into custody, by order of Governor Jackson, and committed to prison. The papers being found, under a search-warrant issued by Jackson, Callava was immediately set at liberty. Jackson remained but a few months in Florida; for, disliking the situation, and disapproving of the extent of powers vested in him as governor, he resigned the office, and again retired to Tennessee. President Monroe offered him the appointment of minister to Mexico, which he declined, in 1823.

In July, 1822, General Jackson was nominated by the legislature of Tennessee as a candidate for president of the United States. This nom ination was repeated by assemblages of the people in several other states. In the autumn of 1823, he was elected by the legislature a senator from Tennessee, and took his seat in the senate of the United States in Decem ber, 1833. He voted for the protective tariff of 1824.

The popularity of General Jackson with the people of the United States, was shown at the presidential election of 1824, when he received a greater number of electoral votes than either of his competitors, namely, ninety-nine. Mr. Adams received eighty-four, Mr. Crawford forty-one, and Mr.

Clay thirty-seven. The election consequently devolved on the house of representatives, where, by the constitutional provisions, the decision is made by states. Mr. Adams was elected by that body, receiving the votes of thirteen states; General Jackson seven states; and Mr. Crawford four states. The result caused much dissatisfaction among the friends of General Jackson, but a large proportion of those who had supported Mr. Crawford, as well as most of those who had supported Mr. Clay, preferred Mr. Adams to General Jackson.

During General La Fayette's visit to the United States in 1824–5, he passed through Tennessee, and was received by General Jackson, at the Hermitage, with his accustomed hospitality.

After the election of Mr. Adams to the presidency, the opposition to his administration was soon concentrated upon General Jackson as a candidate to succeed him. In October, 1825, he was again nominated by the legislature of Tennessee for president, on which occasion he resigned his seat in the senate of the United States, in a speech delivered to the legislature, giving his views on public affairs. During the exciting canvass which resulted in his election to the presidency in 1828, by a majority of more than two to one of the electoral votes, over Mr. Adams, he remained in private life.

In January, 1828, he was present, by invitation, at New Orleans, at the celebration of the anniversary of his victory. Before departing for Washington, in 1829, to take the reins of government, he met with a severe affliction in the death of Mrs. Jackson. This loss bore heavily upon him for some time, and he came into power with gloomy feelings. He reached the national capital early in February, in a plain carriage.

The events of his administration are given in the Statesman's Manual, to those pages the reader is referred for the history of eight years of his life. In 1822 he was reëlected to the presidency; and at the close of his second term, in March, 1837, having published a farewell address to the people of the United States, he retired to his favorite residence, at the Hermitage, in Tennessee, where he passed the remnant of his days, generally a quiet, but not disinterested spectator of public events. He was a member of the Presbyterian church, and religious faith and confidence appear to have soothed and cheered all the latter period of his life. For the last year or two of his life he was infirm of body, but retained his mental faculties undiminished up to the hour of his decease, which took place on the 8th of June, 1845. His countrymen throughout the United States joined in testimonials of respect to his memory. He left no blood relatives, and his estate was bequeathed to members of the Donelson family, who were the relations of Mrs. Jackson.

The violence of political strife will long confuse men's judgment of the character and abilities of General Jackson; but all will accord to him the praise of great firmness, energy, decision, and disinterestedness; of remarkable military skill, and ardent patriotism. With regard to his qualifications and services as a statesman, his countrymen have been, and are divided in opinion. It is, perhaps, not yet time to speak decisively on this point, but it must be left for the impartial verdict of posterity.

The personal appearance and private character of General Jackson are thus described by his friend and biographer, Mr. Eaton, previous to his election to the presidency: "In the person of General Jackson is per-

ceived nothing of the robust and elegant. He is six feet and an inch high, remarkably straight and spare, and weighs not more than one hundred and forty-five pounds. His conformation appears to disqualify him for hardship; yet, accustomed to it from early life, few are capable of enduring fatigue to the same extent, or with less injury. His dark blue eyes, with brows arched and slightly projecting, possess a marked expression; but when from any cause excited, they sparkle with peculiar lustre and penetration. In his manners he is pleasing—in his address commanding; while his countenance, marked with firmness and decision, beams with a strength and intelligence that strikes at first sight. In his deportment there is nothing repulsive. Easy, affable, and familiar, he is open and accessible to all. Influenced by the belief that merit should constitute the only difference in men, his attention is equally bestowed on honest poverty as on titled consequence. His moral character is without reproach; and by those who know him most intimately he is most esteemed. Benevolence in him is a prominent virtue. He was never known to pass distress without seeking to assist and to relieve it."

POPULAR VOTE IN 1828, 1832, 1836, 1840, 1844, 1848, AND 1852.

States.	1828.		1832.		1836.		1840.		1844.		1848.		1852.	
	Jackson.	Adams.	Jackson.	Clay.	Van Buren.	Others.	Harrison.	Van Buren.	Polk.	Clay.	Taylor.	Cass.	Pierce.	Scott.
Maine	13,927	20,773	33,291	27,204	22,300	15,239	46,612	46,201	45,719	34,378	35,276	40,206	41,609	32,543
New Hampshire	20,692	24,076	25,486	19,010	18,722	6,228	26,434	32,670	27,160	17,866	14,781	27,763	29,997	16,147
Vermont	8,205	24,784	7,870	11,152	14,037	20,991	32,445	18,009	18,041	26,770	23,122	10,948	13,044	22,173
Massachusetts	6,019	29,826	14,545	33,003	33,501	41,093	72,874	51,948	52,985	66,872	61,070	35,281	46,880	56,063
Rhode Island	2,821	2,754	2,126	2,810	2,964	2,710	5,278	3,301	4,848	7,323	6,779	3,646	8,735	7,626
Connecticut	4,448	13,829	11,269	17,755	19,234	18,466	31,601	25,296	29,841	32,842	30,314	27,046	33,249	30,359
New York	140,763	135,413	168,497	154,896	166,815	138,543	225,812	212,519	237,588	232,473	218,583	114,319	262,083	234,882
New Jersey	21,950	23,758	23,856	23,393	26,347	26,892	33,262	31,034	37,495	38,318	40,015	36,901	44,305	38,556
Pennsylvania	101,652	50,848	90,983	66,716	91,475	87,111	144,019	143,676	167,535	161,203	185,730	172,186	198,568	179,122
Delaware	4,349	4,769	4,110	4,276	4,155	4,738	5,967	4,884	5,969	6,257	6,422	5,910	6,318	6,293
Maryland	24,578	25,759	19,156	19,160	22,167	25,852	33,528	28,752	33,676	35,984	37,702	34,528	35,077	40,022
Virginia	26,752	12,101	33,609	11,451	30,261	23,368	42,501	48,893	49,417	43,677	45,265	46,738	72,413	57,132
North Carolina	37,857	13,918	24,862	4,563	26,910	23,626	46,676	34,218	39,287	43,232	43,519	34,869	39,744	30,058
South Carolina*	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Georgia	18,709	None.	20,750	None.	22,126	24,930	40,264	31,933	44,155	42,106	47,544	44,802	34,705	16,660
Alabama	17,138	1 938	No opp. to	Jackson.	19,068	15,637	28,471	33,991	36,223	24,850	30,482	31,363	26,881	15,038
Mississippi	6,763	1,581	5,919	None.	9,979	9,688	19,518	16,995	25,188	19,193	25,922	26,537	26,876	17,548
Louisiana	4,605	4,077	4,049	2,528	3,653	3,383	11,297	7,617	13,477	12,818	18,217	15,370	18,647	17,255
Tennessee	44,090	2,240	28,740	1,436	26,120	35,962	60,391	48,289	59,915	60,039	64,705	58,419	57,018	58,898
Kentucky	39,084	31,172	36,247	43,396	33,435	36,955	58,489	32,616	51,980	61,262	67,141	49,720	53,806	57,068
Ohio	67,597	63,396	81,246	76,539	96,948	105,405	148,157	124,782	149,061	155,113	138,359	154,773	169,220	152,526
Indiana	22,237	17,052	31,552	15,472	32,480	41,281	65,308	51,695	70,181	67,867	69,907	74,745	95,299	80,901
Illinois	6,763	1,581	14,147	5,429	18,097	14,983	45,537	47,476	58,515	45,612	53,215	56,629	80,597	64,934
Missouri†	8,222	3,422	5,192	Maj.	10,995	8,337	22,972	29,760	41,369	31,251	32,671	40,077	36,642	28,944
Arkansas	.....	.....	.....	.....	2,400	1,238	4,363	6,049	9,546	5,504	7,588	9,300	12,173	7,404
Michigan	.....	.....	.....	.....	7,360	4,000	22,907	21,098	27,703	24,223	23,940	30,687	41,842	33,860
Florida	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,539	3,238	4,318	2,875
Iowa	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11,178	12,125	8,624	7,444
Wisconsin	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	13,747	15,001	33,658	22,240
Texas	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,509	10,668	13,552	4,995
California†	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	39,665	34,971

* No vote by the people; Presidential Electors chosen by the Legislature. † Incomplete.

Prior to 1828, in some of the States, the Electors were chosen by the Legislatures; in other States the District System prevailed. We have therefore omitted the popular vote previous to the general adoption of the present system.

ELECTORAL VOTES FOR PRESIDENTS AND VICE PRESIDENTS FROM 1789 TO 1853.

		Maine.	N. Hampshire.	Vermont.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island.	Connecticut.	New York.	New Jersey.	Pennsylvania.	Delaware.	Maryland.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Tennessee.	Kentucky.	Ohio.	Indiana.	Illinois.	Missouri.	Arkansas.	Michigan.	Florida.	Iowa.	Wisconsin.	Texas.	California.	TOTAL.
1789.	George Washington, Va.	....	5	....	10	....	7	....	6	10	3	6	10	....	7	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	69
	John Adams, Mass.	....	5	....	10	....	5	....	1	8	....	....	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	34
	Scattering	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	5	2	3	6	5	....	7	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	35
1793.	George Washington, Va.	....	6	4	16	4	9	12	7	15	3	8	21	12	7	4	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	132
	John Adams, Mass.	....	6	4	16	4	9	....	7	14	3	8	....	....	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	77
	George Clinton, N. Y.	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	....	1	....	....	21	12	sc.	4	....	....	....	....	sc.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	50
1797.	John Adams, Mass.	....	6	4	16	4	9	12	7	1	3	7	1	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	71
	Thomas Jefferson, Va.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	14	....	4	20	11	8	4	....	....	....	3	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	69
	Thomas Pinckney, S. C.	....	....	4	13	....	4	12	7	2	3	4	1	1	8	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	59
	Aaron Burr, N. Y.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	13	....	3	1	6	....	....	....	....	....	3	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	30
	Scattering, (sc.)	....	6	....	3	4	5	....	....	....	....	2	19	5	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	48
1801.	Thomas Jefferson, Va.	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	....	8	....	5	21	8	8	4	....	....	....	3	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	73
	John Adams, Mass.	....	6	4	16	4	9	....	7	7	3	5	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	65
	Aaron Burr, N. Y.	....	....	....	....	sc.	....	12	....	8	....	5	21	8	8	4	....	....	....	3	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	73
	Chas. C. Pinckney, S. C.	....	6	4	16	3	9	....	7	7	3	5	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	64
1805. *Pres'nt.*	Thomas Jefferson, Va.	....	7	6	19	4	....	19	8	20	....	9	24	14	10	6	....	....	....	5	8	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	162
	Chas. C. Pinckney, S. C.	....	....	....	....	....	9	....	....	....	3	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	14
V. Pres.	George Clinton, N. Y.	....	7	6	19	4	....	19	8	20	....	9	24	14	10	6	....	....	....	5	8	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	162
	Rufus King, N. Y.	....	....	....	....	....	9	....	....	....	3	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	14
1809. *Pres'nt.*	James Madison, Va.	....	....	6	....	....	....	13	8	20	....	9	24	11	10	6	....	....	....	5	7	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	122
	Chas. C. Pinckney, S. C.	....	7	....	19	4	9	sc.	....	....	3	2	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	47
V. Pres.	George Clinton, N. Y.	....	....	....	....	....	....	13	8	20	....	9	24	11	10	6	....	....	....	5	7	sc.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	113
	Rufus King, N. Y.	....	7	sc.	19	4	9	sc.	....	....	3	2	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	47
1813. *Pres'nt.*	James Madison, Va.	....	....	8	....	....	....	....	....	25	....	6	25	15	11	8	....	....	3	8	12	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	128
	De Witt Clinton, N. Y.	....	8	....	22	4	9	29	8	....	4	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	89
V. Pres.	Elbridge Gerry, Mass.	....	1	8	2	....	....	....	....	25	....	6	25	15	11	8	....	....	3	8	12	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	131
	Jared Ingersoll, Pa.	....	7	....	20	4	9	29	8	....	4	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	86
1817. *Pres'nt.*	James Monroe, Va.	....	8	8	....	4	....	29	8	25	....	8	25	15	11	8	....	....	3	8	12	8	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	183
	Rufus King, N. Y.	....	....	....	22	....	9	....	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	34
V Pres.—Dan'l D. Tompkins, N. Y.		....	8	8	sc.	4	sc.	29	8	25	sc.	8	25	15	11	8	....	....	3	8	12	8	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	183
1821.																																	
Pres'nt.—James Monroe, Va.		9	7 sc.	8	15	4	9	29	8	25	4	11	25	15	11	8	3	3	3	8	12	8	3	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	231
V. Pres.—Dan'l D. Tompkins, N. Y.		9	7 sc.	8	7 sc.	4	9	29	8	25	sc.	10 s.	25	15	11	8	3	3	3	8	12	8	3	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	218

1825. *Pres'nt.* Andrew Jackson, Tenn.	....	....	....	....	....	....	1	8	28	....	7	....	15	11	....	5	3	3	11	....	....	5	2	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	99
John Q. Adams, Mass.	9	8	7	15	4	8	26	....	....	1	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	....	....	....	....	1	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	84
Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.	....	....	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	2	1	24	....	....	9	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	41
Henry Clay, Ky.	....	....	....	....	....	....	4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	14	16	....	....	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	37
V. Pres. John C. Calhoun, S. C.	9	7	7	15	3	....	29	8	28	1	10	....	15	11	....	5	3	5	11	7	....	5	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	182
Nathan Sanford, N. Y.	....	sc.	....	....	....	sc.	7	....	....	sc.	sc.	sc.	....	....	sc.	....	....	....	....	7	16	....	....	sc.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	30
Vote in the H. of Representatives. Adams	7	6	5	12	2	6	18	1	1	....	5	1	1	....	....	3	....	2	....	8	10	....	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	13
Jackson	....	....	....	....	....	....	2	5	25	....	3	1	2	9	....	....	1	1	9	4	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
Crawford	....	....	....	1	....	....	14	....	....	1	1	12	10	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
1829. *Pres'nt.* Andrew Jackson, Tenn.	1	....	....	....	....	....	20	....	28	....	5	24	15	11	9	5	3	5	11	14	16	5	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	178
John Q. Adams, Mass.	8	8	7	15	4	8	16	8	....	3	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	83
V. Pres. John C. Calhoun, S. C.	1	....	....	....	....	....	20	....	28	....	5	24	15	11	2	5	3	5	11	14	16	5	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	171
Richard Rush, Pa.	8	8	7	15	4	8	16	8	....	3	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	83
William Smith, S. C.	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7
1833. *Pres'nt.* Andrew Jackson, Tenn.	10	7	....	....	....	....	42	8	30	....	3	23	15	sc.	11	7	4	5	15	....	21	9	5	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	219
Henry Clay, Ky.	....	....	sc.	14	4	8	....	....	....	3	5	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	49
V. Pres. Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	10	7	....	....	....	....	42	8	....	....	3	23	15	....	11	7	4	5	15	....	21	9	5	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	189
John Sergeant, Pa.	....	....	sc.	14	4	8	....	....	sc.	3	5	....	....	sc.	....	....	....	....	....	15	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	49
1837. *Pres'nt.* Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	10	7	....	....	4	8	42	....	30	....	....	23	15	sc.	sc.	7	4	5	sc.	....	....	...	5	4	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	170
Wm. H. Harrison, Ohio	....	....	7	sc.	....	....	....	8	....	3	10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	15	21	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	73
V. Pres. R. M. Johnson, Ky.	10	7	....	....	4	8	42	....	30	....	....	....	15	....	....	7	4	5	....	....	....	...	5	4	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	147
Francis Granger, N. Y.	....	....	7	14	....	....	....	8	....	3	sc.	sc.	....	sc.	sc.	....	....	....	sc.	15	21	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	77
1841. *Pres'nt.* Wm. H. Harrison, Ohio	10	....	7	14	4	8	42	8	30	3	10	....	15	....	11	....	4	5	15	15	21	9	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	234
Martin Van Buren, N. Y.	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	23	....	11	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	...	5	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	60
V. Pres. John Tyler, Va.	10	....	7	14	4	8	42	8	30	3	10	....	15	....	11	....	4	5	17	15	21	9	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	234
R. M. Johnson, Ky.	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	22	....	sc.	....	7	....	....	....	....	....	...	5	4	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	48
1845. *Pres'nt.* James K. Polk, Tenn.	9	6	....	....	....	....	36	....	26	....	....	17	....	9	10	9	6	6	....	....	....	12	9	7	3	5	...	...	...	...	...	170
Henry Clay, Ky.	....	....	6	12	4	6	....	7	....	3	8	....	11	....	....	....	....	....	13	12	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	105
V. Pres. George M. Dallas, Pa.	9	6	....	....	....	....	36	....	26	....	....	17	....	9	10	9	6	6	....	....	....	12	9	7	3	5	...	...	...	...	...	170
Th. Frelinghuysen, N. Y.	....	....	6	12	4	6	....	7	....	3	8	....	11	....	....	....	....	....	13	12	23	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	105
1849. *Pres'nt.* Zachary Taylor, La.	....	....	6	12	4	6	36	7	26	3	8	....	11	....	10	....	....	6	13	12	....	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	163
Lewis Cass, Mich.	9	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	17	....	9	....	9	6	....	....	....	23	12	9	7	3	5	...	4	4	4	...	127
V. Pres. Millard Fillmore, N. Y.	....	....	6	12	4	6	36	7	26	3	8	....	11	....	10	....	....	6	13	12	....	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	...	163
William O. Butler, Ky.	9	6	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	17	....	9	....	9	6	....	....	....	23	12	9	7	3	5	...	4	4	4	...	127
1853. *Pres'nt.* Franklin Pierce, N. H.	8	5	....	....	4	6	35	7	27	3	8	15	10	8	10	9	7	6	....	....	23	13	11	7	4	6	3	4	5	4	4	252
Winfield Scott, N. J.	....	....	5	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	12	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42
V. Pres. William R. King, Ala.	8	5	....	....	4	6	35	7	27	3	8	15	10	8	10	9	7	6	....	....	23	13	11	7	4	6	3	4	5	4	4	252
William A. Graham, N. C.	....	....	5	13	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	12	12	....	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	42

SALARIES OF UNITED STATES PUBLIC OFFICERS.

THE compensation of the following public officers of the United States is at present fixed by law at the amounts stated:—

President of the United States, $25,000 per annum; Vice President, $5,000 per annum; Secretaries of State, Treasury, Navy, and War, each, $6,000 per annum; Postmaster General, $6,000 per annum; Attorney General, $4,000 per annum; Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, $5,000 per annum; Associate Justices, $4,500 per annum.

From the first Congress, in 1789, inclusive, until March 4, 1795, Senators and Representatives received each $6 per diem, and $6 for every twenty miles travel. From March 4, 1795, to March 4, 1796, Senators received $7, and Representatives $6 per diem. From March 4, 1796, until December 4, 1815, the per diem was $6, and the mileage $6, to Senators and Representatives. From December 4, 1815, until March 4, 1817, each Senator and Representative received $1,500 per annum, with a proportional deduction for absence, for any cause but sickness. The President of the Senate pro tempore, and Speaker of the House, $3,000 per annum, each. From March 4, 1817, the compensation to members of both Houses has been $8 per diem, and $8 for every twenty miles travel; and to the President of the Senate pro tempore, and Speaker of the House, $16 per diem.

The pay of Ministers Plenipotentiary is $9,000 per annum, salary, beside $9,000 for an outfit. Secretaries of Legation receive $2,000, and Chargé d'Affaires, $4,500 per annum. To entitle any chargé d'affaires, or secretary of any legation or embassy to any foreign country, or secretary of any minister plenipotentiary, to the above compensation, they must respectively be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; but in the recess of the Senate, the President is authorized to make such appointments, which must be submitted to the Senate at the next session thereafter, for their advice and consent; and no compensation is allowed to any chargé d'affaires, or any secretary of legation, embassy, or minister, who shall not be so appointed.

Consuls of the United States, generally so called, are, in effect, agents for commerce and seamen; which latter denomination, for particular reasons, is given to some of this class of public officers. They receive no yearly salaries (except at Paris and London, Tangier, Tunis, and Tripoli, where they have an annual salary of $2,000), and their compensation is derived from the fees which are allowed by law. The amount of these fees depends, of course, upon the state of foreign trade, which is perpetually fluctuating. Consuls of the United States, for commercial purposes, are regularly admitted and recognized, as to their official functions, in the ports of Christian Europe; but in the colonies of the European nations, agents for commerce and seamen mostly exercise the duties of their station under courtesy, without any formal recognition; and, in some instances, from the jealousy of colonial policy, they have not been permitted to exercise them at all. In their public capacity, consuls and agents for commerce and seamen are principally occupied in verifying, in different forms, the legality of the trade of the United States with foreign nations, and in relieving and sending home American seamen, who, by accident or misfortune, are left destitute within the jurisdiction of their several consulates and agencies.