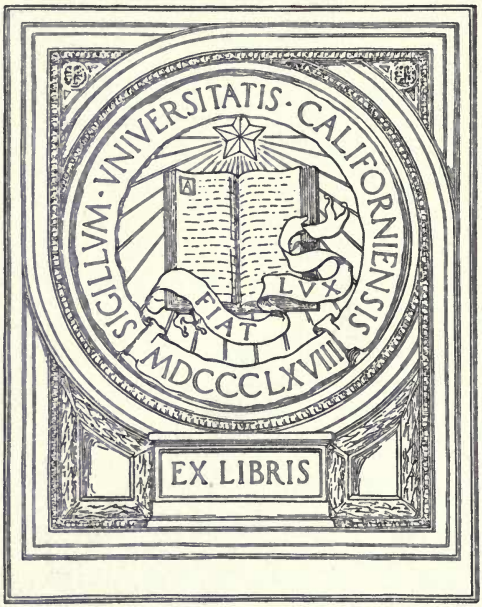
http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found

http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found



F226
B78
X v.3

http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found

Tho Moore

THE

HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,

FROM

ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT

TO

THE PRESENT DAY.

BY JOHN BURK.

VOLUME III.

PETERSBURG, VIRGINIA,

PRINTED BY DICKSON & PESCUD,

AND FOR SALE AT THE BOOK-STORES OF SOMERVELL & CONRAD, PETERSBURG....JOHN CONRAD, & CO. PHILADELPHIA ...MICHAEL & JOHN CONRAD, & CO. BALTIMORE....RAPINE, CONRAD, & CO. WASHINGTON CITY....AND BONSALL, CONRAD, & CO. NORFOLK.

.....

1805.

F226
B78
v.3
Case B
*

CHAPTER I.

Impressions excited amongst the first colonists by the appearance of the Bay of Chesapeake—by the dress, color and arms of the natives—by the peculiarity of the climate. Reflections on the variation of the climates of America. How accounted for. Almost unvaried sameness of the various nations of American Indians in shape, figure and color—almost infinite variety in their language. Indians have a common original—Mr. Jefferson's hypothesis why it should not be admitted. Cases apparently in support of Raynal's and Buffon's opinion of Indian incapacity—Why inconclusive. A thorough enquiry into the Indian character, language and descent highly important. Character of Indians better known than when Robertson wrote. Robertson's analysis of Indian character and manners examined. The bodily structure and external appearance of the Indian.—His beardless countenance. Their insensibility to the charms of beauty, and the power of love. Their limited capacity. The same vices had been objected to the Spartans.—Extraordinary similarity in the Indian and Spartan customs and manners. A brief review of their common usages. Their profound respect and deference for the persons and opinions of the old men. Their stoical indifference—their apparent extinction of natural affection in the passion of patriotism—their contempt of death, and their

M123919

CHAP. I.

constancy in supporting torture—their taciturnity, reserve and deliberation —The character of their eloquence and private conversation.—Their treatment of their children.—Their military habits—Both prefer stratagem to force.—Their mode of forming and preserving friendship.—With both war is a season of rest and pleasure —Their contempt of cowardice, and their penalties against it—Their equality—Their disinterestedness—Their refusal to portion their daughters—Their respect for the laws and ancient manners—Their custom of destroying their deformed children. The general portrait will serve for the Virginia Indian. This enquiry drawn from authentic sources. Plan of Indian civilization adopted by United States. Its success. Complexion of Virginia Indian. The powers and qualities of his mind—his arithmetic—Few abstract ideas—Why? Their admirable address in managing treaties—Their eloquence—Their little knowledge of the useful arts. No written laws. Their absolute freedom.—Their appearance when preparing for battle.—Their war songs.—Their punishments.—Their mode of distinguishing the year—By months—by seasons—by hours.—Their notions of religion.—The great spirit or master breath.—Their idea of a future state. Their festivals. Their domestic relations. Their notions of marriage.—Influence of the women. Order and deportment of an Indian assembly. Who were the ancestors of this people—Various opinions on this head.

HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

Impressions excited among first settlers by the appearance of the Chesapeake.

VIRGINIA presented to the first settlers an appearance calculated to impress them with feelings of grandeur and sublimity. Immense forests, which appeared to have continued undisturbed from the creation: The silence, which reigned through those regions, and which is interrupted only by the rustling of the leaves, by the elk or buffaloe; or the waving of the branches by the wind; unless when the death like stillness is broken by the soul chilling tones of the war whoop and the harsh discords of the war song; the cautious and silent step of the Indian moving like a ghost present ideas of sublime and solitary grandeur.

No traces of cultivation appeared: The glebe had never been turned up. The earth in its separate strata remained as it had been assorted according to its specific gravities from the beginning of the world.

THE Bay of Chesapeake was particularly calculated to keep alive those impressions. Forests as far as the eye could see, covered the face of the country and descended to the very edge of the water. Several great rivers, whose distance from their sources was manifested by the depth and breadth of their channels, discharged their vast tributes into it in their sight; while tribes of Indians made signs to them from the shore or sailed round them in canoes.

CHAP. I.

By the dress color and arms of the natives.

THE dress, arms* and complexion of the natives became new sources of wonder. Their skin was of a copper colour, and the character of their face was fierce and barbarous: But their long black hair and the admirable proportion of their bodies were proofs of a radical difference between them and the inhabitants of Africa. They appeared to be a new species equally removed from the men of Europe, Asia and Africa.

By the peculiarity of climate.

THE climates too as well as the complexion were different from those of countries lying in parallel latitudes. The air was much colder than in the ancient continent. This remark will apply to every part of the new world.† Heat alone is insufficient to determine the distance of any place in America from the equator although it is a tolerably safe and correct measure of latitude in the other quarters of the globe. The elevation

Reflections suggested by the variation of climate in America.

humidity and extent of the American continents the vast extent of the ocean, which washes its coasts; the great height of its mountains and the direction of its predominant winds, must be taken into calculation. There are doubtless other circumstances: But those, which have been enu-

---

* A cloak of buffaloe or beaver skin, bound with a leathern girdle, and stockings made of roe buck skins, was the whole of their dress before their intercourse with us; what they have added since gives great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners. *Raynal's History of America, page—.*

† The author of Recherches Philosophiques sur les Americains supposes the difference in heat to be equal to 12 degrees, and that a place 30 degrees from the equator in the old continent is as warm as one distant only 18 from it in the new. Dr Mitchell after observations carried on during 30 years, contends that the difference is equal to 14 or 15 degrees of latitude. *Rob. Am. Note* 37.

merated have a manifest and decided influence.

CHAP. I.

So many circumstances, which do not exist elsewhere combine with heat in forming the climates of this region that the old standard must be laid aside or corrected. The near approach of America to the pole; its immense extent; the superior height of its mountains covered with everlasting snow; its vast lakes and rivers; its almost continued forest; but above all the north west wind, which blowing from the north pole and passing over a hard frozen and elevated ground from which no caloric can escape to warm it, descends with all its rigour and severity on the regions of North America. These circumstances produce the striking difference between the climates of the old and new world.

How accounted for.

The same observations will apply to South America. There the east wind cooled in its passage across the Atlantic and passing to the west over immense swamps and forests which exclude the heat and often the light of the sun, mitigates the burning rigour of the torrid zone.*

* This coldness of the climate which is felt all over North America appears to proceed principally and chiefly from the three following causes, besides others that conspire with them, particularly the nature of the soil.

I. America extends further north than any other part of the world and by that means is so much colder. Europe is surrounded by the warmer ocean which is always open, Asia by an icy sea (the Mare Glaciale) and America by a frozen continent which occasions the diversity of the climate in these three continents

II. That continent which is thus extensive in the northern parts, is one entire group of high mountains covered with snow or rather with ice throughout the whole year. These mountains rise in the most northern parts of the continent that have been discovered in Baffin's Bay and spread all

CHAP. I.

OUR surprize at this variance between the climates of the old and new world will be lessened, when it is known by actual observation and experiment that the climate of Virginia has percep-

---

over it to New England. Hence the coast of Labrador is the highest in the world and can be discerned at the distance of forty leagues; and in the western parts discovered by the Russians they tell us "the country had terrible high mountains covered with snow in the month of July." This was in latitude 58 degrees, and the country southward to that 40 degrees, is by the Spaniards called Sierras Nevedos, Snowy Mountain; so a ridge of mountains rise at Cape Tourmente by Quebec and running four or five hundred leagues, forming the greatest ridge of mountains in the universe which spread over all the northern parts of the continent. These are what we call the Northern Snowy Mountains.

III. All the countries that lie within the verge of these mountains or north of New England are continually involved in frosts, snows or thick fogs, and the colds that are felt in the south proceed from these frozen regions in the north by violent north west winds. These are the peculiar winds of that country and blow with a violence which no wind exceeds. It appears from many observations that they blow quite across the Atlantic ocean to Europe. The great lakes of Canada, which are inland seas extending north west for twelve or thirteen hundred miles, gives force and direction to these winds which blow from the frozen regions, and bring the climate of Hudson's Bay to the most southern parts of the continent when they blow for any considerable time.

Many imagine that these colds proceed from the snow lying in the woods, but that is the effect not the cause of the cold. They who attribute this to the woods do not distinguish between wet and cold, or the damps of wood-land frosts, which are very different things. These colds are so far from proceeding from the woods that one half of that continent which is the coldest and from which they proceed, has not a wood in it, and is so barren that it does not bare a tree or a bush. It is from this want of woods in the northern parts and the lakes that these furious winds proceed which are very much abated by the woods. In the woods these cold winds may be endured, but in the open field they are insufferable either to man or beast, and that

tibly changed within the last thirty years. The winters are neither so long and severe as formerly, and there is a proportional abatement in the heat.

THE causes of this change are obvious. The earth formerly covered with forest and choaked with leaves, weeds and underwood, is now turned up with the plough, and its chilled surface warmed by the beams of the sun. Channels are now in all directions cut through the forests, which afford a passage and circulation to the stagnant air. There is moreover a vast increase in population. It is difficult indeed to explain by those causes the decrease of heat. Forests absorb the rays of the sun and intercept their progress to the

---

even in our southern colonies. Hence, if all the woods in that continent were cleared, Canada and Nova Scotia would be as inhabitable as Hudson's Bay, our northern colonies as cold as Canada, and our adjacent southern colonies in the situation of the northern. Let us not deceive ourselves therefore with the vain hopes of mending nature and abating the rigour of those inhospitable climes; that is not to be done but by cutting off twenty degrees of that continent in the north and leveling the innumerable snowy mountains.

No part of the world can be compared to this in point of climate but the eastern parts of Asia, which are almost contiguous to America in the north, and are exposed to this cold wind from the continent. Hence it appears from comparing many observations in both, that our colonies enjoy the same climate with East Tartary, China, Corea and Japan, the products of which are so rich and valuable. Here then we might have many of the most valuable commodities for the colonies, and as they are so entirely different from any thing which Britain produces, they might for ever keep the colonies from interfering with the mother country, and preserve a lasting connection and correspondence between them. Most of the staple commodities of America come from the east, as sugar, rice, cotton, coffee, indigo, &c. *Wynne's British America.*

CHAP. I.

earth: But at the same time it is suggested that it must have impeded the progress of the cooling winds and the free circulation of air, which have since received freedom and activity. It is not inconsistent too with the laws of our atmosphere to suppose that the heat is qualified by new currents of air and partial changes in their direction generated by itself.*

They will extend still further westward.

THIS curious change in the climate of Virgina naturally suggests a question of some interest—What would be the probable effects of a general cultivation of the several regions of the earth on the climates of those places? Would the progress of cultivation, which shall every where be equal, abate the rigour of a torrid zone or the intense severity of polar ice? Would it increase or diminish the advantages of temperate climates?†

THE various nations, which by the first set-

* The eastern and south eastern breezes come on generally in the afternoon. They have advanced into the country very sensibly within the memory of people now living. They formeriy did not penetrate above Williamsburg. They are now frequent at Richmond and every now and then reach the mountains. They deposit most of their moisture before they get that far, as the land become more cleared it is probable they will extend farther westward.

† By the following extract it appears that a revolution of this kind was not unknown among the ancients. "Naturalists affirm, says the ingenious author of Anacharsis, speaking of Larissa, that since a passage has been formed to let off the stagnant waters, which covered the environs of this town in many places, the air is become more pure and colder. They allege two reasons in support of this opinion; olive trees were formerly very numerons and flourishing in this district; at present they are unable to endure the severity of the winters: The vines too are often frozen, which in former times was never known to happen.

Vol. 2. p. 284—5.

CHAP. I.

tlers were found dispersed over the American continent, in the unvaried sameness of their appearance and manners, and the almost infinite variety in their languages, present an interesting subject of speculation to the philosopher: But inquiry is embarrassed in the outset by a contradiction so extraordinary. The old world is in vain resorted to for the solution of this phœnomenon. Although divided often by seas and almost inaccessible mountains, and still farther removed from each other by the restraints of policy; their several languages discover numerous and striking affinities. But the Indians of North America, living in the neighbourhood of each other; divided by no seas: although often at peace and alliance, and not unfrequently meeting during their hunting, have almost as many languages as there are tribes; and the affinities between their languages are neither striking nor numerous.

The sameness of American Indians in dress, shape and complexion.

The formation of language is a process which requires time and labour. Man arbitrarily gives names to the external objects which meet his senses: But there is yet (although not always noticed by him) a connection between the names he assigns them and the most obvious properties of the objects; and this is more frequently the case with savages, who, overlooking nice and fanciful refinements, attend only to what is clear and expressive. Is it then credible that the Indians once possessing a common language, after branching out and dividing themselves into colonies for the greater convenience of hunting and fishing, should deliberately abandon their mother tongue, and each tribe or confederacy frame for itself a new language; and this too when the manners and customs of their fathers in other respects were religiously observed, and

The almost infinite variety of their language.

CHAP. I.

the sensible objects to which new names were given remained the same. Yet the Americans, spite of this contradiction, had certainly a common original. Their nations are too numerous, and their manners laws, customs and appearance too uniform to admit a different conclusion.

Indians have a common original.

Mr. JEFFERSON reckons up no less than forty nations, which at the first settlement of this state inhabited the country from the sea coast to the mountains; and from the Potomac to the most southern waters of James river. But what are these to the innumerable swarms scattered over this continent, or even that inconsiderable portion of it which constitutes the American confederacy. These are all alike distinguished by their straight black hair; their erect and well formed stature; their grave and taciturn deportment; their war whoop, war dances and war feasts; their songs when preparing for battle: By their skill and indefatigable patience in tracing and surprizing an enemy; by the use of the tomahawk, and their custom of scalping the dead and wounded: But above all, by their incredible fortitude under torture. These are proofs too decisive of a common original to admit a doubt on this head, and against them, the varieties of language are but dust in the balance.

WHENCE then can have arisen this variety of language? Is it the work of time? On such a supposition, reasoning from circumstances in Europe, which attach more forcibly from the nature of their lives to the Americans, their antiquity rises higher than even the Chinese æra of creation; and America is the cradle of the human race.

Mr. Jefferson's hypothesis.

THIS opinion Mr. Jefferson appears not unwilling to adopt; but respected as must be the authority of a man who has bestowed so much

attention on this subject, and who has contrived to illumine every subject of which he treats with the mild radiance of a rational philosophy, this opinion will scarcely keep its ground against the numerous and forcible objections to which it is exposed; and he will doubtless feel less reluctance in seeing it refuted, when he reflects how powerfully such a conclusion would go in support of the charges of Raynal, Robertson and Buffon of an original defect in the moral and physical faculties of the Indian.

Why it should not be admitted.

INNUMERABLE tribes, enjoying a luxuriant soil, and distributed through a great variety of climate, preserving their barbarism from the beginning of the world; treading on mines of gold and iron, without having made a single improvement in the useful or mechanic arts, would but too fatally countenance such an imputation. The native American would be the most degraded animal of the human race; and his conquerors would have but too much reason to fear for their children and posterity.

THE naturalist who shall attempt to account for the moral phœnomena which every where present themselves in this region, by analogies drawn from civilization, must infallibly be disappointed. We must not argue from cities to the wilderness; from the philosopher instructed in the knowledge of ages, to the savage, whose experience is bounded by the forest in which he is imprisoned. Arts and civilization are the offspring of hard necessity; of a confined territory; of hunger and of thirst. They are nursed and brought to maturity by luxury and wealth. If the earth spontaneously and regularly produced every thing wanting and desirable to man, he doubtless would not permit his animal enjoyments to be interrupted by labour. What then were the in-

CHAP. I.

ducements to labour in the American, for whom the earth spontaneously and liberally yielded her productions. Nature made him free and equal with his fellow: His rude weapons gave him sovereignty in the forest: He felt none of the torments arising from artificial refinements: His passions were the impulses of nature, and were gratified almost as soon as they arose.

THIS was certainly the life of the first inhabitants of the earth; and it is nearly the life of several Arab and Tartar tribes to this day. However the opinon may shock, it is the natural state of man; and there is reason to believe, that to the end of the world it had continued to be the life of the American, unless as in the case of the Mexicans, cunning assisted by superstition should cajole him into government; or their population should be so enormous as to stimulate their latent energies through apprehensions of want. It is not then because the American is deficient in sagacity that he has remained so long in ignorance. He wanted only a motive and occasion sufficiently powerful to call him into action.

Cases apparently in support of the opinion of Indian incapacity.

IT is but equal justice to acknowledge at the same time, that as far as experience reaches, the facts appear at first view to favour the French philosophers with respect to the Indians at least. Notwithstanding an intercourse of two centuries with the whites, they still preserve their original rudenes and barbarism, thus appearing as it were to defy the effects of time and the contagious influence of example.

FROM a number of instances which may be cited, the following are selected, because one of them passed under the immediate observation of the American people, and the other is authenticated by the testimony of a respectable historian, who was himself an eye witness of the fact he re-

lates. He prefaced it moreover, by observations which shew that it was neither singular nor uncommon.

At the close of the revolutionary war, the marquis La Fayette took with him to France the infant son of Corn Planter, a chief of one of the members of that confederacy known by the name of the Six Nations; principally with a view, it is imagined, to ascertain the capacity of this race for moral improvement.

The young Corn Planter was instructed by the best masters, and as he advanced in years lived in what is called the best company at Paris. Having attained the age of manhood, he returned to America with a beautiful woman he had married. His dress on the morning of his arrival bespoke the gay and thoughtless Frenchman: On the evening of the same day his powder and silk stockings vanished, and he was found with some Indians, who were then on a visit to the government, brutally drunk and wrapped in his blanket.

He had indeed contracted some habits in Europe, which he found it not so easy to relinquish as his dress. His wife as they travelled onwards towards his tribe, was cruelly abused and deserted by him. In this situation she was found by Aaron Burr, on his way from Canada to New York, almost naked and depending for her subsistence on berries and wild fruits. "Nor can we say," says Mr. Charlevoix,* "that this is owing to their not being acquainted with our modes of life. Many Frenchmen have tried their way of life, and were so pleased with it, that several of them, though they could have lived very comfortably in the colonies, could never be pre-

* *Vol. 2, p. 82.*

CHAP. I.

vailed on to return to it. On the contrary, there never was so much as a single Indian that could be brought to relish our way of living. Children have been taken and have been brought up with a great deal of care. Nothing had been omitted to hinder them from having any knowledge of their parents: Yet the moment they have found themselves at liberty they have torn their clothes to pieces, and gone across the woods in quest of their countrymen. An Iroquois was even a lieutenant in our army; yet he returned to his own nation, carrying with him only our vices without correcting any of those which he brought along with him."*

But there is no need to look beyond the state of Virginia for testimony. Governor Spotswood†

---

* We have never been able to reconcile any of them to the indulgences of our way of life; whereas we have seen some Europeans forego all the conveniences of civil life, go into the forests, and take up the bow and the club of the savage. An innate spirit of benevolence, however, sometimes brings them back to us.

Raynal's History of America.

† And here I must lament the bad success Mr. Boyle's charity has hitherto had, towards convicting any of these poor heathens to Christianity. Many children of our neighbouring Indians have been brought up in the college of William and Mary. They have been taught to read and write, and been carefully instructed in the principles of the Christian religion, till they came to the age of manhood. Yet, after they returned home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately relapsed into barbarism and infidelity themselves. And some of them too have made the worst use of the knowledge they acquired among the English, by employing it against their benefactorss; besides, as they unhappily forget all the good they learn, and remember the ill, they are apt to be more vicious and disorderly than the rest of their countrymen. I ought not to quit this subject without doing justice to the great prudence of col. Spotswood in this affair. That gentleman was lieut.

kept in pay teachers among some of the Virginia tribes, and had several children belonging to the sachems as hostages, who were carefully instructed in civilization and humanity. In addition to

governor of Virginia when Carolina was engaged in a bloody war with the Indians At that critical time it was thought expedient to keep a watchful eye upon our tributary savages, who, we knew, had nothing to keep them to their duty but their fears.

Then it was that he demanded of each nation a competent number of their great men's children to be sent to the college, where they served as so many hostages for the good behaviour of the rest, and at the same time were themselves principled in the Christian religion. He also placed a schoolmaster among the Sapponi Indians at the salary of fifty pounds per annum, to instruct their children. The person that undertook that charitable work was Mr. Charles Griffin, a man of good family, who by the innocence of his life and sweetness of his temper, was perfectly well qualified for that undertaking. Besides, he had so much the secret of mixing pleasure with instruction, that he did not have a scholar but loved him affectionately. Such talents must needs have been blessed with proportional success, had he not been unluckily removed to the college, by which he left the good he had begun unfinished.

In short, all the pains he had taken among the Indians, had no other effect than to make them something cleanlier than the other Indians.

I am sorry I cannot give a better account of the state of the poor Indians with regard to Christianity, although a great deal of pains has been taken and still continues to be taken with them. For my part, I must be of opinion, as I hinted before, that there is but one way of converting these poor infidels and reclaiming them from barbari y, and that is, charitably to intermarry with them according to the modern policy of the most Christian king of Canada and Louisiana. Had the English done this at the first settlement of the colony, the infidelity of the Indians had been worn out at this day, with their dark complexions, and the country swarmed with people more than it does with insects.

It was certainly an unreasonable nicety that prevented their entering into so good natured an alliance. All na-

CHAP. 1.

this a donation was given by Mr. Boyle of England for the instruction of the Indians and their conversion to Christianity.* Yet not in a single instance were these efforts successful.

THESE must certainly be allowed to be fair experiments; but a thousand such facts should not be permitted to outweigh principles which we find every where uniform in nature. To suppose the Indian incapable, by reason of his faculties, of improvement, must presuppose some radical defect in his organization, which would class him in another species. But perhaps by attentively examining the cases above cited, the solution of this problem will not be found so difficult. This examination will necessarily embrace every thing relating to the laws, customs and manners of this people, a subject than which none can be more curious and interesting.

Why inconclusive.

A thorough inquiry into the Indian character, language and descent highly important.

WHAT a field is here presented to the philosopher, if instead of bewildering himself in unnatural speculations concerning the growth and

---

tions of men have the same dignity, and we all know that very bright talents may be lodged under very dark skins.

The principle difference between one people and another, proceeds only from the different opportunities of improvement. The Indians by no means want understanding, and are in their figure tall and well proportioned; even their copper coloured complexions would admit of blanching, if not at the first, at the farthest, in the second generation.

I may safely venture to say the Indian women were altogether as honest wives for the first planters as the damsels they purchased from aboard the ships.

It is strange, therefore, that any good Christian should have refused a wholesome straight bed fellow, when he might have had so fair a portion with her, as the merit of saving her soul. *Col. Wm. Byrd's Journal, MS. penes me.*

* This was called the professorship of Brafferton, from an estate of that name in England, purchased with the donation.

origin of society, drawn from times and manners which will not countenance his analogy, he ascends to the cradle of man. The man of the old world is a coin with the date and impression worn out by time and use: The North American is fresh from the mint, or if it be thought a better comparison, he is a coin which has been locked up from circulation, the impression on which is deep and legible.

A CORRECT knowledge of this people would throw light on the history of man. An accurate investigation of this continent would advance the boundaries of human knowledge. This is the domain of nature: Here she sports wild amid her innumerable productions. Avarice had not embowelled her in quest of gold; the axe hath not defiled her forests: Kings have not ravaged her surface. She is as she came from the hands of the creator, majestic and lovely.

ALL the writers who have treated of the new world, have specially considered this subject; and although it may appear strange that in an inquiry so plain and accessible to fair examination, any variance should exist: No two of them agree in the greater number of particulars; and not one has given a correct and natural picture of the American Indian.

IT may appear arrogance to pronounce sentence thus boldly on the respectable historians of the new world; more especially, as the censure seems to imply a greater correctness or candor in myself. Such idle vanity will not be imputed to me; I lay claim only to equal impartiality and industry with my predecessors. The opportunities of acquiring information on this head may have been more favourable to me. The character of this people is better understood since they have enjoyed an uninterrupted and friendly

CHAP. I.

intercourse with the United States. Their chiefs led by curiosity or business frequently visit our cities, and many of our citizens have travelled and lived amongst them.

Character of Indian better known than when Dr. Robertson wrote.

It has become of late the policy of our government to keep agents in their country, and some of the citizens employed in this service, with a zeal and prudence highly deserving praise, have laboured to acquire a correct knowledge of their character and language. Without this information indeed they had found it impossible to gain or preserve that ascendance in their national councils, which enables them to allay the fierce spirits of this people. That reserve which is thought peculiar to the American Indian is every day slowly giving place to the social feelings, to which this intercourse has given birth; and subjects concerning which superstition or custom had formerly sealed their lips, are now discussed without scruple or apprehension. The advantages arising from this state of things, I owe to time; it would be absurd for chance or fortune to lay claim to the rewards of merit.

Dr. Robertson's analysis of Indian character and maners examined.

To follow the several writers who have handled this subject, would be at once uninteresting and impracticable. Mr. Robertson, in his valuable work, the history of America, has given a rapid but at the same time perspicuous analysis of the arguments of his predecessors. His inquiry certainly contains much ingenious deduction, with considerable learning and research; and I profess myself indebted to him for the knowledge of several interesting particulars, which derive new force from his manner of relating them. But he has been compelled to take most of his information on trust, and he rests with too much confidence on the imposing authority of Raynal and Buffon, and the suspicious testimony of the

Spanish writers. The former gentlemen, to whom literature is indebted for so many noble sentiments; for so much profound and elegant information, framed a theory concerning the moral and physical powers of the Indian, and afterwards went in quest of facts to support it. With every disposition to arrive at the truth, they were contiually led astray by their desire to maintain their hypothesis. The diviner is insensibly interested in the fulfilment of his prediction. For the rest, Mr. Robertson is almost wholly dependent on the Spanish historians, and these almost with the exception of the intelligent Ulloa and the virtuous and intrepid Le Casa, are incompetent by reason of their prejudices to examine the merits of the question. The scope of their inquiry is in general too narrow to allow a correct and general decision: they are either the apologists of Spanish cruelties, or they drew their portraits from a people pining in bondage, and whose energies were broken by despair. It will not be thought surprising that Dr. Robertson was compelled to sanction an hypothesis supported by the weight of such powerful authority.

It seems not improper to premise in this place, that all objections which attach equally to every people in the savage state as well as to the Indian, are totally inadmissible. They set out to prove a peculiar debility in the physical structure and in the moral faculties of the Indian, and evidence only of this peculiarity can be properly received.

Bodily structure and external appearance of the Indian.

The first subject of Mr. Robertson's inquiry, is the bodily structure and external appearance of the Indian; "they were not only averse to labour," says he, "but incapable of it; and when roused by force from their native indolence and compelled to work, they sunk under tasks which the people of the other continent could have per-

CHAP. I.

formed with ease." Here he manifestly alludes to the indolent natives of Cuba and Hispaniola, and the Peruvians, who, before the arrival of the Spaniards, were unacquainted with every species of labour, and who by the Repartmientos divided amongst brutal task masters, died by thousands of broken hearts.

THE admirable symmetry of the Indian form is *prima face* evidence of an organization without defect; and the inability to endure fatigue, if it exist any where to the extent alluded to, is only to be ascribed to an habitual and enervating indolence: Indeed, Mr. Robertson concedes this point where he says, "whenever the Americans have been gradually accustomed to hard labour, their constitutions become robust, and they have been found capable of performing such tasks as seemed not only to exceed the powers of such a frame as has been deemed peculiar to their country, but to equal any effort of the nations of Africa or Europe."

His beardless countenance.

"THE beardless countenance and smooth skin of the American," continues Mr. Robertson, "seem to indicate a defect of vigour occasioned by some vice in his frame." Whether beard is essential to manhood, is, I suspect, mere matter of conjecture, and until this fact shall be placed beyond doubts by experiment, it is conceived unnecessary to argue this charge. Fortunately it has an easier refutation; the fact is not so; "at the age of puberty the crinose efflorescence which is deemed essential to manhood discovers itself on the body of the Indian as well as other men:* But with them it is disgraceful to be hairy on the body; they say it likens them to

* *Carver.*

hogs: They therefore pluck the hair as fast as it appears. But the traders, who marry their women, and prevail on them to discontinue this practice, say that nature is the same with them as with the whites.* "They pull their beards up," says Mr. Beverley, "by the roots with muscle shells, and both men and women do the same by the other parts of their body for cleanliness sake."

THE substance of Mr. Jefferson's information is attested by Charlevoix and several other writers. As the fact was considered on all sides interesting, I have been at some pains of ascertaining how it stands without regard to those antipathies and partialities, which prevent a fair decision. The result of my observations, derived from citizens who have lived among the Indians, and from several other sources equally respectable, establish beyond all question the fact in favour of this opinion.

THE smallness of their appetite and their insensibility† to the charms of beauty are next urged in proof of some feebleness in the frame‡ of the American Indian: But those points are likewise

Their insensibility to the charms of

* *Notes on Virginia, p.* 140.

† Canada, therefore, is not a desert from natural defects, but the track of life which its inhabitants pursue. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their strength is employed for their own preservation. Hunger does not allow them to attend to the softer passions. If the people of the south sacrifice every thing to this desire, it is because the first is easily satisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man consumes but little, the overplus of his strength is turned wholly to population, which is likewise assisted by the warmth of the climate.

Raynal's History of America, page 27.

‡ *Vide Rob. Am. vol.* 1, *p.* 95 *and* 96.

CHAP. I.

beauty and the power of love.

given up by Mr. Robertson after a shew of resistance. Their ignorance of abstract ideas; their limited acquaintance with the arts; their indolence and aversion to labour, are peculiarities growing rather out of their moral condition than their physical structure. It is also objected to the Indian, that he is a cold and tyrannical husband, an unnatural son, a father without sensibility or affection; that he is selfish, treacherous and cowardly. I cannot omit introducing the compendious answer of Mr. Jefferson to these unnatural speculations.

"Mons. Buffon has indeed given an affecting picture of human nature in his description of the man of America. But sure I am there never was a picture more unlike the original. He grants indeed that his stature is the same as that of the man of Europe. He might have admitted that the Iroquois were larger, and the Lenopi or Delawares taller than the people of Europe generally are. But he says their organs of generation are smaller and weaker than those of the Europeans. Is this a fact? I believe not, at least it is an observation I never heard of before. They have no beard. Had he known the pains and trouble it cost the men to pluck out by the roots the hair that grows on their faces, he would have seen that nature had not been deficient in that respect. Every nation has its customs. I have seen an Indian beau with a looking glass in his hand, examining his face for hours together, and plucking out by the roots every hair he could discover with a kind of tweezers made of a peice of fine brass wire that had been twisted round a stick, and which he used with great dexterity. They have no ardour for their females. It is true they do not indulge those excesses nor discover that fondness which is customary in Europe; but

http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found

this is not owing to a defect in nature but in manners. Their soul is wholly bent upon war; this is what procures them glory among the men and makes them the admiration of the women. To this they are educated from their earliest youth. When they pursue the game with ardour; when they bear the fatigues of the chase; when they sustain and suffer patiently hunger and cold, it is not so much for the sake of the game they pursue, as to convince their parents and the council of the nation that they are fit to be enrolled in the number of warriors. The songs of the women; the dance of the warriors; the sage council of the chiefs; the tales of the old; the triumphal entry of the warriors returning with success from battle, and the respect paid to those who distinguish themselves in war and in subduing their enemies; in short, every thing they see or hear tends to inspire them with an ardent desire for military fame. If a young man were to discover a fondness for women before he had been to war, he would become the contempt of the men and the scorn and rebuke of the women; or were he to indulge himself with a captive taken in war, and much more were he to offer violence in order to gratify his lust, he would incur indelible disgrace. The seeming frigidity of the men, therefore, is the effect of manners and not of nature. Besides, a celebrated warrior is oftener courted by the females, so that he has no occasion to court, and this is a point of honour which the men aim at. Instances similar to that of Ruth and Boaz* are not uncommon among them. For

* When Boaz had eaten and drank, and his heart was merry, he went to lie down at the heap of corn, and Ruth came softly and uncovered his feet and laid her down. *Ruth*, 3. 7.

CHAP. I.

though the women are modest and diffident, and so bashful that they can seldom lift up their eyes and scarce ever look a man full in the face, yet being brought up in great subjection, custom and manners reconcile them to a mode of acting, which judged of by Europeans, would be deemed inconsistent with the rules of female decorum and propriety. I once saw a young widow whose husband had died about eight days before, hasting to finish her grief, and who by tearing her hair, beating her breast and drinking spirits, made the tears flow in greatest abundance, in order that she might grieve much in a short space of time, and be married that evening to another warrior. The manner in which this was viewed by the men and women of the tribe who stood round silent and solemn spectators of the scene, and the indifference with which they answered my questions respecting it, convinced me that it was no unusual custom. I have known men advanced in years, whose wives were old and past child bearing, take young wives and get children, though the practice of polygamy is not common. Does this savour of frigidity or want of ardour for the female? Neither do they seem to be deficient in natural affection. I have seen both fathers and mothers in the deepest affliction when their children have been dangerously ill, though I believe the affection is stronger in the descending than the ascending scale, and though custom forbids a father to grieve immoderately for a son slain in battle. That they are 'timorous and cowardly,' is a character with which there is little reason to charge them, when we recollect the manner in which the Iroquois met Mons. ——, who marched into their country, in which the old men who scorned to fly or survive the capture of their town, braved death like the old Romans

in the time of the Gauls, and in which they soon after revenged themselves by the sacking and burning of Montreal.

"But above all the unshaken fortitude with which they bear the most excruciating tortures and death when taken prisoners, ought to exempt them from that character: Much less are they to be charactized as a people of no vivacity, and excited to war or motion only by the call of hunger and thirst. Their dances, in which they so much delight, and which to an European would be the severest exercise, fully contradict this, not to mention the long marches and the toils they cheerfully and voluntarily undergo in their military expeditions. It is true that when at home they do not employ themselves in labour or the culture of the soil, but this again is the effect of custom and manners which has assigned that to the province of the women. But it is said they are averse to society and a social life. Can any thing be more inapplicable than this to a people who always live in towns or clans? or can they be said to have no republic, who conduct all their affairs in national council; who pride themselves on their national character; who consider an insult or injury done to one individual by a stranger as done to the whole, and resent it accordingly? In short, this picture is not applicable to any nation of Indians I have ever known or heard of in North America. The Indian of North America being more within our reach, I can speak of them some what from my own knowledge, but more from the information of others better acquainted with him, and on whose truth and judgment I can rely. From these sources I am able to say, in contradiction to the representation, that he is neither more defective in ardour, or more impotent with his female than the white

CHAP. I.

reduced to the same diet and exercise. That he is brave when an enterprize depends on bravery; education with him making the point of honour consist in the destruction of his enemy by stratagem and the preservation of his own person free from injury; or perhaps this is nature, while it is education teaches us to honour force more than finesse; that he will defend himself against an host of enemies, always choosing rather to be killed than surrender, though it be to the whites, who he knows will treat him well; that in other situations also he meets death with more deliberation, and endures tortures with a firmness unknown almost to religious enthusiasm with us.

"That he is affectionate to his children, careful of them and indulgent in the extreme; that his affections comprehend his other connections, weakening as with us from circle to circle as they recede from the centre; that his friendships are strong and faithful to the uttermost extremity; that his sensibility is keen, even the warriors weeping most bitterly on the loss of their children, though in general they endeavour to appear superior to human events; that his vivacity and activity of mind is equal to ours in the same situation: Hence his eagerness for hunting and his fondness for games of chance. The women are submitted to unjust drudgery. This I believe is the case with every barbarous people; with such force is law. The stronger sex, therefore, impose on the weaker. It is civilization alone which replaces women in the enjoyment of their natural equality. That first teaches us to subdue the selfish passions, and to respect those rights in others which we value in ourselves. Were we in equal barbarism, our females would be in equal drudgery. The man with them is

less strong than with us, but their women stronger than ours, and both from the same obvious reasons: Because our men and their women are habituated to labour and formed by it. With both races the sex which is most indulged with ease is least athletic. An Indian man is small in the hand and wrist for the same reason for which a sailor is large and strong in the arms and shoulders, and a porter in the legs and thighs. They raise fewer children than we do: The causes of this are to be found not in any difference of nature, but of circumstances. The women very frequently attending the men in their parties of war and hunting, child bearing becomes extremely inconvenient to them. It is said, therefore, that they have procured abortions by the use of some vegetable, and that it even extends to prevent conception for a considerable time after. During these parties they are exposed to numerous hardships, to excessive exertions and to the greatest extremities of hunger. Even at home the nation depends for food through a certain part of the year on the gleanings of the forests, that is to say, they experience a famine once in every year. With all animals, if the females be badly fed or not fed at all, the young perish, and if both male and female be reduced to like want, generation becomes less active, less productive. To the obstacles then of want and hazard which nature has opposed to the multiplication of wild animals for the purpose of restraining their number within certain bounds, those of labour and voluntary abortion are added with the Indian. No wonder then if they multiply less than we do. Where food is regularly supplied, a small farm will show more of cattle than a whole country can of buffaloes. The same Indian women, when married to white traders who feed them and their children

CHAP. I

plentifully and regularly, who exempt them from excessive drudgery, who keep them stationary and not exposed to accident, produce and raise as many children as white women. Instances are known under these circumstances of their raising a dozen children. An inhuman practice once prevailed in this country of making slaves of the Indians. It is a fact well known with us, that the Indian women so enslaved produced and raised as numerous families as either the whites or blacks among whom they lived."

The same vices had been objected to the Spartans.

It is a singular fact that almost all these defects and vices were formerly objected to the Spartans by their enemies. They were alternately ferocious,* selfish or cowardly;† insensible to the charms of beauty; fond of destroying their neighbours; dull‡ and inactive in times of peace; full‖ of perfidy and dissimulation in their dealings and treaties; delighting¶ in war as affording them an intermission of labour; unsociable** in their private intercourse; austere†† and often inhuman in their treatment to their children; ungallant‡‡ and barbarous in their man-

---

* *Plato de leg.* 1. *t.* 1. *p.* 630; *lib.* 4. 705.

† *Pericles ap. Thucyd. lib.* 2. *cap.* 37.

‡ *Herodotus lib.* 1. *cap.* 66.

‖ *Eurip. in Androm. v.* 446. *Aristophanes in place, v.* 216. *et* 1067; *in Lycist. v.* 630.

¶ *Passim in historia.*

** *Pericl. ap. Thucyd. lib.* 2. *cap.* 37.

†† *Ibid.*

‡‡ *Plato de leg. lib.* 7. *t.* 11. *p.* 806.

ners; enemies* to the arts of elegance and refinement, and like the beasts of the field, stationary in their understanding.† Yet this little community of savages have astonished the world by their achievements, and have bequeathed to posterity the most sublime examples of patriotism and glory. The Indians, like the Spartans, might reply to their enemies by the remark of the lion, who, when he was shewn the figure of an animal of his own species at the feet of a man, contented himself with observing that lions were not sculptors."‡

An ordinary observer, who is acquainted with their history, cannot avoid being struck with the close resemblance between the customs and manners of the two people. The fact is mentioned not with any view of building any theories of a common original on this coincidence. Such an idea would be indeed preposterous.

But it may serve to abate the prejudices which several ingenious men have circulated against the Indians, by shewing that in the great leading points of their character they are almost identified with a people, who lived in the midst of polished communities, unaffected by their arts or refinements; preserving for ages their primitive manners, notwithstanding the wide and intimate intercourse which they held with all the Grecian cities and the dominions of Persia.

If the Spartans, surrounded by innumerable temptatations and inducements and always pos-

---

* *Plato de leg. lib.* 7. *t.* 11. *p.* 806.

† *Plutar. Apoth. in Lycurg. t.* 1. *p.* 52. *Idem Apoth. Lacon. t.* 11. *p.* 217.

‡ *Anacharsis, p.* 50, *vol.* 3.

CHAP. I.

sessing the power and means to alter their condition, held firmly notwithstanding, to the maxims and manners of their fathers, the main objection to the capacity of the Indian for improvement vanishes; all the arguments applying with ten fold force in favour of a people for an infinite number of ages, separated from the world, and who in the short glimpse they had of the arts and civilization of Europe, witnessed only the most enormous vices.

If in viewing this subject, owing to the frailty of human judgment, I should be thought to be led astray by a rage for hypothesis, I can at least promise that my mode of treating it shall be fair and impartial. The authorities on which this coincidence of manners is imagined to be found, shall be accurately quoted and the reader may decide for himself if it be actual or merely imaginary.

Their respect for old age.

The first point of resemblance between the Indians and Spartans, is their respect for old age; their profound respect and deference for the persons and opinion of the elders of their nations. To this sentiment amongst both there is neither exception or qualification: The war chief loaded with scalps and the commanders of phalanxes being alike under its controul.

"Every nation," says Carver, speaking of the Indians, "pays great respect to old age. The advice of a father will seldom meet with any extraordinary attention from the young Indians: Probably they receive it with a bare assent: But they will tremble before a grandfather and submit to his injunction with the utmost alacrity. The words of the ancient part of their community are esteemed by the young men as oracles. If they take in their hunting parties any game that is reckoned by them uncommonly delicious, it is

immediately presented by them to the eldest of their relations. Nothing, says Charlevoix, can exceed the respect of the young people to the aged. "Old age," says the elegant author of Anacharsis, "in other countries devoted to contempt, raises a Spartan to the summit of honour.* The other citizens and especially the youth, pay them all the respect, which they will in their turn require to be paid to themselves. The law obliges them to give way to the aged man wherever they meet him, to rise to him whenever he enters where they are, and to keep silence when he speaks. He is heard with deference in the assemblies of the people and in the halls of the gymnasium."

To multiply further the proofs of their correspondence in this point would be only a waste of time. It is sufficient that it is established by the admission of the satirists of those people

Their stoical indifference and patriotism.

THE stoical indifference; the apparent extinguishment of all natural affection in the passion of patriotism, is alike observable in the Indian and Spartan. "Your son is killed without quitting his ranks," said some person to a Spartan mother. "Let him be buried," was her answer, "and let his brother take his place." Another was told her five sons were slain. "I do not come," said she, "to inquire of them, but whether my country has any thing to fear."† If you inform an Indian that his children are killed or taken prisoners, he makes no complaint, he only replies, It does not signify.‡ Their con-

* *Phit. Instit. Lacon. t.* 11. *p* 237.

† *Plut. Apophth. Lacon. t.* 11. *p* 542.

‡ Has an Indian been engaged for several days in the chace, or any other laborious expedition, and by accident

CHAP. I.

Their contempt of death and constancy in supporting tortures

tempt of death and their constancy* in supporting torture is equally striking in both. "Tears nor sighs," says Anacharsis, "do not accompany the last moments of the dying; for the Spartans are no more astonished at the approach of death than they were at the continuance of life." "An Indian," says Carver, "meets death when it approaches him in his hut, with the same resolution he has often faced him in the field. His indifference relative to this important article, which is the source of so many apprehensions to almost every other nation, is truly admirable. He takes leave of his friends and issues out orders for the preparation of a feast." The Spartans too had

---

continued thus long without food, when he arrives at the hut or tent of a friend where he knows his wants may be immediately supplied, he takes care not to show the least symptom of impatience, or to betray the extreme hunger by which he is tortured: But on being invited in, sits contentedly down, and smokes his pipe with as much composure as if every appetite was allayed, and he was perfectly at ease; he does the same if among strangers.

This custom is strictly adhered to by every tribe, as they esteem it a proof of fortitude, and think the reverse would entitle them to the appellation of old women.

Carver's Travels, page 138.

* Their constancy in suffering pain is beyond all expression. A young woman shall be a whole day in labour without making one cry: if she shewed the least weakness, they would esteem her unworthy to be a mother; because, as they say, she could only breed cowards. Nothing is more common than to see persons of all ages and of both sexes, suffer for many hours, and sometimes many days together, the sharpest effects of fire, and all that the most industrious fury can invent to make it most painful, without letting a sigh escape. They are employed for the most part, during their suffering, in encouraging their tormentors by the most insulting reproaches.

Carver's History of America, page 64.

the custom of celebrating a funeral supper. The funeral rites of Leonidas and his devoted band were celebrated by their relations previous to their departure from Sparta; and such did Leonidas himself celebrate in the Streights of Thermopylæ the night before the battle.

"I HAVE seen other combats," says the author of Anacharsis speaking of the Spartan constancy, "in which the greatest fortitude contends with the most extreme suffering. At a festival celebrated every year in honour of Diana, surnamed Orthia, youthful Spartans scarcely out of their infancy, and chosen from all the different classes of the people, are brought to the altar and severely whipt till the blood begins to stream. The priestess of the goddess holds in her hands a small and light wooden image of Diana. If the executioners appeared moved with compassion, the priestess exclaims that she is no longer able to bear the weight of the statue. The strokes redouble, and the attention of all present becomes more eager. The parents of the innocent victims exhort them with frantic cries not to suffer the smallest complaint to escape them, while they themselves *provoke* and *defy pain*. The presence of so many witnesses, who watch their smallest motions, and the hope of victory to be decreed, him who shall suffer with the greatest constancy, so steel them against their pangs, that they endure these horrid tortures with a *serene countenance* and joy, at which humanity shudders." The constancy of the Indians under torture is still more incredible. No historical fact, however, is better authenticated. Even their enemies admit that nothing in the *stoa* or *gymnasium* can compete with the unconquerable obstinacy of *Indian endurance*.

THEIR taciturnity; their reserve, deliberation,

CHAP. I.

Their taciturnity, reserve and deliberation.

and the character of their eloquence, are equally remarkable. "Accustomed as they are from their earliest years to express themselves with equal energy and precision, they are silent when they have nothing to say, and apologize if they have said too much.* The ephori fearing that the garrison of Decelia should suffer themselves to be surprised, or not intermit their accustomed exercises, wrote to them only these words, "*Do not walk.*"† If an Indian has discovered that a friend is in danger of being intercepted, and cut off by one to whom he has rendered himself obnoxious, he does not inform him in plain and explicit terms of the danger he runs in pursuing the track near which such enemy lies. He first coolly asks him which way he is going that day, and having received his answer with the same indifference, "tells him that he has been informed, '*that a dog lies near the spot*"‡ "Indians are extremely circumspect and deliberate in every word and action."‖ They, (the Spartans) says Anacharsis, despise the art but they esteem the genius of eloquence. This some of them have received from nature and have displayed in their own assemblies, as also in the funeral orations, which are pronounced every year in honour of Pausanias and Leonidas. The eloquence of the Indians, although occasionally enlivened and always illustrated by figures and emblems, like the Spartan, comes directly to the point, and is remarkable for the force and justness of the lan-

---

* *Plutarc. in Lycurg. t.* 1. *p.* 52. *Thucyd. lib*' 4. *cap.* 17.

† *Anacharsis, who quotes Elean. Var. Hist. lib.* 2. *cap.* 5.

‡ *Carver, p.* 137.

‖ *Ibidem.*

guage and sentiment. Even their figures are attended with such peculiar felicity, that they possess all the terseness and spirit of the epigram. Sometimes their orators are so wonderfully sublime as to challenge comparison with the happiest specimens of ancient eloquence. The speech of Logan, the Shawanese chief, has been given to the world by Mr. Jefferson, and is too well known to stand in need of eulogy. The speech of Garangula,* a Mohawk sachem, to Le Barre, is distinguished alike for its keen irony, bitter sarcasm, as its spirit and judgment. The speech of the Shawanese chief, in delivering young Field to the Virginia commissioners, is perhaps not surpassed by any thing of its kind. One would have supposed that their judgment in connecting and enlivening a long discourse, and their admirable skill in managing the most difficult treaties, would have been sufficient to rescue the character of this people from the charge of incapacity. But no difficulties will deter the rage of hypothesis.

How close is the resemblance between the two people if we examine their treatment to their children. From their earliest infancy, says Raynal, the parents respect the natural independence of their children, and never *beat or chide* them,

Their treatment of their children.

* Monsieur Le Barre, with the whole force of Canada, marched against the Five Nations: But his army being wasted by a contagious disease, he proposed to treat for peace, and endeavoured to conceal the situation of his army by the haughty language of his speech.

GARANGULA'S ANSWER.

"YONNONDIO,

"I honour you, and the warriors that are with me all likewise honour you. Your interpreter has finished your speech, I now begin mine. My words make haste to reach your ears; hearken to them. "Yonnondio, you must have be-

CHAP. I.

because they will not check that free and martial spirit, which is one day to constitute their principal character. "The children of savages," adds Charlevoix, "when they leave their cradle are not

---

lieved when you left Quebec that the sun had burnt up all the forests which render our country inaccessible to the French, or that the lakes had so far overflown their banks that they had surrounded our castles, and that it was impossible for us to get out of them. Yes, Yonnondio, surely you must have dreamt so, and the curiosity of seeing so great a wonder has brought you so far. Now you are undeceived, since I and the warriors here present are come to assure you that the Senekas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidoes and Mohawks are yet alive. I thank you in their name for bringing back into their country the calumet which your predecessor received from their hands. It was happy for you that you left under ground that murdering hatchet, that has been so often dyed in the blood of the French. Hear Yonnondio, I do not sleep; I have my eyes open, and the sun which enlightens me discovers to me a great captain, at the head of a company of soldiers, who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says, that he only came to the lake to smoke on the great calumet with the Onondagas. But Garangula says, that he sees the contrary; that it was to knock them on the head if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French.

"I see Yonnondio raving in a camp of sick men, whose lives the Great Spirit had saved by inflicting this sickness on them. Hear, Yonnondio, our women would have taken their clubs; our children and old men would have carried their bows and arrows in the heart of your camp, if our warriors had not disarmed them and kept them back, when your messenger, Ohguese came to our castles. It is done, and I have said it. Hear, Yonnondio, we plundered none of the French but those that carried guns, powder and ball to the Twikties and the Chictaghicks; because those arms might have cost us our lives. Herein we follow the example of the Jesuits who stave all the kegs of rum brought to our castles, lest the drunken Indians should knock them on the head. Our warriors have not beavers enough to pay for all the arms that they have taken, and our old men are not afraid of the war. This belt preserves my words. We carried the English into our lakes to trade with the Utawawas and Quatoghies, as

confined in any manner, and as soon as they can crawl upon their hands and feet, they let them go where they will, quite naked into the water, into the woods, into the dirt and into the snow,

CHAP. I

---

the Adrondacks brought the French to our castles to carry on a trade which the English say is their's. We are born free; we neither depend on *Yonnondi nor Corlear. We may go where we please, and carry with us whom we please, and buy and sell what we please: If your allies be your slaves, use them as such; command them to receive no other but your people. This belt preserves my words.

"We knocked the Twicktwies and Chictaghicks on the head, because they had cut down the trees of peace, which were the limits of our country. They have hunted beavers on our land. They have acted contrary to the customs of all Indians, for they took none of the beavers alive; they killed both male and female. They brought the Sataucas into their country to take part with them after they had conceived ill designs against us. We have done less than either the English or French; they have usurped the lands of so many Indian nations and chased them from their own country. This belt preserves my words. Hear, Yonnondio, what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations. Hear what they answer, open your ears to what they speak. The Senekas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Oneidas and Mohawks say, that when they buried the hatchet at Cadarckui (in the presence of your predecessor) in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, to be there carefully preserved; that in case of retreat for soldiers that fort might be a rendezvous for merchants; that in place of arms and ammunition of war, beavers and merchandize should only enter there.

"Hear, Yonnondio; take care for the future that so great a number of soldiers as appear there do not choak the tree of peace planted in so small a fort. It would be a great loss if after it had so easily taken root, you should stop its growth and prevent its covering your country and our's with its branches. I assure you in the name of the Five Nations, that our warriors shall dance to the calumet of peace under its leaves, and shall remain quiet on their mats, and shall never dig up the hatchet till their brethren, Yonnondio or

* *Indian names for the governors of Canada and N. England.*

CHAP. I.

which makes their bodies strong, their limbs supple, and hardens them against the effects of the air." The treatment of the young Spartan, as given by Anacharsis, would equally stand for the Indian. "His delicate limbs," says he, "are not confined with bands which prevent their motions; no care is taken to stop his tears, but they are never excited by *menaces* or *blows*. He is accustomed by degrees to solitude, darkness and the greatest indifference in the choice of eatables. He is alike stranger to the impressions of terror, useless restraints and *unjust reproaches*. Continually occupied in innocent sports, he enjoys all the sweets of life, and his happiness hastens the expansion of the powers of his body and the faculties of his mind."

Their military habits and customs.

Do not their military habits and customs precisely correspond? War with both is a season of festivity. For then were immediately suspended those manual labours, which were looked upon as beneath the dignity of freemen.

"It is not in this mournful way," says Raynal, "that the savages meet victory. They march out in the midst of festivity, singing and dancing; the young married women follow their

---

Corlear, shall either jointly or separately endeavour to attack the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors. This belt preserves my words, and this other the authority which the Five Nations has given me."

Then Garangula addressing himself to Mons. Le Main, said,

"Take courage, Ohguese, you have spirit; speak, explain my words; forget nothing; tell all that your brethren and friend say to Yonnondio, your governor, by the mouth of Garangula, who loves you and desires you to accept of this present of beaver, and take part with me in my feast to which I invite you. This present is sent to Yonnondio on the part of the Five Nations."

husbands for a day or two; but without shewing any signs of grief or sorrow. These women, who never once cry out in the pangs of childbed, would scorn to soften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country by their tears or even by their endearments." Anacharsis thus describes the preparations for battle among the Spartans: "On the day of battle, the king, in imitation of Hercules, sacrifices a she goat, while the flute-players play the air of Castor: He then sings the hymn of battle, which all the soldiers with their brows girt with crowns, repeat in concert."

Both prefer stratagem to force.

Both the Spartans and Indians in their wars prefer art and stratagem to force. Nor does this proceed, as has been insinuated, from any want of courage: But because the life of a citizen was valued at a high rate, and their communities being small, it would be impossible in the midst of incessant wars, to preserve them, without such a maxim, from extermination. "It is true," says Charlevoix speaking of Indians, "that in their wars they expose themselves as little as may be, because they make it their chief glory never to buy the victory at a dear rate; and because of their nations not being numerous they have made it a maxim not to weaken them: But when they must fight, they encrease their strength and courage. They have been in many actions with our brave men, who have seen them perform things almost incredible."

With the Spartans too, "the success which has been obtained by prudence is preferred to that which is gained by bravery only."

Their ties of friendship.

Still more striking is their coincidence in the manner of forming and preserving the ties of friendship. "Then it is," says Anacharsis,

CHAP. I

"that they (the Spartans) begin to contract those intimate connexions, which are little known in other countries, and more pure in Lacedemon than in the other cities of Greece. It is permitted to each of them to receive the assiduous attentions of a virtuous young man, attracted by the charms of beauty and the still more powerful charms of virtue, of which beauty is the emblem. The youth of Sparta is thus as it were divided into two classes, the one consisting of those who love, and the other of those who are beloved. The first, destined to serve as models to the second, carry even to enthusiasm a sentiment, which produces the most noble emulation, and which with the transports of love, is in reality only the passionate tenderness of a father for his child, or the ardent friendship of a brother for his brother."

"THE ties of friendship," says Raynal, "among the savages are almost as strong as those of nature, and more lasting. These are never broken by that variety of clashing interests which in our societies weaken even the tenderest and most sacred connexion. There the heart of one man chooses another in which he deposits his inmost thoughts, his sentiments, his projects, his sorrows and his joys. Every thing becomes common between two friends; their union is for life. They fight side by side, and if one fall, the other constantly dies upon his friend's body. If they are separated in some imminent danger, each calls upon the name of his friend; each invokes his spirit. This is his tutelar deity."

WITH both, war was a season of rest and pleasure.* The contempt of cowardice and the pe-

* The intervals of the day are past in different amusements; for they are then subjected to fewer labours than

nalties attached to it, were the same with both. Their equality; their disinterestedness; their refusal to portion their daughters; their respect for the laws and their ancient manners; their custom of destroying their deformed children, were precisely the same.

General portrait will serve for Virginia.

The general portrait of American manners will serve for the Indian of Virginia. In every lineament the resemblance is complete. To review, therefore, each step on the scale would be a vain and useless repetition. Suffice it to say that the character of their faces, their persons and manners, is the same. There are, notwithstanding, several incidents in the history of Virginia, which having passed immediately under the observation of the whites, will tend to confirm the correctness of the portrait, and have the effect perhaps of removing all scepticism on this subject.

It will be certainly granted that the official acts of our state governments during their colonial and independent existences, and their *talks* and treaties with this people, afford a proof of a nature the least suspicious and unquestionable. It will be conceded at the same time, that no governments on earth have an equal opportunity of observation and intercourse with them. The Indians subject to the Spanish governments in North and South America are, it is true, beyond comparison more numerous: They live moreover in the midst of their conquerors. But these Indians have lost almost all distinct traces of their original manners; they have in general abandoned the hunter state: They are workers in the mines; they are cultivators, merchants or artisans: But

---

they were before they took the field: It may be said that war is to them a time of leisure and rest.

CHAP. I.

above all, they are slaves. With them the rude virtues of their ancestors are forgotten. With the exception of the natives of Chili and a few roving tribes, this is a just picture of the Spanish Indians. These are certainly improper subjects for a fair examination.

The Indians in the vicinity of the United States, on the other hand, together with their independence, preserve their original character and manners, and even their language. Their chiefs, as I have before stated, led by business or attracted by curiosity, visit our cities; and the wise policy of our government keeps regular agents amongst them, with the double view of securing their friendship and improving their condition. Here then we have the subject to be examined, together with the occasion and the means for a fair investigation.

Plan of Indian civilization.

It may not be improper to state, that a plan of improvement for the Indians was drafted during the administration of Mr. Washington, which with some interruption has been constantly in operation to this day. It was conceived by col. Hawkins of North Carolina, a man, by his patience, temper and sagacity, admirably calculated for so arduous and delicate an employment. The history of this mission I have from the mouth of this gentleman; and the picture of Indian manners is drawn from materials obligingly furnished by him. They were not indeed so ample as I could have wished, Mr. Hawkins having been able to spare but a short time to this communication. I have his promise, that at no distant day he will transmit a more full and satisfactory account of all the peculiarities of custom, of laws and manners among this people.

His project to introduce civilization, he represents to have been at one time hopeless. Hav-

ing announced to the Creek nation the object of his mission, he was able, after repeated disappointments and mortifications, to procure at length an assembly of the nation. By the means of a female interpreter, whom he was obliged previously to instruct in the elements of English, he slowly and perspicuously developed his plan of civilization: What must have been his feelings, when, instead of the approbation he had reason to expect, each section of his report was saluted by a rudeness which decency cannot name?

THE same contempt of the plan proposed was manifested at succeeding meetings. The sanguine temper of the projector, added to his admirable patience and address, alone prevented a total and immediate failure. By well timed presents to the chiefs; by a marked and flattering attention to the women, who have considerable weight in this and the neighbouring tribes; by the intrinsic value of the plan itself, and the excellent capacity of the people to whom it was addressed; but chiefly by the unvarying amenity of his face and manners, he first procured silence and attention, and gradually established conviction. The dawn of civilization begins to appear. By a wise and liberal policy, mechanic tools and instruments of husbandry are distributed amongst the most industrious and deserving. An excellent breed of cattle range along the extensive prairies with which this country abounds: The other domestic animals are introduced, and, at the time I am now writing, the Creeks and their neighbours are approaching the social state with a rapidity of which there is no example in the annals of mankind.

CONTRASTED with a policy so noble, how sink the petty expedients, the puerile and wicked ambition of kings. Here we see government, according

CHAP. I.

to its true and original intendment, resolving itself into a scheme of ethics: Instead of ravaging the earth; burning its cities and murdering its inhabitants, we behold it reclaiming the horrid wilderness to culture, and its roving savage to arts and humanity. How consoling to humanity; how grateful to science, must be the success of this experiment. How delightful the sensations of the intelligent projector, who lives amongst them like a father in the midst of his children. The result of his observations on their character and manners, together with whatever else I have thought accurate, shall be treated under the proper heads, and if they add little that is new or interesting, they shall at least reject the rubbish of unnatural conjecture and preserve only what is genuine and authentic.

The complexion and figure of the Indian.

The face of the Indian when arrived at maturity is a dark brown and chesnut. By a free use of bear's grease and a continual exposure to the sun and weather, it becomes harder and darker. This, however, is not the natural complexion. In infancy they are much fairer.* Their hair is almost invariably of a coal black, straight and long; their cheek bones are high, and their eyes black and full of a character of wildness and ferocity that mark their unappeasable thirst of vengeance, and their free and uncontrolled indulgence of every fierce and violent passion. But the education of an Indian, which commences almost with

* "They are very swarthy," says Charlevoix speaking of the Canadians, "and of a dirty dark red. But this is not their natural complexion. The frequent frictions they use gives them this red, and it is surprising that they are not blacker; being continually exposed to the smoke in winter, to the great heat in summer, and in all seasons to the inclemencies of the air."

his birth, teaches him that dissimulation, which masks the thought and smooths the countenance, is the most useful of virtues; and there is a continual effort to check the fierce sallies of the eye and keep down the consuming rage of his bosom. His eye, therefore, is generally averted or bent downwards: The terrible complacency of the tiger is no inapt illustration of an Indian visage.

His figure.

The figure of an Indian is admirably proportioned beyond any thing that has hitherto been seen of the human form. Tall, straight; their muscles hardened by the continual action of the weather; their limbs supple by exercise and perhaps by the use of oil, they outstrip the bear and run down the buck and the elk. No such thing is to be found as a dwarfish, crooked, bandylegged, or otherwise mishapen Indian.* A circumstance so uncommon, which appears thus to put a check on the gambols and irregularities of nature, has been attempted to be accounted for in various ways. The speculations of Dr. Robertson contain every thing which has been said on the subject.

"Some authors search for the cause of this appearance in their physical condition. As the parents are not exhausted or over fatigued with hard labour, they suppose that their children are born vigorous and sound. They imagine that in the vigour of savage life, the human body naked and unconfined from its earliest age, preserves its natural form, and that all its limbs and members acquire a juster proportion than when fettered with the artificial restraints which stint its growth and distort its shape. Something, without doubt may be ascribed to the operation of these causes, but the true reasons of this appa-

* *Beverley, Hist. Virg. p.* 140.

CHAP. I.

rent advantage which is common to all savage nations lie deeper and are closely interwoven with the natnre and genius of that state. The infancy of man is so long and helpless that it is extremely difficult to rear children in rude nations. Their means of subsistence are not only scanty but precarious; such as live by hunting must range over extensive countries, and shift often from place to place; the care of children as well as every other laborious task devolves upon the women. The distresses and hardships of the savage life, which are often such as can hardly be supported by persons in full vigour, and must be fatal to those of more tender age. Afraid of undertaking a task so laborious and of such long duration as that of rearing their offspring, the women in some parts of America procure frequent abortions by the use of certain herbs, and extinguish the first sparks of that life which they are unable to cherish. Sensible that only stout and well formed children have force of constitution to struggle through such an hard infancy, other nations abandon or destroy such of their progeny as appear feeble or defective, as unworthy of their protection. Even when they endeavour to rear all their children without distinction, so great a proportion of the whole number perish under the rigorous treatment which must be their lot in the savage state, that few of those who labour under any original frailty attain the age of manhood."*

The powers and qualities of his mind.

THE power and qualities of their minds are such as we should expect from their state of society. In a state of nature the mind of man differs but little from the animals around him. Occupied in supplying his wants or gratifying his

* Vol. 2, p. 7

resentments, he has but little time or inclination for the labours of calculation or the refinements of abstraction. The sensible objects with which he is most conversant impress themselves on his memory in the order and degrees of their importance; but their classification and the faculty of generalizing them by an idea and term that shall take in all the particulars and classes, are the result of deep thought and intense reflection. For this, leisure and application are necessary. But the time of the Indian after returning successful from the chace or victorious from the battle, is too valuable to be employed in such trifles. His duty it is, to spread the feast; to hear the praises of the old men and the congratulations of the women; to attend the great council of the nation and to sing the history of his own exploits: If any time remain after discharging those duties, he exercises himself in shooting the arrow or throwing the tomahawk; or stretched at length along the grass enjoys that luxury of indolence which constitutes the supreme blessing of his existence.

The idea of numbers is therefore very limited among the tribes. Some of them can reckon a thousand, while others cannot exceed ten: To express any greater number they are compelled to resort to something indefinite. As numerous as the pigeons in the woods or the stars in the heavens, is a mode of expression for any greater number. For the same reason their language has no term for the abstract ideas of time, space, universal, &c. There is however a conjecture, which if true, will prove that the Indians of Virginia had a more copious arithmetic. It is suggested that Tomocomoco or Uttomaccomac was sent to England by Powhatan, for

CHAP. I.

the purpose of procuring an exact account of the number of the people of England. Tomocomoco made the attempt till his arithmetic failed, but before he would be sent on such an errand, he must have been able to reckon the Powhatans, and these according even to the lowest estimates amounted to eight thousand. They have at the same time a method of obviating this want by hyeroglyphics or sensible representations, which combine at the same time the elements of drawing and arithmetic; an account of which is thus given by Raynal.*

"The conqueror leaves his hatchet on the field of battle, having previously engraven upon it the marks of his nation, that of his family, and especially his own picture; that is to say, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all these ensigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the stump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with several colours. To this they add not only the history of the battle, but of the whole campaign, in hyeroglyphic characters. Immediately after the general's picture are those of his soldiers, marked by so many lines; the number of prisoners pointed out by so many little images, and that of the dead by so many human figures without heads. Such are the expressive and technical signs which in all original societies have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and encumber the heads of the learned."

Yet is this people, thus rude and unlettered, full of genius and the most admirable capacity for peace or war. It is truly astonishing to see

* *Raynal's History of America, page* 41.

the patience and address with which they manage the most important treaties: With what accuracy they divide their discourse under several heads; never omitting any thing interesting or important to the purpose, embellishing it as they proceed with touches of native delicacy and sentiments that often rise into the sublime; and how without any knowledge of the principles of grammar there should be often found so much point and precision in their language. The eloquence of their speeches it may be safely affirmed has never been matched by the productions of any people in a corresponding state of society.

But few improvements in useful arts.

It is owing to the same causes that they have made but few improvements in the useful arts. Iron has been thought necessary to the progress of civilization, and an ignorance of the uses of this valuable metal an infallible index to a state of extreme rudeness and barbarism. Yet the Indians of this continent were ignorant of the use of iron. Instigated by no wants; impelled by no necessity; satisfied with the rich productions, which they found scattered profusely on the surface; regarding indolence next to war as the chief blessing: Is it wonderful that they had not penetrated the bowels of the earth, and subjected its ponderous ores to the tedious and doubtful operation of fire?*

* "If they have brought nothing to perfection any more than the most sagacious animals, it is probably because these people, having no ideas but such as relate to their present wants, the equality that subsists between them lays every individual under the necessity of thinking for himself, and of spending his whole life in acquiring this occasional learning Hence, it may be reasonably inferred, that the sum total of ideas in a society of savages is no more than the sum of ideas of each individual."

Raynal's History of America, p. —

CHAP. I.

It has been said that the Indian is the most improvident of animals; that satisfied with his present enjoyments, he wastes no thought on the morrow, and that repeated calamities have added nothing to his care or foresight. This may have been true of some of the tribes in South America or in the islands. The North American, and more especially the Virginian, always had their public stock hoarded. Powhatan and the other sachems carried on a continual trade with the first colonists for corn, and we find that Raleigh, Baltimore and Penn derived their principal support from similar sources. But the quantity of labour and industry required for raising this superfluity was comparatively nothing. A few did not, as in established societies, work for the support of the whole, and for the purpose of enabling the rich to vend their surplus commodities in foreign markets. Here every man laboured for himself or for the common stock, and a few days in every year were sufficient for the maintenance of each man, and by consequence, of all the members of the tribe.

No written laws. The customs and manners of the Indians

The Indians of Virginia have no written laws, but their customs handed down from age to age in the traditions of their old men have all the force of the best defined and positive institutions. Nor is this respect acquired by the fear of punishment. The aborigines of Virginia, whatever may be pretended, enjoyed complete freedom. Their sachems made their own tools and instruments of husbandry: They worked in the ground in common with the other Indians. They could enter into no measure of a public nature without the concurrence of the matchacomoco or grand council; and even after this body had decided on the merits of the question, the consent of the people at large was necessary to sanction their pro-

ceedings. If the voice of this council be in favour of war, the young men express their approbation by painting themselves of various colours so as to render their appearance horrible to their enemies. In this state they rush furiously into the council: They begin the war dance, accompanying their steps with fierce gestures expressive of their thirst of vengeance, and describing the mode in which they will surprize, wound, kill and scalp their enemies. After this they sing their own glories; they recount the exploits of their ancestors and the ancient glories of their nation.

* "When any matter is proposed in the national council, it is common for the chiefs of the several tribes to consult thereon apart with their counsellors, and when they have agreed, to deliver the opinion of the tribe at the national council, and as their government seems to rest wholly on persuasion, they endeavour by mutual concessions to obtain unanimity. Their only controuls are their manners and their moral sense of right and wrong, which like tasting and smelling in every man, makes part of his nature."

"An offence against these is punished by contempt, by exclusion from society, or when the case is serious, as in murder, by the individuals whom it concerns."†

---

* *Jeff. Ap.* 307.

† Imperfect, says Mr. Jefferson, as this species of coercion may seem, crimes are very rare amongst them; insomuch that were it made a question, wether no law, as among the savage Americans, or too much law, as among the civilized Europeans, submits man to the greatest evils, one who has seen both conditions of existence would pro-

CHAP. I.

Mode of reckoning.

THE Indians of Virginia had no idea of distinct and exclusive property; the lands were in common, and every man had a right to choose or abandon his situation at pleasure. Their mode of computation, as with us, was by units, tens and hundreds: there is no light on the records by which we may discover its limits or extent. Analogy affords no helps on this occasion. The Iroquois could reckon a thousand, whilst other tribes, almost in their neighbourhood, could count no farther than ten.

"THEY reckon their years by winters, or cohonks as they call them, which was a name taken from the note of the wild geese, intimating so many times of the wild geese coming to them, which is every winter"

"THEY distinguish the several parts of the year by five seasons, viz. The budding or blossoming of the spring; the earing of the corn, or roasting ear time; the summer, or highest sun; the corn gathering, or fall of the leaf; and the winter, or *cohonks*."

"THEY count the months by the moons, though not with any relation to so many in a year as we do: But they make them return again by the same name, as the moon of stags, the corn moon, the first and second moon of cohonks."

"THEY have no distinction of the hours of the day, but divide it only into three parts, the rise, the power and lowering of the sun; and they keep their accounts by knots on a string, or notches on a stick, not unlike the Peruvian Quippoes."*

---

nounce it to be the last, and that the sheep are happier themselves than under the care of the wolves.

Notes, Virg. page 133.

* *Beverley.*

CHAP. I.

Their religion.

As it suited the prejudices or theories of writers, the Indian has been represented as an atheist, or Manichæan; or to have been impressed with notions of the deity, full of the most wonderful refinement and sublimity. The most monstrous contradictions on this head are to be found even when the same country and the same tribes are the subjects of their inquiry. Charlevoix, and in general all the clerical writers, with the exception of father Hennpin, pretend to have discovered in their customs and traditionary history, traces of scripture knowledge, and even glimpses of the gospel. My information on this interesting subject is derived from Mr. Hawkins and an intelligent interpreter, who has lived forty years among the Creeks, and who attended a deputation of the Creek sachems on a mission to our government. His information corresponds exactly with two of the chiefs who were tolerably versant in English, and whose replies discovered an excellent capacity and a shrewdness derived from some acquaintance with the world.

Their notion of a God.

The Indians, according to their concurrent report, entertain some vague idea of a pre-existent cause, whose faculties and attributes are superior to those of man and other animals: But with them this is more a matter of fancy than belief. It is not considered as a necessary tenet: No penalties are conceived to be attached to infidelity either in this world or the next. They erect no temples to him; they seek not to appease his wrath, or solicit his pardon and protection by prayers and sacrifices. They have no days set apart for his worship. They never kneel or prostrate themselves before the sun or any of the other striking emblems of his power and goodness. They return no thanks for their success in battle or in hunting, or do

CHAP. I.

penance for their sins, as being the causes of their afflictions. But acting in all things as if they were independent and even co-ordinate beings, they scarcely admit his superiority and appear indifferent to his resentments.

THE causes of this indifference will be found in the Indian character. Man has every where been in the habit of drawing a portrait of the Almighty from his own image. The moral attributes of this being are also copied from the operations of his own mind. The principal features of the Indian character are his complete equality, his respect for the rights and independence of others, his sense of his own dignity, and his contempt of the slavish forms of ceremony in use in civilized states. These attributes, by a similar process, he transfers to his God, and we may rationally infer on those grounds that any extraordinary attention would be equally disagreeable to this spirit and unworthy of him. The name for this invisible being is, literally translated, *Master Breath*, or the cause of breath, by which, they mean life to other animals.

Their Master Breath, or Great Spirit.

IT is curious to observe among savage nations the almost invariable disposition to spiritualize the deity. One would suppose that the first notions of rude beings on this head would be suggested by objects of sense. But perhaps a more intimate acquaintance with their language and religion would shew that matter is not wholly excluded from their idea of a Supreme Being.

THE Iroquois and other nations of North America, with the exception of the Mexicans and Natchez, called this being by the title of the Great Spirit, and some of the finest flights of their eloquence have allusion to the agency of this being.

CHAP. I.

THEIR ideas of a future state are equally vague and uncertain. They believe that those who have been distinguished as successful hunters or hardy warriors, or such as have figured in the national council, will be treated with marked attention by the *Master Breath* on their arrival in the region of spirits; and that this Being will afford them every assistance in forming an establishment in their new country: But that the cowards, or as they call them, the old women, will be punished by neglect and contempt, and obliged to shift for themselves. Here again we behold the anxiety of man to transfer his institutions to heaven. Contempt and an exclusion from society were the principal penalties in an Indian community, and their *Master Breath* in their theology is made to discharge the duties of an Indian sachem or matchocomoco.

BUT whatever may be entertained of the substance of their deity, they have taken care to fill their paradise with every object gratifying to the sense. Clear rivers, abounding in delicious fish; woods ever green and affording a haunt to the deer, the elk, the wild turkey and the buffaloe; a serene sky; beauty glowing with eternal youth unsusceptible of decay, and presenting incessantly virgin pleasures; manhood strung with a vigour untired, and renewed by enjoyment: These are the enviable qualities of the world of spirits.

IF we believe the accounts of Smith and Beverley, the Indians of Virginia were grossly superstitious and even idolatrous. According to them they have a sensible representation of the deity, whose titles indifferently were *Okee*, *Quiocos*, or *Kiwasa*, as a sanctuary for which they have erected temples, or quioccasan. But if this

CHAP. I.

were any thing more than a fable some traces of it would be found amongst the bordering Indians, or more particularly among the immediate descendants of this people. The Tuscaroras, the Nanticos, the Conoies and Tuteloes, who with other tribes emigrated westward, would have preserved some tradition at least of opinions so novel and extraordinary.

"They do not look on it as one being," says Beverley, "but reckon there are many of the same nature; they likewise believe there are tutelar deities in every town."* This seems to savour of the heathen mythology: Yet notwithstanding this he says:

Although they have no set days for performing the rites of religion, they have a number of festivals which are celebrated with the utmost festivity. "They solemnize a day for the plentiful coming of their wild fowl, such as geese, ducks, teal, &c. for the returns of their hunting seasons, and for the ripening of certain fruits: But the greatest annual festival they have is at the time of their corn gathering, at which they revel several days together. To these they universally contribute, as they do to the gathering of the corn: On this occasion they have their greatest variety of pastimes, and more especially of their war dances and heroic songs; in which they boast that their corn being now gathered, they have store enough for their women and children, and have nothing to do but go to war, travel and to seek for new adventures."

There is a second annual festival, conducted with still greater solemnity. It commences with a fast, which exceeds any thing of abstinence

* *Hist. Virg. p.* 160.

known among the most mortified hermits. This fast is succeeded by a feast. The old fire is put out, and a new fire called the drill fire elicited by the friction of two pieces of wood. They sprinkle sand on the hearths, and to make the lustration complete, an emetic is taken by the whole nation. At this meeting all crimes except murder are pardoned, and the bare mention of them afterwards is considered as disreputable. At the close of this festival, which continues four days, a funeral procession commences, the signification of which is that they bury all the past in oblivion, and the criminals having tasted of the decoction of casina are permitted to sit down by the men they have injured.

THE ceremony of huskanawing returns after an interval of fourteen or sixteen years, or more frequently, as the young men happen to arrive at maturity. This is intended as a state of probation preparatory to their being initiated into the class of warriors and counsellors. The candidates are first taken into the thickest part of the forest and kept in close and solitary confinement for several months, with scarcely any sustenance beside an infusion or decoction of some intoxicating roots. This diet, added to the severity of the discipline, invariably induces madness, and the fit is protracted for eighteen days. During the paroxisms they are shut up in a strong enclosure, called an huskanaw pen, "one of which," says Beverley, "I saw belonging to the Pamaunkie Indians in the year 1694. It was in shape like a sugar loaf, and every way open like a lattice for the air to pass through." When their doctors suppose they have drunk a sufficient portion of the intoxicating juice, they gradually restore them to their senses by lessening the quantity of the potion, and before they recover their senses they

CHAP. I.

are brought back to the town. This process is intended to operate like Lethe on their memory. "To release the youth from all their childish impressions, and from that strong partiality to persons and things which is contracted before reason takes place. So that when the young men come to themselves again, their reason may act freely without being biassed by the cheats of custom and education. Thus they also become discharged from any ties by blood; and are established in a state of equality and perfect freedom, to order their actions and dispose of their persons as they think proper, without any other controul than the law of nature."*

His domestic relations

In order to have a more accurate idea of the Indian we must view him in his domestic relations, as a member of a social community. It must be granted that the natural ties as well as those imposed by the artifice of society, hang much more loosely about them than the inhabitants of more civilized states. But if the bands be not strained as tight, they are equally strong; and their feelings not being regulated by penal statutes, a silken thread binds them as forcibly as a chain of iron.

Marriage, or the union of husband and wife, stood precisely on the same footing as amongst the other American tribes. A man might keep as many wives as he could support: But in general they had but one, whom, without being obliged to assign any reason, they might at any time abandon,† and immediately form a new en-

* *Beverley, Virg.* 180.

† Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reason than the contrary system which prevails among Christians. The Great Spirit, say they, hath created us

gagement. The rights of the woman are the same with this difference, that she cannot marry again until the next annual festival.

COURTSHIP was short, and like their marriage unembarrassed by ceremony. If the presents of a young warrior are accepted by his mistress, she is considered as having agreed to become his wife, and without any farther explanations to her family, she goes home to his hut. The principles that are to regulate their future conduct are well understood. He agrees to perform the more laborious duties of hunting and fishing; of felling the tree, erecting the hut, constructing the canoe, and of fighting the enemies of the tribe. To her custom had asigned almost all the domestic duties; to prepare the food; to watch over the infancy of the children. The nature of their lives and circumstances added another, which with more propriety, taken in a general view, should have been exercised by the male. It belonged to the women to plant the corn, and attend all the other productions of an Indian garden or plantation. But the labour required for raising these articles was trifling, and the warriors being engaged in hunting and war, had neither leisure nor inclination to attend to objects of such inferior consideration.

To compensate for this seeming hardship or neglect, the women had several valuable privileges, that prove their importance and the respect

---

all to be happy; and we should offend him were we to live in a perpetual state of constraint and uneasiness.

This system agrees with what one of the Miamis said to one of our missionaries. My wife and I were continually at variance; my neighbour disagreed equally with his; we have changed wives, and are all satisfied.

Raynal's History of America.

CHAP. I.

entertained for them by the men. All the honours of an Indian community are *maternal*, and the children, in the event of a separation, belong to the wife. The husband is considered only as a visitor; and, should any difference arise, he takes up his gun and departs: Nor does this separation entail any disgrace upon the parties.

Influence of the women.

If any credit be due to the accounts of our early historians, the women in the Powhatan confederacy had considerable weight. Some of the tribes had even female sachems, a regulation which could not have been tolerated by freemen and warriors if, as has been imagined by some histoans, they had been regarded only as objects of contempt and ill usage. What agitation and sorrow were not excited by the death of Pocahontas, and how anxious the inquiries of her family respecting her health and her feelings, her content and her return; and in what a touching strain of sublime and unaffected eloquence does the Shawanese chief describe the murder of his wives and his children.*

It appears by the same account that there was a considerable vehemence and ardour of desire among the Virginians. Powhatan had several *young wives;* and as the strongest inducement which could have been held out, he proposed to captain Smith, as a reward for betraying Jamestown into his hands, fifty *young and beautiful women*, independent of the territory of Capahowsic.

The climate of Virginia is favourable to the tender impulses of desire; and the natural abundance every where scattered over this delightful region left them at leisure to resign themselves to the indulgence of its delicious pleasures. It was

* *Jefferson's Notes.*

no uncommon spectacle to see groups of young women almost naked, frisking with wanton modesty in the wild gambols of the dance; whilst the *voluptuous* expression of their eyes and gestures invited to soft and tempting dalliance. Even the decent Pocahontas did not disdain to mingle in those pastimes. Crowned with a wreath of leaves and flowers, she sometimes led the chorus and presided in the dance.* Nor should this be regarded as a deviation from the rules of modesty and innocence. They acted agreeably to the usage of their country and the dictates of nature. Every object inspired happiness and content, and their only care was to crowd as many pleasures as possible into the short span of a fleeting existence.

THE other domestic relations were attended with few of those tender endearments common in other states. An Indian warrior disdained to submit in anywise to the weakness and impotence of sensibility. He hears with an unmoved countenance the death of his father and children, and even the ruin of his nation. Education teaches him the meanness and folly of being affected by any reverses. But though he submits in silence and seeming resignation, his soul is torn with sorrow. This is still more true of the other sex. The women, though they disdained to cry out in the pains of labour, or even in the agonies of death, are often inconsolable for the death of a friend, son or husband, and every day visit their graves.

THE political condition of the Indians of Virginia, like that of all the Indians of North America, was still more extraordinary. Their rights

* *See Vol. I. and Beverley* 192.

CHAP. I.

were so ample as scarce to have any limits; their duties so limited as hardly to have any existence: Yet at first view their government, with its apparatus of cockarouse, werowances and sachems, has the appearance of regal government; and the opinion that the authority was hereditary, and that there is an exact mode of defining the descent would argue a fixed and regular tyranny.

In order to have clear ideas on this subject, we should divest ourselves of all attention to names. An Indian sachem had no attributes in common with a king: Yet whenever we hear of a sachem or werowance we are apt to associate the idea of regal authority. The sachem amongst all the tribes was a magistrate either hereditary* or elective, according to their various customs: But in all cases without tribute, revenue or authority. His duty was invariably to stay at home, whilst the war chief, who was elected for his merit, was fighting at the head of his warriors; to preside in the great council, where he had but a single voice; and in the absence of the warriors to watch over the safety of the aged, the women and children, an office of so little estimation that amongst several of the tribes it was frequently filled by women.

---

* They must be of an age fit to govern; and if the hereditary chief is not of age, they choose a regent, who has all the authority, but who exercises it in the name of the minor. In general these chiefs do not receive any great marks of respect, and if they are always obeyed, it is because they know how far their commands will have force. It is true also, that they entreat or propose rather than command, and that they never exceed the bounds of the little authority they have; thus it is reason that governs; and the government is the more effectual as the obedience is more voluntary; and that there is no fear of its degenerating into tyranny. *Carver's History of America, page* 18.

CHAP. I.

A FACT in confirmation of this is related by Charlevoix. A female chief of one of the tribes of the Hurons made repeated attempts in council to procure the admission of a Christian missionary, but without success.

NOR is it the sachem only that is without power in those singular communities: There is nothing like what we conceive of authority* any where among them. Even the great council of the nation can do nothing but by advice or persuasion, and every individual is at liberty to refuse obedience to its decisions.

EVEN in war there is no such thing as an imperative direction from a general to his soldiers: Yet notwithstanding this uncontroulled licence, the advice of the chiefs is scarcely ever rejected.†

MUCH is said in our early historians of the tyranny of Powhatan, yet not a single fact is brought

* This body of counsellors or assistants is the first of all; the second is that of the elders; that is to say, of all who have attained the age of maturity. I never could learn exactly what this age is: The last is that of the warriors; it comprehends all that are able to bear arms. This body has often at its head the chief of the nation, or of the village; but he must have distinguished himself first by some brave action, otherwise he is obliged to serve as a subaltern, that is to say, as a common soldier, for there is no rank in the armies of the savages.

Carver's History of America, page 19.

† A great party may indeed have several chiefs, because they give this title to all those who have ever commanded; but they are not the less subject to the commander of the party, a kind of general without character; without real authority, who can neither reward nor punish; whose soldiers may leave him when they please, without his having a right to say any thing to them on that account, and who nevertheless is scarce ever contradicted. So true is it, that amongst men who govern themselves by reason, and are guided by

CHAP. 1.

forward in support of the assertion. Opechancanough was said to have been jealous of Nemattanow; yet he had no means of ridding himself of this warrior. The speech of Okaning, a young Indian without title, is an evidence of the free and manly character of their thinking. The Potomacs and the Eastern Shore Indians refused to take part in the massacre, although they were solicited by Opechancanough: Japazaws, when asked by the same chief to kill Raleigh Crawshaw, politely refused, although the request was backed by a present of beads and copper. But it is useless to multiply proofs when not a single act of severity is specified; nothing beyond vague and unsupported assertion.

THE order* and deportment of an Indian assembly would not have disgraced the gravity and dignity of a Roman senate; and the effect produced upon a spectator, who is unacquainted with their language and even prejudiced against them, is in the highest degree impressive. Nor is this effect produced by the grandeur of architecture or the splendor of dress. The council is

---

honour and a zeal for their country, independence does not destroy subordination; and that a free and voluntary obedience is generally the most to be depended on: For the rest the qualities required in a war chief, are to be fortunate, brave and disinterested. It is not strange that they should obey without difficulty a man in whom these three characters are known to be united. *Carver's History of America, page* 19.

* Nothing is more edifying than their behaviour in their public councils and assemblies. Every man is heard there in his turn, according as his years, his wisdom, or his services to his country have ranked him. Not a whisper is heard from the rest while he speaks; no indecent condemnations; no ill timed applause. The younger sort attend for their instruction. *British Empire in America, vol.* 2. *page* 351.

a large sqaure space covered with rough boards; and the counsellors dirty savages wrapped in skins and coarse blankets. It arises from the patience, the temper, the animation, the regularity, and even the eloquence of their action and deportment. There we witness no impatience nor contradiction; no ebullitions of passion; no bursts of rage and invective; no factious intrigues. The whole subject is fairly and honestly before them, and it is discussed with the patient judgment of sages and the animated integrity of patriots. An interruption would be considered as an unpardonable insult: Perhaps it would not be too much to say that there never was any such thing known as an interruption in an Indian assembly.

BEVERLEY relates a story, which shews that the Virginians entertained the same sense of decorum as the more northern tribes. In the time of Bacon's rebellion a deputation of Indians was sent to treat for peace with the English in New-Kent. In the midst of his talk the speaker being interrupted by one of his companions, he instantly took his tomahawk from his belt and split his head. "The Indian dying immediately upon the spot, he commanded some of his men to carry him out, and went on again with his speech where he left off as unconcerned as if nothing had happened."*

THERE remains one question to be discussed of considerable interest, as well from its real importance, as from the various speculations and conjectures to which it has given birth.

WHO were the ancestors of this people? It would be idle to repeat all the unnatural opinions which have been advanced on this head. Either

* *Page* 194.

CHAP. I.

they came from the north of Europe and the north-eastern part of Asia;* or they were placed here from the beginning of the world.

WHATEVER offence it may give the pious, the latter opinion would be certainly the most reasonable if there had been no strong presumption to the contrary. The striking affinity, however, between the Indian languages and that spoken on the eastern part of the ancient continent; the similarity between the customs and manners of both afford strong presumption that they were originally the same people; and when it be considered to what a remote and high antiquity navigation may be traced in the old world; and that not a single vessel of more dignity than a canoe has ever been discovered in the new, it amounts to something little short of certainty.

THE late voyages of the Russians and English have discovered that the continents of Asia and America were separated by a narrow streight, if indeed they are not united. The Esquimaux, on the other hand, manifestly betray in dress, appearance and language their descent from the inhabitants of Greenland: So that all the objections arising from the difficulties of a long voyage in the infancy of navigation are removed; and two safe and convenient points of communication are at once laid open for the route of the original emigrants.

BUT the principal stream in all probability

---

* The cruel method of scalping enemies is practised by all the savages of America, and perhaps is not the least proof of their original from the northern inhabitants of Asia. Among the ancient Scythians it was constantly used, who carried about these hairy scalps as trophies of their victory. They served them as towels at home and as trappings for their horses abroad.

Byrd's Journal, MSS. penes me.

flowed from the north-eastern extremity of Asia: All the tribes from Cape Horn to the southern extremity of Labrador, exhibiting one uniform appearance, and a strong resemblance in their customs and manners to the rude inhabitants of those regions.

I AM aware that by excluding the agency of navigation; by resting on the contiguity of the continents, I leave the principal question in dispute. The Americans could have passed this streight with the same facility as the Kamskadales. But the Asiatic inhabitants had every inducement to emigrate: The Americans none. The one were as it were imprisoned in as avage, dreary and frozen corner of the earth. To them the productions of the earth were scanty, and its aspect desolate and melancholy: The others were the indisputed lords of an immense continent, fanned by gentle gales; loaded with the fragance of innumberable flowers. The soil spontaneously and liberally yielded her productions, and the careless and happy race feasted on the luxuries which cost them nothing. Is it credible that the rich champaignes of South and North America would have been abandoned for the sterile and horrid wilderness of Kamshatka and Siberia? What possible motives can be assigned for such a change? Mr. Jefferson, a name of high authority, appears to think that the reverse of this reasoning is the fact. The arguments on which his opinion are founded are too striking to be passed over in silence.

"BUT imperfect," says he, "as is our knowledge of the tongues spoken in America, it suffices to discover the following remarkable fact. Arranging them under the radical ones to which they may be palpably traced, and doing the same of the red men of Asia, there will be found twen-

CHAP. I.

ty in America for one in Asia: and those radical languages so called, because, if they were ever the same, they have lost all resemblance to one another. A separation into dialects may be the work of a few ages only, but for two dialects to recede from one another till they have lost all vestiges of their common origin must require an immense course of time, perhaps not less than many people give to the age of the earth. A greater number of those radical changes of language having taken place among the red men of America, proves them of greater antiquity than those of Asia."

But independent of the serious objections to which this hypothesis is exposed, may not the disproportion between the radical tongues spoken by the Americans and the red men of Asia be accounted for in a different way? The astonishing population of the old world is something more than *prima facie* evidence of its antiquity. But there is no need of resorting to this analogy. Immense bodies of people huddled together in a small space; agitated by war and predatory incursion, would naturally resort to confederacies for protection. Such is the origin of the great nations of the old continent. With the loss of liberty, the attachment of the conquered states to their language would become every day weaker, and the language of the conqueror be insensibly diffused over a number of dialects first corrupted and finally forgotten. From the infinitely greater population, those confederacies must have taken place in the old world much sooner than in the new, even though they had started at the same time. The greater the extent of country, whose population is in the inverse ratio of its extent, the fewer and less powerful are their motives for confederacies. As the danger became more pressing, the weaker

states would continually be falling in until two great nations were formed, or as we often find in history, till both became united by fraud or conquest.

Small tribes dispersed over an immense continent may always remove when their neighbours become troublesome. But where considerable nations, as in Europe, are enclosed in a confined territory; shut in on every side by mountains or the sea, they must fight or be enslaved; and alliances are therfore courted with a solicitude proportioned to the danger.

The few radical tongues in Europe and Asia must then be ascribed to the great extent of the states into which they are divided; and it is reasonable to infer that a greater number of radical tongues once existed in them, which have perished, owing to the innumerable revolutions which have so often changed almost the natural appearance of those countries. How few of the ancient languages have descended to us, even of those nations which were once great and powerful. We know nothing of the Assyrian, the Babylonish, the Median; nothing of the innumerable tribes that originally went to compose them, though doubtless many of them had distinct and radical tongues; and had it not been for the protection given to letters in Constantinople, and the taste and curiosity of the Arabian conquerors, we had probably known as little of the Greek and the Roman. In fact, we know it has always been the policy of the conqueror to introduce his language, laws and manners into the conquered states. The attempt of the Norman was nearly successful in England, and that of Elizabeth in Ireland, notwithstanding the strength and antiquity of those nations.

The route of the Mexicans will afford some

CHAP. I.

ground of conjecture as to the first settlement of this state, and of all the country extending to the confines of Labrador. According to their traditions America was originally possessed by small independent tribes, resembling in their lives and manners savages in their rudest form: "That about a period corresponding to about the beginning of the tenth century of the Christian æra, several tribes moved in successive emigration from unknown regions towards the west and north-west, and settled in different provinces of Anatuac, the ancient name for New Spain. These more civilized than the original inhabitants, began to form them to the arts of peace. At length towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Mexicans, a people more polished than any of the former, advanced from the borders of the Californian gulph and took possession of the plains adjacent to the great lake, near the centre of the country." A print has been published by Gemelli Carreri, copied from a Mexican painting, of the original route of their ancestors. In this the various stations as they advanced are laid down; and it is, says Dr. Robertson, the same route they must have held if they had been emigrants from Asia.

A MORE intimate knowledge of the Indians at the back of our settlements would in all probability have enabled us to mark the streams of emigration to Virginia, and even to the confines of Labrador. Unfortunately for science the history of this people has always been considered too unimportant to attract our attention and we must content ourselves with the imperfect lights derived from conjecture and analogy.*

* I shall not enter into any inquiry about the origin of languages spoken by the Delawares and Iroquois; this being

CHAP. I.

It is fair to presume that the independent tribes, unable to contend with the numbers and unwilling to adopt the manners of those invaders, continued to retire until they gradually spread

---

at present as difficult to determine as the origin of the nations themselves, but will only observe that it seems very probable that the Delaware and Iroquois are the principal languages spoken throughout the known part of North America, Terra Labrador excepted, and that all others are dialects of them. Our missionaries at least, who are particularly attentive, have never met with any which had not some similitude with either one or the other; but the Delaware language bears no resemblance to the Iroquois.

Though the three different tribes of the Delawares have the same language, yet they speak different dialects. The Unamis and Wunalachtikos, who formerly inhabited the eastern coast of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, nearly agree in pronunciation, but the dialect of the Monsys, who formerly lived in Minissing beyond the Blue Mountains, differs so much from the former that they would hardly be able to understand each other did they not keep up a continual intercourse.

The language of the Delawares has an agreeable sound both in common conversation and public delivery. The dialect spoken by the Unamis and Wunalachtikos is peculiarly grateful to the ear, and much more easily learnt by an European than that of the Monsys, which is rougher and spoken with a broad accent. However, the Monsys dialect is a key to many expressions in the Unamis and Wunalachtikos. The latter have a way of dropping some syllables, so that without a knowledge of the former it would be impossible either to spell their words or guess their meaning.

The pronunciation of the Delaware language is in general easy, only ct is a very strong guttural. The letters f, v, ph and r, are wanting in their alphabet. They therefore omit them entirely in foreign words, and pronounce them differently, for example, Pilipp for Philip, Peletus for Petrus, Pliscilla for Priscilla. They have few monysyllables, but a great number of pollysyllables or compound words.

In trisyllables the accent is generally placed on the middle and in pollysyllables upon the last but one. This must

CHAP. I.

themselves beyond the Alleghany, the lakes, and even to the borders of the Atlantic. If any attention be paid to the following stories, we have the route of two emigrations from Mexico; the one into Virginia, the other by the Missouri and Illinois into Canada.

Our first historians state that Opechancanough came a great way from the south-west, according

---

be very minutely attended to, because the sense of many words depend entirely on the accent.

We have already observed that several other languages derive their origin from the Delawares, and this proceeds chiefly from the vicinity or connexions of the different nations. For instance the language of the Mahikans is nearly related to the Monsy dialect, these two nations having formerly been neighbours in the province of New York. The Shawanese is also related to the Monsy, but more so to the Mahikans, only the former generally place the accent on the last syllable. The Ottawa is nearly related to the Shawanese, but the Chipawa more immediately to the Delaware. The language of the Twichtwees and Wawiachtenos resembles the Shawanese in dialect; the Kickapus, Tukachshas, Maskkos and Kaskaski differ from the Delaware in proportion to their distance from each other, but are all nearly related: Thus also the language of all those nations formerly residing on the sea coast in Maryland very much resemble the Delaware, differing only in pronunciation and accent.

The Iroquois have one common language, but each of the Six Nations speak a different dialect, however they understand one another with ease. The Mohawk, Oneida and Onandago vary but little, the Cayuga rather more; then follows the Seneka, and last of all the Tuscarora. The languages of many other Indian nations are nearly related to the Iroquois, especially the Huron which seems to differ only in pronunciation. But the Cherokees speak a compound of Shawanese, Iroquois, Hurons and others.

All these languages, however, are subject to inovations owing to the intercourse of the different tribes or their connexion with the Europeans. A mixed language was thus framed by the intermarrying of the French and Indians in Canada, which was countenanced by the French government.

to their conjecture from Santa Fe, the mines of St. Barbe, or some province bordering on the Mexican empire. The other relation is to be found in Charlevoix's travels. According to the information of an Indian of the Otchagra tribe.

"About two years ago, some Spaniards, who came (as they say) from New Mexico, intending to get into the country of the Illinois, and drive the French from thence, whom they saw with extreme jealousy approach so near the Missouri, came down this river and attacked two villages of the Octotatas, who are the allies of the Ajoues, from whom it is also said they are derived. As these savages had no fire arms and were surprized, the Spaniards made an easy conquest, and killed a great many of them. A third village, which was not far off the other two, being informed of what had passed, and not doubting but these conquerors would attack them, laid an ambush into which the Spaniards heedlessly fell. Others say, that the savages having heard that the enemy were almost drunk and fast asleep, fell upon them in the night. One of the Otchagra chiefs (adds Charlevoix) shewed me a Catalan pistol, a pair of Spanish shoes, and I know not what drug, which seemed to be a sort of ointment, a part of the spoil taken on this occasion."

How many facts of this nature might have been preserved if even a slight attention had been bestowed on this subject, and what advantages would not result from such an inquiry. We might see the cradle of Indian population, and the language of the founders of this people: We might observe the successive emigrations, and mark the changes of dialect in each: We might compare those several dialects with each other and with the mother tongue. Charlevoix judiciously remarks that the languages of nations af-

CHAP. I.

ford the best proof of their origin. We would have an opportunity of comparing the Mexican tongues with those spoken on the north of Asia, and decide a question in the highest degree interesting to a knowledge of the globe and its inhabitants.

As it is, we know scarcely any thing on this subject. We have been for two centuries intimately conversant with the Indians of Virginia, and yet perhaps there is not a single man acquainted with the language of the Powhatans; a few wretched remnants of tribes once numerous and warlike still exist amongst us, and no effort is made to snatch from extinction a record so curious, and which would one day prove so valuable.

It is suggested by an American historian that three radical languages prevail throughout North America: The Sioux, the Huron and the Algonquin; that by an acquaintance with the two latter, a person may travel one thousand five hundred leagues without an interpreter, for though each nation has a particular idiom, yet he can make himself understood by all; even amongst the Indians of New England and Virginia. Those to the south of the St. Laurence as far as Virginia, speak the Huron.

Another speculation

I shall subjoin another speculation on this head by the author of the British empire in North America.

There have been many conjectures, says Wynne, concerning the origin of the different nations of Indians in America, it being taken for granted that they are emigrants from some other country. But as the Indians are very careful and solicitous to hand down their history from father to son, the account they give of themselves seems most deserving of credit. The Hurons and six

confederated nations, and all the other tribes to the southward, except the Chickesaws, agree that they came from the setting of the sun into this country. The Chickesaws came from South America since the Spaniards took possession of it. The Indians on the great lakes north of the river St. Laurence, and those between that river and the bay of Fundy and quite to Hudson's Bay, northward, except the Esquimaux, assert that they came from the northward."

Another.

M. Le Page du Pratz, being extremely desirous to inform himself of the origin of the American nations, was continually enquiring of the old Indians concerning it, and was at last so fortunate as to meet with an old man, belonging to the nations of the Jazous, called Moncacht-ape, who was a man of sense and genius, and having been possessed with the same curiosity as himself, had spared no pains nor fatigue, to get information of the country from whence the north American nations came. With this view he travelled from nation to nation, hoping to discover the country from whence their fathers had come, or to approach so near it as to get some sure intelligence, and more particular traditions concerning their origin. In this expedition he spent eight years, and M. Le Page du Pratz having insinuated himself into his good graces by all sorts of kindness, had from him the following account:

"Having lost my wife and children, I resolved to travel in order to discover our original country, notwithstanding all the persuasions of my parents and relations to the contrary.

"I took my way by the High Grounds that are on the eastern bank of the river St. Louis, that I might only have the river Oubach to cross in order to join the Illinois at the village of Ta-

CHAP. I.

maroua, a considerable settlement of the Canadian French. As the grass was short I arrived there in a little time. I staid there eight days to rest myself, and then continued my route along the eastern bank of the river St. Louis, a little above the place where the river Missouri falls into it.

"I THEN made a raft of canes or reeds and crossed the river St. Louis, and when I was near the opposite shore I suffered my raft to be carried down the stream till I came to the conflux of the two rivers. Here I had the pleasure of seeing the rivers mix, and of observing how clear the waters of the river St. Louis are before they receive the muddy streams of the Missouri. I landed here and travelled along the north side of the Missouri for a great many days, till at last I came to the nations of the Missouris. With them I staid a considerable time, not only to repose myself after my fatigue, but also to learn their language, which is spoken or understood by a great many nations. In this country one scarce sees any thing but large meads, above a day's journey, and covered with large cattle. The Missouris seldom eat any thing but flesh; they only cultivate as much maize as will serve for a change, and prevent their being cloyed with beef and game, with which their country abounds. During the winter which I spent with them, the snow fell to the depth of six feet. As soon as the winter was over, I resumed my journey along the banks of the Missouri, and travelled till I came to the nation of the west. There I was told that it was a long journey to the country from whence both they and we came, that I must yet travel during the space of a moon (a month) towards the source of the Missouri; that then I should turn to the right and go directly north,

and at the end of a few days I should meet with another river, which ran from east to west, quite contrary to the course of the Missouri. Then I might fall down this river at my ease upon rafts, until I came to the nations of the Loutres or Otters, where I might rest and receive more ample and particular instructions.

"In pursuance with these directions I travelled up the Missouri during a month, being afraid of turning to the right too soon, when one night after I had kindled my fire and was going to rest, I perceived some smoke at a distance towards the place where the sun sets. I immediately concluded that this was a party of hunters, who purposed to pass the night there, and that probably they might be of the nation of the Loutres. I immediately made towards them, and found about thirty men and some women. They seemed to be surprized, but received me civilly enough. We could only understand one another by signs. After I had been with them three days, one of the women being near her delivery, she and her husband left the company in order to return home by the easiest road, and took me along with them.

"We travelled up the Missouri seven easy days' journey, and then went directly north for five days, at the end of which time we came to a river of very fine clear water. When we came to the place where the hunters had left their canoes, we all three embarked in one of them and fell down the river until we came to their village. I was very well received by them, and soon found that this was indeed the nation of the Loutres, which I was in quest of: I spent the winter with them, and employed myself in learning their language, which they told me was understood by all the nations which lay between them and the great water.

CHAP. I.

"The winter was scarce ended when I embarked in a canoe with some provisions, a pot to cook them, and something to lie on, and descended the river. In a little time I came to a very small nation, whose chiefs happening to be on the bow, bluntly demanded, Who art thou? What business hast thou here with thy short hairs? I told him my name was Moncht-ape; that I came from the nation of the Loutres. He saw plainly that I was not one of the nation, and wondered at my speaking the language. I told him that I had learned it of an old man whose name was Salt-tear. He no sooner heard the name of Salt-tear, who was one of his friends, than he invited me to stay in the village as long as I would. Upon this I landed and told him that Salt tear had ordered me to see an old man whose name was the Great Roe buck. This happened to be the father of the chief: He ordered him to be called, and the old man received me as if I had been his own son, and led me to his cottage. The next day he informed me of every thing I wanted to know, and told me I should be very hospitably received by all the nations between them and the great waters, on telling them I was the friend of the Great Roe buck. I only staid there two days longer: I then put on board my canoe a store of provisions, prepared from certain small grains less than French peas, which afforded an excellent food, and immediately embarked. I continued to sail down the river, not staying above a day with each nation on the way.

"The last of these nations settled about a day's journey from the sea, and about the race of a man (near a league) from the river. They concealed themselves in the woods for fear of the bearded men. I was received by them as if I had been one of their own countrymen. They

are continually upon their guard, on account of the bearded men, who do all they can to carry off young people, without doubt to make them slaves. They told me these bearded men were whites, and had long black beards, which fell down upon their breast; that their bodies were thick and short; that their heads were large and covered with stuffs; that they were always clothed, even in the hottest seasons, and that their clothes reached to the middle of their legs, which, as well as their feet, were also covered with red or yellow stuffs; that their weapons made a great noise and a great fire; and that when they saw the red men (the natives) were more numerous than themselves, they retired to a great canoe, (a small ship without doubt) which contained about thirty of them. They added that these strangers come from the place where the sun sets (the west) in quest of a soft yellow wood, which yields a yellowish liquor of a fine smell, and which dyes a fine yellow colour; and that observing they came every year as soon as winter was over to fetch this wood, they had, according to the advice of the old men, cut down and destroyed all the trees, since which time they have not been so often troubled with the visits of these bearded men; but that they still visited every year two adjacent nations, who would not imitate their policy, because the yellow wood was the only wood their country produced, and that all the neighbouring nations had agreed to arm and join together the approaching summer, in order to destroy those bearded men at their next coming, and rid the country of them. As I had seen fire arms and was not afraid of them, and as the route they purposed to take was the way to the nation I was in quest of, they proposing my going along

CHAP. I.

with them, I was readily agreed, and as the summer came I marched with the warriors of the nation to the general rendezvous. The bearded men came later than usual this year. While we waited for them the natives shewed me the place where they used to lay their great canoe (the ship). It was between two high and long rocks, which formed the mouth of a shallow river, the banks whereof were covered with yellow wood. It was agreed to lie in ambush for the bearded men, and that when they were landed and were busy in cutting the yellow wood, we should rise, surround them and cut them off. At the end of seventeen days two great canoes appeared, and they came to their usual place between the rocks. The first thing the bearded men did after their arrival (for there were two men privately placed upon the rocks to observe them) was to fill certain wooden vessels with water. At the end of the fourth day they landed and went to cut the wood. They had no sooner began to cut than they were attacked on all sides, but notwithstanding our utmost efforts we killed but eleven, all the rest fled to their little canoes and gained their great ones, which soon launched into the great waters and disappeared. Upon examining the dead I found them to be less than we are and very white; their bodies very thick and their heads very large. About the middle of their head their hair was long.

"They wore no hats as you do, but had their heads bound about with a great deal of some sort of stuff. Their clothes were neither of wool or buck, but of something like your old shirts, very soft and fine and of different colours (silk without doubt). The covers of their legs and feet were all of a piece. I endeavoured to put on one of them, but my feet were too large. Of the

eleven that were killed only two of them had arms, powder and ball. I tried these pieces, and found that they did not carry as far as your's. Their powder was mixed of three sorts of grain, large, middle and fine; but the large made the greatest part. These were the remarks I made upon the bearded men, after which, leaving the warriors with whom I came, to return home, I joined those nations who were settled upon the coast farther to the west, and we followed the coast which is directly between the north and the west. When we came to these settlements I observed that the days were a great deal longer than with us, and the nights very short. I asked them the reason of it, and they could give me none. I rested with them a considerable time. Their old men told me that it was in vain for me to proceed farther. They said that the coast extended itself yet a great way between north and west, and that it afterwards turned short to the west, and having run for a considerable distance it was cut by the sea directly from north to south. One added, that at low water one might see easily rocks and shallows in the channel which had formerly been dry land. They all joined to dissuade me from travelling any further, assuring me that the country was cold and desart, destitute of animals or inhabitants, and advised me to return to my own country. I accordingly took their advice, and returned home by the way that I came." Such is the account Moncht ape gave of his travels, and M. Le Page du Pratz observes, that the good sense and probity of the man left him but little room to doubt of the truth of it. He also thinks it probable that the bearded men are the inhabitants of some isle in the neighbourhood of Japan. The distance in a straight line from the Yazous to the farthest nation Moncht-ape vi-

CHAP. I.

sited upon the shores of the north-western ocean, according to the best estimate M. Du Pratz could make, from the number of his days' journies and rate of travelling, seems to be about an hundred leagues."

Ground of the opinion respecting a Welsh original.

IT may not be uninteresting to state the ground of the opinion in favour of a Welsh discovery of America. It is extracted from the manuscript journal of colonel William Byrd, who in 1727 was appointed one of the commissioners on the part of Virginia to decide the long contested question respecting limits between Virginia and Carolina. The writer visited the Tuscarora settlement, and received the tradition in the midst of this people. It is but justice to add that he was a man of admirable capacity and of the most pointed regard to veracity and honour.

"THIS tradition, altho' much alter'd by being handed down through so many generations, might have come originally from a colony of ancient Britons, who some centuries ago left their own country and were driven to America. These strangers, after several migrations, settled at last among the Tuskeruda Indians, under the name of the Doegs. This clan retain'd the British language till the year 1660, as appears by the certificate of a Welsh clergyman, who had been among them. This reverend gentleman's name was Morgan Jones, who wrote the following account, of which there is no reason to doubt the truth, the same having been since confirmed by other travellers.

"THESE PRESENTS may certify all persons whatsoever, that in the year 1660, I being then an inhabitant of Virginia, and chaplain to major-general Bennet of Nansemund county, the said general Bennet and sir William Berkeley sent two ships to Port-Royal in Carolina, which

is sixty leagues to the southward of Cape Fear; and I was sent therewith to be their minister.

"UPON the 8th of April we set out from Virginia, and arrived at the harbour's mouth of Port Royal the 19th of the same month, where we waited for the rest of the fleet that was to sail from Barbados and Barmuda, with one Mr. West, who was to be deputy governor of the said place. As soon as the fleet came in, the small vessels that were with us sailed up the river to a place call'd the Oyster Point.

"THERE I continued about eight months, all which time being almost starv'd for want of provisions, I and five more travell'd through the wilderness till we came to the Tuscarora country: There the Tuscarora Indians took us prisoners, because we told them we were bound for Roanoke: That night they carry'd us into their town, and shut us up close by ourselves, to our no small dread.

"NEXT day they enter'd into a consultation about us, which, after it was over, their interpreter told us, that we must prepare ourselves to die next morning.

"WHEREUPON, being very much dejected, and speaking to this effect in the British tongue: "I have escapt so many dangers, and must I "now be knockt on the head like a dog?" Then presently an Indian came to me, which I found afterwards was a war-captain, belonging to the sachim of the Doegs (whose original I find must needs be from the old Britons,) and took me up by the middle, and told me in the British tongue I should not die, and thereupon he went to the emperor of Tuscarora, and agreed for my ransom and the men that were with me.

"THEY then welcomed us to their town, and entertain'd us very civilly and cordially four

CHAP. I.

months; during which time I had the opportunity of conversing with them familiarly in the British language; and did preach to them three times a week in the same language: And they would usually confer with me about any thing that was difficult therein; and at our departure they abundantly supply'd us with whatever was necessary to our support and well being.

"THEY are seated upon the Pontigo, now called Pamptico river, not far from Cape Atros, or Hatteras. This is a brief recital of my travels among the Doeg Indians.

MORGAN JONES, the son of John Jones, of Basaleg, near New-Port, in the county of Monmouth.

New York, March 10*th*, 1685—6.

"P. S. I am ready to conduct any Welshman, or others to the country."

"THESE Doegs were probably the descendants of those Cambro-Britons, who in the year 1170 quitted their country, and sail'd away to America, under the conduct of Madoc ap Owen Gwineth, a prince of Wales."

ACCORDING to Beverley, the Indians of Virginia, beside the dialects peculiar to the several tribes, had a general language which, like the Algonquin of Canada, was used in treaties and important national concerns. This was said to be the language of the Ocaneeches, which, since the coming of the English was one of the least considerable tribes in the confederacy. A comparison between these languages would possibly have proved this to have differed little from the Algonquin. I find not the name of this tribe in Mr. Jefferson's enumeration: The Richahecrians mentioned in the second volume, are also omitted, although

their existence is authenticated by an act of assembly. He takes no notice of the Kahuanaws noticed by Colden in his history of the Five Nations: But after all, these may have been only different names of some of the tribes he has enumerated.

I HAVE at length brought to a close a discussion, according to my judgment of great importance: but to which the limits of this work do not allow all the attention it merits. It was originally prepared in a more extensive form for a history of the United States, and has doubtless lost much of its spirit and connection by a hasty abridgement.

THE following passages, omitted by mistake, in their proper places, are subjoined as tending to enforce some positions in the narrative.

SPEECH OF SHEGANABA, AN INDIAN CHIEF.

A YOUNG American, named Field, was taken prisoner by the Shawanese Indians. At the conclusion of peace, he was delivered up by Sheganaba, an Indian chief, to the American commissioners at Fort Pitt. A fowling piece was presented Sheganaba, who on taking it addressed the commissioners in the following speech:

"CAN a man deserve reward for merely doing his duty? But as you give it I will receive it; and if any of your people should come into my country, either led by curiosity, or driven by the hard hand of the conqueror, he shall be treated with the same kindness as young Field. And I tell you this with a tongue that never sported

CHAP. I.

with truth since it has known that falsehood was a crime; and I confirm it with a hand that never shed one drop of blood in peace, nor ever spared an enemy in battle."

"THE Indians of Virginia are almost wasted, but such towns or people as retain their names and live in bodies, are here-under set down; all which together can't raise five hundred fighting men. They live poorly, and much in fear of the neighbouring Indians. Each town by the articles of peace, 1677, pays three Indian arrows for their land, and twenty beaver-skins for protection every year.

"IN Accomack are eight towns, viz. Matomkin is much decreased of late by the small pox, that was carried thither.

"Gingoteque. The few remains of this town are joined with a nation of the Maryland Indians.

"Kiequotank is reduced to a very few men.

"Matchopungo has a small number yet living.

"Occahanock has a small number yet living.

"Pungoteque. Governed by a queen, but a small nation.

"Oanancock has but four or five families.

"Chiconessex has very few, who just keep the name.

"Nanduye. A seat of the empress. Not above twenty families, but she hath all the nations of the shore under tribute.

"In Northampton, Gangascoe, which is almost as numerous as all the foregoing nations put together.

"In Prince George, Wyanoke is extinct.

"In Charles City, Appamattox extinct.

"In Surry, Nottawayes, which are about a hundred bow-men, of late a thriving and increasing people.

"By Nansamond. Menheering has about thirty bow-men, who keep at a stand.

"Nansamond. About thirty bow-men: They have increased much of late.

CHAP. I.

"In King William's county, Pamaunkie, has about forty bow-men, who decrease.

"Chickahomonie, which had about sixteen bow-men, but lately increased.

"In Essex. Rappahannock, extinct.

"In Richmond. Port Tabago, extinct.

"In Northumberland. Wiccomocco, has but few men living, which yet ket keep up their kingdom, and retain their fashion; yet live by themselves, separate from all other Indians, and from the English."

A Theory of the Winds, extracted from the German Mission.

IT has been generally remarked that those American provinces, which lie in the same latitude with Europe, suffer a much severer and longer winter than the latter. The most northern parts of the United States lie in the same degree of latitude with Great Britain and the chief parts of Germany, but the winter is excessively severe and the summer but short. Nova Scotia, the north part of New England and the principal parts of Canada, are in the same degree of latitude with France and the south parts of Germany; but the winters of the former are very cold and long. The south part of New England, New York and the greatest part of New Jersey, Pennsylvania and the south part of Canada, lie in the same degree of latitude with Spain and Italy; but the cold is very severe and lasting. Sometimes indeed the heat of the summer is excessive; but sudden changes from heat to cold are frequent. Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina are in the same degree of latitude with the most southern parts of Europe; but have much more frost and snow.

This severity of climate probably proceeds from the north and north-west winds blowing over an immense tract of land covered with mountains, lakes and forests; but the want of inhabitants and the large forests contribute much towards it. At the time when Tacitus wrote his history of Germany, it appears that its winters were much more severe and lasting than at present. It is therefore probable that the severity of climate will abate in America in proportion to its culture and population.

In the country of the Delawares they have warm summers, the hottest months are July and August, when woolen clothes cannot be worn. Even in autumn, as late or later than Christmas, but little frost is seen, and if even in a clear night the ground should freeze, it thaws again soon after sun rise. In general the winter is mild weather, being chiefly, rainy, damp and changeable; after a few clear days rainy and foggy weather are sure to follow. The river Muskingum being a very slow current, generally freezes once or perhaps twice in a season.

The snow is never deep nor remains long on the ground. The winter between 1779 and 1780 was called remarkably severe, as the snow fell once two feet deep. In eight days it was gone, and the cold weather lasted only till February. In the land of the Iroquois the cold is more intense and the snow deeper.

The difference of one hundred miles to the north or south makes likewise a great difference in the temperature of the air. Near the river Sandusky the cold is much severer with a greater quantity of snow, than on the Muskingum, and on the Scioto the snow hardly ever remains on the ground. The weather varies also considerably on the east and west sides of the Allegheny mountains: For in Pennsylvania the east wind generally brings rain, but never on the Ohio, where the east wind seldom ever blows, and never above 12 hours at a time; but the south and west wind bring rain, and the rains from the west generally set in for a whole week.

It even rains sometimes with a north-west wind. All storms of thunder and lightning rise either with south-west or north-west winds; but in Pennsylvania the north-west winds bring clear and fine weather.

CHAPTER II.

The project of Spotswood revived after his dismissal.—The removal of Spotswood accounted for.—A more particular account of his project. The Outawas and the Outagamis.—They interrupt the French communication between the St. Laurence and the Mississippi—Spotswood wishes to conciliate them—is frustrated by the timidity of Britain and the wakeful jealousy of France. Comparative view of the French and British colonies.—Foundation of their respective claims. Administration of Gooch. Colonial troops for the first time serve out of the continent. Unsuccessful attack on Carthagena. Spotswood appointed to command the colonial troops—He dies in the midst of the preparations—His character —His humane policy towards the Indians.—Tuscaroras—Their subjugation. The long contested boundary with Carolina adjusted during his administration. Wm. Byrd—his journal of this transaction. Return of Gooch with Virgima troops. An assembly.—Governor's communication.—Burgesses condole with him on account of the unfortunate expedition against the Spaniards —Adjourn without making any provision for the objects recommended by the governor—His disappointment and chagrin. Spaniards make a descent on Georgia—British men of war on station dispatched to her assistance. Detection of

an Indian conspiracy to rise upon the whites — Express with an account of the discomfiture of the Spaniards in Georgia. Prodigious increase of Pennsylvania. General Oglethorpe raises a regiment in Virginia. Account of a skirmish between the militia and Shawanese in Augusta. Death and character of commissary Blair. Failure of Oglethorpe's attack on St. Augustine. Treaty at Lancaster ratified by the commissioners of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania. A proclamation respecting impressment. Death of William Byrd—His character. Aspect of European affairs. Project to impose a popish pretender—Account of this event transmitted to the colonies. An assembly.—Governor's communication.—Replies of council and burgesses full of loyalty. An increased expansion of mind visible in the communications of government and the newspaper productions about this time. The assembly close without providing for objects recommended by the governor. Edward Trelawny, governor of Jamaica, authorized to raise a regiment in Virginia. Classic productions of American growth. Logan's translation of Cicero's Cato Major. William Stith's history. Address of governor to grand jury against Methodists, Moravians and New Lights. Account of the surrender of Louisburg to the New England troops. Liberality of Virginia in providing for the wants of the victors—of Pennsylvania—of the other states. Account of pretender's arrival in Scotland.—Loyalty of council, burgesses, Convocation and corporate bodies in Virginia.—Session closes to the satisfaction of the different branches of government. Advice from Boston of a projected expedition—Gooch appointed commander. Capitol burnt—Assembly convened at College.—

Attempt to remove the seat of government.—Assembly refuse to prepare temporary accommodations in Williamsburg. Dissolved by proclamation.—Writs issued for a general election—Assembly. Governor recommends to build on the old foundation. This assembly important in talents and character. Bill passes both houses for rebuilding capitol in Williamsburg. General revisal of laws. Governor intimates his intention to leave the colony. Several grants to adventurers beyond the mountains. Robinson president. Dies. Thomas Lee president. Assembly prorogued—Assembly petition that one penny per pound be taken off from the tax on tobacco. Lewis Burwell president. Assembly farther prorogued.—President permits New York company to build a theatre.—Assembly again prorogued. Robert Dinwiddie governor. Assembly dissolved. Short review of the war in the northern colonies, and of the state of arts and science in the other provinces.

CHAPTER II.

CHAP. II.

The project of Spotswood revived after his dismissal.

THE project of Spotswood, rejected during his administration, was adopted after his dismissal. This gentleman had given offence to the ministry by urging with too much boldness the necessity of establishing a chain of forts for the protection of the vast and fruitful champaignes between the Apalachian mountains and the Mississippi. Diasppointed in this expectation he demanded that the people employed in exploring the region beyond the mountains, should receive compensation from the British government. He had undertaken, as he alleged, the expedition by desire of the government, and its success would redound to the safety and honour of the whole empire: Nothing, therefore, he added, could be more just than that its expense should be defrayed by the government of the nation.* But an advocation of colonial rights by a royal governor was an example equally offensive and alarming; and he was replaced by Hugh Drysdale, who arrived in 1723, and whose administration would have been utterly unknown but for his signature to a few acts of assembly.

The removal of Spotswood accounted for.

OTHER causes have been assigned for the removal of Spotswood. It has been suggested that his intimate knowledge of the country, and more especially of its true commercial and political in-

* *Wynne's British Empire in N. Am. vol. 2. p. 238.*

terests had rendered him obnoxious to several leading families in Virginia, whose private views were frequently traversed by his projects, and their importunities at length effected his recal.*

A more particular account of his project.

It may not be amiss in this place to speak something more fully of this plan, whose accomplishment was afterwards fraught with so many eventful consequences to the world, and which in its operation lighted up a most destructive war in every quarter of the globe.

The Outawas.

The Outawas,* a powerful nation inhabiting the banks of the Ohio, almost directly in the French line of communication between Canada and Louisiana, were thought to be well affected to the English interest, and it was proposed to purchase from them a tract of territory on this river. Lower down, and in the same route, lay the Outagamis, incensed against the French by recent injuries, and prepared to embrace any measures calculated to gratify their revenge, and recover their former reputation and prosperity. They were in the habit of intercepting the French parties passing from Canada and Louisiana, and their ferocious courage had inspired with terror the neighbouring Indians, who considered them even more terrible than the warriors of the Five Nations. The French perceived that the destruction of this people was essential to the security of their possessions; and the conduct of the Outagamis having rendered them obnoxious to all the neighbouring tribes, with the exception of the Kickapous and Mascontins, a confederacy took

And the Outagamis.

They had interrupted the French communication between the St. Laurence and the Mississippi.

* *Wynne's British Empire in America, vol. 2. p. 238.*

† Now called the Twightees.

CHAP. II.

place of those tribes in conjunction with France to cut them off.

THE Outagamis were at this time besieging Detroit, for the purpose of delivering it into the hands of the English, to whom they were favourably disposed, when they were attacked by a superior body of French and Indians, and after having performed prodigies of valour, were almost exterminated. The nation, however, notwithstanding its losses, could still arm five hundred warriors, and they had lately united themselves with the Sioux, the most numerous nation belonging to Canada, and with the Chickasaws, the most powerful tribe in Louisiana.*

Spotswood wishes to conciliate them

Is frustrated by the timidity of Britain and the jealousy of France.

OCCUPYING thus the avenues of communication, the Outawas and Outagamis, though lately enemies, might have been both by some address united in a project for repelling the encroachments of France. One part of this plan had actually been attempted by Spotswood.† But it was rendered abortive by the timidity of the British government and the wakeful jealousy of France. He proposed, by a great colonial force assisted by European troops, to attack the western Spanish settlements, and he doubted not by a chain of posts judiciously chosen, and the friendship of those Indians, to cut off all communication and concert between the French dependencies in America, and immediately to gain possession of the provinces of Spain, who was then actually at war with Great Britain.‡ Drysdale was succeeded by Gooch, a brigadier general on the British establishment, who passed acts of assembly for the first time in 1727.

---

* *Wynne's British America, vol.* 1.

† *Ibidem.* ‡ *Ibidem.*

In order to a correct knowledge of this administration, it becomes necessary to speak something of the French and English colonies; and the views and pretensions of those great rivals respecting their territorial rights in North America.

Comparative view of French and British colonies.

The English were in possession of the sea coast, the harbours, the mouths and banks of the rivers; and some, though a very inconsiderable number, had made a few settlements at more than one hundred miles from the coast. The French were not possessed of any sea coast or harbours on the continent, properly so called; but had confined their plantations to the two great rivers, St. Laurence and Mississippi;* the one running south and the other nearly north, their sources being at no great distance from each other, and forming a line almost parallel to the sea coast inhabited by the English.

Here was a territory sufficiently ample for all the purposes of wealth and even ambition, if ambition ever could be satisfied. But the rooted spirit of rivalship and hostility existing between these powers since the earliest times, sought out pretexts for quarrel even in those remote regions; and war with all its horrors must be transferred from the desolated and drenched plains of the old world to stain the verdant bosom of the new.

Foundation of their respective claims.

The French claims were founded on a supposed discovery by La Salle of Louisiana, including the Mississippi and its branches, and on the royal charter. The English charters extended the British settlements from the Atlantic ocean to the South Sea; a grant so general as to include not only the territory which was becoming the

* *Wynne's British America.*

CHAP. II

ground of dispute, but all the French and Spanish possessions in North America. Those grants, however, in their extensive signification, were waved by Britain from the actual absurdity and obvious impracticability of enforcing them; and their claims became confined to the delightful country between the Apalachian mountains and the Mississippi. It was thought unnecessary to speak of the frontier of New York, the Five Nations occupying the space between that province and Canada; it was hoped that this confederacy being in close alliance with the English, their territory would be secure against encroachment.

France, although for a long time she made no avowed objection to this claim, proves by her conduct an early determination to resist any attempt at an actual settlement of the territory in question; and for this purpose we find her so early as the year 1716 erecting Fort Frederick, called by the English Crown Point, upon Lake Champlain within the territories of the Five Nations.* This encroachment was noticed by the governor† of New York; but it was not deemed of sufficient importance to be even mentioned by the British envoys at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1721 they built Fort Niagara, between Lake Erie and Ontario, in the country of the Senecas, by which they completely secured the communication between Canada and Louisiana.‡ Yet this new aggression did not seem at the moment to have alarmed the British government to a just

---

* *Smith's History of New York.*

† The son of the celebrated bishop Burnet.

‡ *Wynn's British America.*

sense of the policy of France, and we find that in the war of 1739, entered into first with Spain and afterwards with the united strength of the house of Bourbon, hostilities were principally carried on at a distance, and the right of France to those places was tacitly acknowledged by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Colonial troops for first time serve out of the continent.

During the administration of Gooch, American troops for the first time were transported from the continent to aid in the offensive operations against the enemies' islands. An attack on Carthagena having been determined on, the colonies voluntarily furnished their quotas, who, under the command of the governor of Virginia, marched in this expedition, and after its failure returned home and were dispersed.*

Spotswood appointed to command colonial troops.

At the commencement of the war of 1739, Spotswood, who still lived retired in Virginia, was appointed to command the colonial troops; and he was farther gratified with an assurance that his favourite project should be carried into immediate execution. But his death, which took place shortly after his appointment, again retarded its accomplishment; and the hasty spark of colonial spirit was permitted to burn out for the want of adequate support and well concerted military enterprize from the mother country.

His death and character.

The name of Spotswood has descended to us with scarcely sufficient alloy to constitute a human character. Innocent in his private life; unimpeached in his administration of government; a friend to the liberties of the colony without losing sight of the interests of the mother country; a skilful and enterprizing soldier, he appears a star of no ordinary magnitude amidst the

* *Wynn. Virg. Gazette.*

CHAP. II.

darkness with which he is surrounded. His only foible was the vanity of recounting his military labours; a foible for which considerable allowance should be made when we consider the unmerited neglect and ingratitude with which his services had been rewarded.*

Too much praise can scarcely be bestowed on his humane and enlightened policy towards the Indians. This interesting people, reduced in their numbers, and shorn of their savage glories by the hand of civilization, found in the governor a benificent father, equally anxious to relieve their necessities and improve their minds by a knowledge of useful arts and religious instruction. Professors of pure lives and competent knowledge were sent at the public expense amongst the most considerable tribes for the purpose of exhibiting a constant and lively example before this thoughtless people. The effects, it is true, did not justify the policy of this measure; but this arose from the mode of instruction in use at this time, and the peculiar character of this people.

THE ill success of his attempts did not deter him from a farther prosecution of this humane project; and in consequence of the Tuscarora† massacre in

---

* He was in the habit of shewing to his guests a four pound ball that struck his coat.

† These Indians were heretofore very numerous and powerful, making, within remembrance, at least one thousand fighting men. Their habitations, before the war with Carolina, was on the north branch of New river, commonly called Connecta Creek, in a pleasant and fruitful country. But now the few that are left of that nation live on the north side of Moratuck, which is all that part of Roanoke below the Great Falls, towards Albemarle Sound.

Formerly there were seven towns of these savages lying

1712, the tributary Indians having become objects of suspicion to the government of Virginia, Spotswood demanded the children of their sachems as hostages, and had them instructed at the university of William and Mary in the rudiments of English literature, *and afterwards in mechanic arts suited to their most obvious necessities.*

CHAP. II.

At the close of his administration the long contested question respecting limits was adjusted by order of the provisional council, between the states of North Carolina and Virginia. This transaction derives its chief interest from the agency of colonel William Byrd, one of the commissioners, whose journal of the route and proceedings of the mission executed in a stile of

---

not far from each other, but now their number is greatly reduced.

The trade they have had the misfortune to drive with the English has furnished them constantly with rum, which they have used so immoderately, that what with the distempers, and what with the quarrels it has begotten among them, it has proved a double destruction. But the greatest consumption of these savages happened by the war about twenty-five years ago, on account of some injustice the inhabitants of that province had done them about their lands.

It was on that provocation they resented their wrongs upon Mr. Lawson,* who, under colour of surveyor general, had encroached too much upon their territories; at which they were so enraged that they way-laid him, and cut his throat from ear to ear, but at the same time released the baron of Graffeneid, whom they had seized, because it appeared plainly he had done them no wrong.

This blow was followed by some other bloody actions on the part of the Indians, which brought on the war, in which many of them were cut off, and many were obliged to flee for refuge to the Senecas; so that now there remains so few that they are in danger of being exterminated by the Catabaws, their mortal enemies. *Byrd's Journal.*

* *Who has left behind an account of his travels.*

CHAP. II.

accuracy, and marked by a spirit of unaffected humour, that do equal honour to his heart and understanding, has descended to our times.

An assembly.

THE return of Gooch was the signal for calling an assembly, and this body convened at the capitol agreeable to adjournment. The late unsuccessful attack on Carthagena, together with the return of the governor and a number of Virginians, who accompanied him on this expedition, had communicated a considerable anxiety to the colony, and the attendance of members was unusally great. Immediately after they had made choice of a speaker and the other officers, the governor called them into the council chamber and addressed them in a speech, which after a slight notice of the late disasters, as usual, recommended various grounds for future improvement and security.

Governor's communication.

AFTER a few common place observations upon the justice and necessity of the war in which his majesty was engaged, with a cunning, perfidious and implacable foe, he called their attention to the unprotected state of the coast and frontier; and he proposed to them as an example worthy of imitation, the paternal care and bounty of the king, who had commmanded him to appropriate the revenue arising from the duty on tonnage to the purchase of powder and ball; and to cause the law on this head to be made perpetual. He concluded by advising the repair of forts, and the appointment of annual salaries for officers and gunners; and to keep Fort George in a constant posture of defence during the war.*

THE answer of the assembly was polite and affectionate. After congratulating his excellency

* *Virg. Gazette.*

on his safe return from the dangers of the late expedition, they concluded by expressing in general terms their wish of co-operating in every measure calculated to prove their attachment to the king, the laws and constitution of the country.

Assembly make no provision for objects recommended.

But the assembly, notwithstanding the respectful and even affectionate language of their address, shewed no disposition of complying with the declared wishes of the king and his governor, notwithstanding this governor was deservedly an object of their esteem. In fact forts had ever been objects of aversion to the people of this colony since the celebrated memorials of Nicholson, and even from the rebellion of Bacon. Their dislike to those establishments was confirmed by their extreme frugality of the public money: A virtue which justified in some manner by their past distresses, began to be regarded here as well as in England as the surest test of legislative wisdom and integrity. The governor finding little prospect of accomplishing the objects recommended, hastily adjourned the session, taking occasion previously to mingle strong expressions of disappointment and regret with some general professions of respect and courtesy.

An act was passed during this session for establishing the town of Richmond, and for holding fairs for its encouragement.

Descent of Spaniards on Georgia.

Before the colony had time to recover from the apprehensions excited by the defeat at Carthagena, an express arrived from the president of South Carolina, with information that the Spaniards had, with a considerable body of troops and a large naval force, made a descent on Georgia. A council was immediately called, and it

CHAP. II.

was unanimously determined to dispatch captain Dandridge, commander of the South Sea Castle, together with the snows Hawk and Swift, to the assistance of general Oglethorpe. This affair had scarcely been adjusted when a messenger arrived from the governor of Pennsylvania, announcing the detection of a conspiracy between the Nanticocks and Eastern Shore Indians, in conjunction with the Senekas, to rise upon the people of Maryland. This attempt was supposed to originate in the failure of a demand made by the Five Nations, of the lands west of the Susquehannah. This report had communicated the strongest alarm in Maryland, and the governor and council with their usual dispatch directed that a considerable quantity of ammunition should without delay be forwarded to the frontiers.

Indian conspiracy.

As some consolation to these apprehensions, a courier arrived express from general Oglethorpe with intelligence of the entire failure and discomfiture of the Spanish invasion: The dispatches conveyed the strongest censure against the government of South Carolina, which, under the pretence that all her disposable force was necessary to her own defence, abandoned her neighbouring sister to the mercy of her enemies. This information operated like a cordial on the desponding spirits of the colony. The conduct of Carolina was every where the object of reproach; whilst Oglethorpe and his brave followers were extolled as perfect models of colonial gallantry.

Spaniards defeated in Georgia.

About this time an entire revolution was insensibly changing some of the longest established political maxims of all the colonies. Founded at different times, under differens charters, compelled by the difficulties incidental to a new settlement and the hostility of the Indians to exert their utmost means for their own security, their

growth was slow and they felt little power or inclination to contribute either men or money towards any plan of general defence, or for the relief of a distressed and invaded sister. The jealousy of commercial competition aggravated by religious bigotry, tended still more to weaken their attachments: We find them, therefore, invariably either declining all aid to each other, or contributing with an air so ungracious, that their bounty lost half its value, as their favour did half its effect. A consciousness of their own prodigious increase in strength, added to their apprehension of French and Spanish encroachment, induced a change in this unwise and selfish policy. About this time they began to regard each other with the affection becoming children of the same common parent. But it was not to each other alone that their conduct and feelings had undergone a change. The revolution of 1688 put an end to the iniquitous systems of colonial oppression, devised by Charles II. and carried into full operation by his weak and wicked successor. They saw themselves snatched from the jaws of tyranny and superstition by the success of William, and blessed the hand of their deliverance. Henceforth, new principles of government more congenial with the free and hardy character of their minds, began to prevail. Their legislatures were no longer insulted and hastily dissolved; their citizens no longer liable to arbitrary arrest. With the exception of some commercial restrictions, and even these were generally regarded as doubtfuf if not legal, the conduct of England was that of an affectionate and provident mother. No wonder then that the colonies sympathized in her good and ill fortune. No wonder that they regarded with all the reverence of filial piety mingled with a sentiment of admiration, the venerable parent

Prodigious increase of Pennsylvania.

CHAP. II.

who smote the house of Bourbon on the land and on the waters, and spread every where the fame of English liberty and valour.

THERE was but a single exception amongst the colonies to this sentiment, and perhaps we should ascribe this to the peculiar habits and modes of thinking amongst a particular religious sect, rather than to any want of attachment. Certain merchants of Philadelphia alarmed for the safety of the frontier, and irritated at what they conceived the parsimony and obstinacy of the legislature, who refused to contribute any thing to its security, prepared a petition to the king, praying that some way should be devised for compelling the attention of Pennsylvania to an object so important to her own safety and that of the other colonies.

IN reply to this it was urged by the legislature, that in consequence of the charter of privileges granted to them by William Penn, their first proprietor, and by an act of assembly dated October 4, 1705, they were exempt from all military service. That they had hitherto subsisted without forts or militia; that being a peaceable people, they had given no offence to their neighbours, and as their neighbours had never yet molested them, they apprehended they might hereafter subsist in security without any military force.

IT is to be regretted that the humane and noble principles of this argument cannot be justified by the circumstances of the world. But so long as fraud and violence prevail there is no security in the most peaceful demeanor and the most upright intentions. A majority of the assembly which prepared this answer were Quakers, a sect whose meek and inoffensive manners and humane precepts, did they universally prevail, would render government superfluous, and make gentle persuasion and advice atchieve what has been vainly

attempted by the injustice and wickedness of sanguinary penal statutes. It may not be amiss to notice, whilst I am on this subject, the prodigious increase of Philadelphia, an increase in a great measure to be attributed to the principles of the Quakers, bequeathed by their founder and preserved with a piety not unlike what the Spartans felt for the laws of Lycurgus. By a census taken this year, Philadelphia alone was fonnd to contain seventeen hundred houses and ten thousand inhabitants.

NOTWITHSTANDING the late failure of the Spaniards the situation of the southern colony was critical, and their alarm constantly kept alive by the neighbourhood of St. Augustine. Information was daily brought to Oglethorpe of the great preparations going forward at this port, and the number of ships of war and land troops which had lately been seen entering its harbour. The improbability of being able to maintain himself against any serious attack by the proper resources of the infant settlement, was immediately obvious, and as the conduct of South Carolina had inspired him with a strong disgust to the policy of that colony, he turned his eyes to Virginia where a more extensive population and a quicker sensibility to the common interest and honour, was supposed to offer a better prospect of assistance. Lieutenant colonel Heron was therefore dispatched with an account of the state of affairs, and with the drums, commissioned and non-commissioned officers, to raise a regiment in Virginia. To render the scheme more popular, the principles of enlistment were suited to the wishes of the people, who abhorred the perpetual servitude of an English regular. They were to serve for five years, and be only in America.

CHAP. II.

A CIRCUMSTANCE occurred at the time of Heron's arrival attended with the most fortunate effects to his project. Captain Washington, with a number of officers and soldiers belonging to the governor's regiment which had been discharged, arrived at Hampton; and as it is not easy to lay down the habits we have once formed, and the Georgia service was supposed to be less severe than that in which they had been engaged, many of them enlisted with Heron.

Skirmish between Shawenese and party of militia.

December. 1742.

AN account arrived of a smart skirmish in Augusta county between colenel Patten, at the head of a detachment of militia, and a party of Shawanese Indians. The parties appear to have fallen in with each other by surprize. The Indians immediately halted, and at the first fire killed captain M'Dowell and seven men. After this acording to their usual custom, they retreated about thirty yards, and after a pause of ten minutes, when the imprudence of the militia gave them an opportunity, they repeated their fire. The conduct of the militia on this occasion is altogether unaccountable. Although they received a reinforcement they were unwilling to pursue, and retired under pretence of refreshing themselves. On their return the next morning they found that the Indians had carried off their own dead and stript and scalped the militia.* This intelligence afforded the most serious alarm to all the frontier settlements; and the governor with advice of council took immediate measures for averting the hostility of the Indians, by sending commissioners amongst them, and in any event for repelling their future inroads, by send-

* *Gazettes.*

ing a sufficient supply of ammunition to the frontiers. CHAP. II.

ABOUT this time Robert Dinwidde and Lewis Burwell were appointed of his majesty's council in the room of William Randolph and John Carter, deceased; and Thomas Nelson, junr. appointed secretary, in the room of Carter, arrived in the colony.

ABOUT the same time died Blair, aged eighty-eight, during sixty four years a minister of the gospel, fifty-three years commissary of Virginia, president of a college for fifty-one, and a member of the king's council fifty. To considerable learning he was thought to add in an eminent degree the virtues of hospitality and generosity; whilst his manners in the discharge of his various important duties conciliated the esteem and affection of the most opposite parties and opinions.

MEANWHILE an account arrived of the ill success of the attempt against St. Augustine. The plan of Oglethorpe which seems never to have been sufficiently matured, was abandoned after a short trial: In a word, the means were found to be wholly inadequate to the danger and difficulties of the project. He had neither ships to blockade the port and shut out supplies, nor cannon to batter the place, and after having come in sight of the town, he hastily re-embarked and returnd to Georgia *

Ill success of attempt against St. Augustine.

MEANWHILE the apprehensions excited by the late skirmish between the militia and the Shawanese, was happily adjusted by a treaty† 31st July. 1743. Treaty be-

* *Express.*

† It appears by this treaty that the main body of the Tuscarora nation had not joined the Six Nations at this

CHAP. II.

held at Lancaster in Pennsylvania. The *talks* of the Indian orators lasted for several days. The governor and council of Pennsylvania, attended by the commissioners of Virginia and Maryland on the one side, on the other the orators of the Six Nations, having, with Conrad Weiser their interpreter, discussed the points in dispute, with the order and formality usual in the ratification of treaties, the *hatchet was buried* and the *silver chain* of friendship brightened by the delivery of several belts of *wampum*.*

tween Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania and Six Nations.

A PROCLAMATION issued at this time, containing some particulars worthy of notice. It stated, by advice of the lords of the admiralty, that his majesty's ships had received considerable interruption, owing to a mistaken notion, that the act of Anne prohibiting impressments in the co-

---

time, although Mr. Jefferson and even Mr. Colden seem to be of opinion that they emigrated so early as the year seventeen hundred and twelve. It appears too that some families of the Conoies remained behind.

There lives, said Casassatgeo, in his address to the Virginia deputies, a nation of Indians on the other side of your country, the Tuscaroras, who are our friends, and with whom we hold correspondence: But the road between us and them has been stopped for some time, on account of the misbehaviour of some of our warriors: We have opened a new road for our warriors, and they shall keep to that; but as that would be inconvenient for messengers going to the Tuscaroras, we desire they may go the old road. We frequently send messengers to one another, and shall have more occasion to do so now that we have concluded a peace with the Cherokees.

Amongst these Tuscaroras there live a few families of the Conoy Indians, who are desirous to leave them and to remove the rest of their nation amongst us, and the straight road to them lies through the middle of your country.

* *Colden's Five Nations.*

lonies was still in force. He goes on to state what is the interpretation of that law, and quoting the opinions of his majesty's attorney and solicitor-general on the subject, the proclamation concludes by stating the orders of the admiralty for putting the colony into the best state of defence.*

---

* BY COMMAND OF THE GOVERNOR.

WHEREAS the lords of the admiralty have signified to me, by a letter dated August 19th, 1743, That the commanders of his majesty's ships in America have made frequent complaints that they are often interrupted in endeavouring to procure seamen to make up their complements; and that it appears to their lordships to be chiefly owing to a mistaken notion, that the American act made in the reign of queen Anne, prohibiting the pressing there, is still in force; and their lordships being pleased to transmit to me the opinions of sir Edward Northey, his majesty's late attorney-general, and of the present attorney and solicitor-general, that the said act expired long ago; I have thought fit by advice of the council to have this published, that every body may be acquainted with the said opinions of these gentlemen learned in the law, on a point which remains here undetermined; and about which people in these parts are divided in their judgments.

WILLIAM GOOCH.

Copy of the opinion of the late sir Edward Northey, in relation to the American act, dated February 10th, 1715-16.

I am of opinion that the whole American act was intended and appears only to have been intended for the war.

EDWARD NORTHEY.

Copy of the opinions of the present attorney and solicitor-general, dated July 17th, 1740.

We have perused the several clauses in the American

CHAP. II.

Nov. 4. 1743. Death of col Wm. Byrd.

At this time William Fairfax, son of the proprietor of Northern Neck, was appointed of his majesty's council in the place of commissary Blair. About the same time died William Byrd, of the council, one of the most distinguished characters which had shone out for a long time in Virginia: A distinction not founded solely on his wealth, which was great, or his station: But his own personal merit. Extensive knowledge attained by study, improved by observation and refined by a familiar acquaintance with the illustrious characters of his time, were the qualities universally ascribed to him by the prints of the day. How much of this eulogy is just, or whether his character in anywise corresponded with this portrait, cannot be precisely known without a more intimate knowledge of facts. It is universally agreed that his taste for expense, his munificence, not to say profusion, exceeded any thing of the kind hitherto known in Virginia. It is the duty of history to pronounce one part of his eulogy, which, as it is justly earned, will

His character.

---

act, and by comparing the several clauses together, it seems to us, that the act is not now in force, but expired at the then war.

D. RYDER,
I. STRANGE.

Having received direction from the lords justices for putting the colony into the best posture of defence, upon the present uncertain state of public affairs, I hereby order and require all commanding officers in the several respective counties, to keep themselves prepared and in readiness against any attempt that may be made upon this colony from any quarter whatsoever, and to see that the militia be kept under good order and discipline, and that they be provided with arms and ammunition as the law directs.

WILLIAM GOOCH.

become him better than a thousand wreaths of false and fantastic adulation. He felt a laudable and rational pride in preserving the antiquities of his country: Nor can we believe that this proceeded merely from the cold spirit of an antiquarian. The antiquities he preserved contained materials for an history of his country.*

MEANWHILE the aspect of Europe rendered necessary the most pointed attention to the security of the colony. To give the greater effect to the inveterate hostility which appears equally to have inflamed both nations, the court of France resolved to make use of the name of the excluded family, and impose a king on England in spite of the wishes of the people. Report of these preparations had already reached England, and a suspicion arising of their true motives, an account was transmitted to the colonies, with advice to put themselves in readiness against the threatened danger. To carry into effect these intentions, an assembly was necessary, and this body was accordingly convened. The governor's speech, after a short apology for the several prorogations, passing slightly over some matters of lesser importance, proceeds to detail the motives which induced the treaty with the northern Indians, and justifies the propriety of purchasing the lands in dispute between them and the governments of Maryland and Pennsylvania, instead of asserting it by arms. From these local concerns, it passes to matters of greater magnitude. The battle of Dettingen and the

Sept. 4, 1744. Project of France to impose a popish pretender.

Nov. 21. 1745. Assembly.

* MSS. copies of his public and private journal are in my possession, and the MSS. copies of the state records from whence I derived materials for my two first volumes, were collected and preserved by him and his son.

CHAP. II

daring courage and conspicuous gallantry of the king are placed before the house as objects calculated to raise their devotion to his interest and exalt their courage; and whist this picture is yet fresh upon their imaginations it lays before them the diabolical project of France, in conjunction with Rome, to impose on the English nation a popish pretender. The several answers of the council and burgesses* were mere echoes of the speech. They appear however to breathe a spirit beyond the mere effect of forms. Both the matter and manner indeed of the speeches and addresses were certainly improving at this time: nor is it in these alone that amendment is visible. The essays and light pieces to be found in the periodical papers of the day discover a greater expansion of knowledge, together with a taste and judgment, which agreeably disappoint, because they are wholly unexpected.

August 10. But the assembly, notwithstanding the expectation raised by their address, came to a close without making any provision for the object recommended in the governor's speech. A bill had been brought in to raise a sum for the repair and maintenance of the forts: But in the course of the debate it was discovered that nothing adequate to the supposed exigencies could be gained from the determined economy of the assembly. The advocates for an immediate supply aimed at too much; and the bill after a long and warm

* The burgesses' answer concludes in these guarded words: "We have the greatest satisfaction in assuring your honour, that we will concur with you in every measure that is necessary, with that cheerfulness and affection which become a house of burgesses, tender and jealous of the honour of the crown, careful and solicitous for the welfare and prosperity of this colony."

debate was negatived by a considerable majority. The governor's language in adjourning them, manifested thee deepest disappointment,* but no rude nor even impolite expression escaped him. He knew and respected the rights of the assembly, because that body was well acquainted with their own rights and their power.

CHAP. II.

Adjournment.

---

* *Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,*

I AM now to give you my thanks for the bills you have presented to me: Which, I trust, as I am sure they are calculated with that view, will be for the benefit and convenience of the people. But,

Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,

I did hope, in compliance with what I recommended to you at the opening of this session, and indeed correspondent to your address, you would have contributed, either towards repairing our batteries, which my concern for the public safety prompted me to ask; or, that the sense of the common danger would have animated you with a more laudable zeal, and warmed you into a vigorous and unanimous resolution, of exerting your utmost efforts to convince your country, at this perilous conjuncture, that you had made the best provision for her true interest and protection.

But since every motion of that kind has been rejected, and more effectual measures, though they obtained the credit of a bill, have been debated into a negative, that such proceedings may not be censured worse than they deserve.

Gentlemen of the Council and House of Burgesses,

I do expect from your known affection to his majesty's person and government, that during your recess in your respective counties, you will diligently discharge the duty incumbent upon you, as well in your military as civil capacities; by taking special care the several musters be attended with proper officers, the men well disciplined, and provided with arms and ammunition; and by strictly putting the laws in execution against all disturbers of the peace.

CHAP. II

Governor of Jamaica authorized to raise regiment in Virginia.

About this time Edward Trelawney, governor of Jamaica, was authorized to raise a regiment in Virginia; and the first public exhibition of any thing in the nature of shews or entertainments, was exhibited about the same time. The main objects of curiosity in this exhibition were a solar, or as the advertisement stiled it, a camera obscura microscope, and a musical clock of the most exquisite workmanship, so organized as to play the most favourite opera airs and sonatas, with some of the best pieces of Corelli and other masters. It was recommended to the public by the assurance that the king had bestowed the warmest praise on the beauty of its workmanship and the wonderful principle on which its harmony was founded.

Growth and improvement of literature

Several other objects of literary curiosity occurred during this period, confirming what has been said of the growth of taste and expansion of intellect. In the neighbouring colony of Pennsylvania Cicero's Cato Major, or discourse on old age, was translated by James Logan. This was erroneously supposed to be the first classic translation executed in the western world. It has been already shewn that a translation of Ovid's Art of Love by Mr. Sandys was done in Virginia so early as 1624, more than a century before. The newspapers of the day contain a notice from William Stith, the historian, to his subscribers, which shews that his valuable book was then in a considerable state of forwardness.

And as you are, no doubt, impatient to visit your private affairs, I shall keep you no longer than to acquaint you, that I have thought fit to prorogue this assembly to the third Thursday in December next; and this assembly is accordingly prorogued to that time.

CHAP. II.

Address of governor to grand jury.

THE address* of governor Gooch to the grand jury of the general court is deserving of notice. It appears that swarms of Methodists, Moravians and New Light Presbyterians, presuming on the humane and tolerant spirit of the times, had

---

* WILLIAMSBURG, APRIL 25th.

Thursday last being the fourth day of the general court, his honour the governor was pleased to deliver the following charge to the gentlemen of the grand jury; which they afterwards requested his honour to permit to be published.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury,

Without taking notice of the ordinary matters and things you are called to attend, and sworn to make inquisition for, I must on this occasion turn to your thoughts and recommend to your present service another subject of importance, which I thank God has been unusual, but, I hope, will be most effectual, I mean the information I have received of certain fasle teachers that are lately crept into this government; who, without order or license, or producing any testimonial of their education or sect, professing themselves ministers under the pretended influence of new light, extraordinary impulse, and such like satirical and enthusiastical knowledge, lead the innocent and ignorant people into all kinds of delusion; and in this frantic and prophane disguise, though such is their heterodoxy, that they treat all other modes of worship with the utmost scorn and contempt, yet as if they had bound themselves on oath to do many things against the religion of the blessed Jesus, that pillar and stay of the truth and reformed church, to the great dishonour of Almighty God, and the discomfort of serious Christians, they endeavour to make their followers believe that salvation is not to be obtained in their communion.

As this denunciation, if I am rightly advised, in words not decent to repeat, has been by one of them publickly affirmed, and shews what manner of spirit they all of them are of in a country hitherto remarkable for uniformity in worship, and where the saving truths of the Gospel are constantly inculcated, I did promise myself, either that their

CHAP. II.

spread themselves over the country, and were attempting to propagate their doctrines with all the ardour and vehemence of gesture, and boldnes of denunciation, which mark the first moments of a

---

preaching would be in vain, or that an insolence so criminal would not long be connived at.

And, therefore, gentlemen, since the workers of a deceitful work, blaspheming our sacraments, and reviling our excellent liturgy, are said to draw disciples after them, and we know not whereunto this separation may grow, but may easily foretel into what a distracted condition, by long forbearance, this colony will be reduced, we are called upon by the rights of society, and what, I am persuaded, will be with you as prevailing an inducement, by the principles of Christianity, to put an immediate stop to the devices and intrigues of these associated scismaties, who having, no doubt, assumed to themselves the apostacy of our weak brethren, we may be assured that there is not any thing so absurd but what they will assert, nor any doctrines or precepts so sacred but what they will prevert and accommodate to their favourite theme, railing against our religious establishment; for which in any other country, the British dominions only excepted, they would be very severely handled.

However, not meaning to inflame your resentment, as we may without breach of charity pronounce, that 'tis not liberty of conscience, but freedom of speech, they so earnestly prosecute; and we are very sure that they have no manner of pretence to any shelter under the acts of toleration, because, admitting they have had regular ordination, they are by those acts obliged, nor can they be ignorant of it, not only to take the oaths, and with the test to subscribe, after a deliberate reading of them, some of the articles of our religion, before they presume to officiate. But that in this indulgent grant, though not expressed, a covenant is intended, whereby they engage to preserve the character of conscientious men, and not to use their liberty for a cloak of maliciousness. To that I say, allowing their ordination, yet as they have not, by submitting to those essential points, qualified themselves to gather a congregation, or if they had, in speaking all manner of evil against us, have forfeited the privilege due to such compliance; insomuch, that they are entirely without excuse, and their religious professions are very

new sect in religion. Some accounts of violent and intemperate expressions on the part of these zealots had reached the ears of the governor, and he conceived it to be his duty to repress the fury of a zeal which threatened the tranquility of society. CHAP. II.

GOVERNMENT had not yet learned the secret of subduing the frenzy of religious bigotry by suffering it to waste its powers, and perish by convulsions of its own exciting. But this mistake was not confined to the governor. Almost all the intelligent men in the colony, and amongst the rest several who afterwards became distinguished as the champions of an unqualified freedom in every thing relating to the human mind, approved the doctrines contained in the governor's charge. Even the venerable name of Pen- April 24, 1745.

---

justly suspected to be the result of Jesuitical policy, which also is an iniquity to be punished by the judges.

I must, as in duty bound to God and man, charge you in the most solemn manner, to make strict inquiry after those seducers, and if they, or any of them, are still in this government, by presentment or indictment to report them to the court, that we, who are in authority under the defender of our faith, and the appointed guardians to our constitution and state, exercising our power in this respect for the protection of the people committed to our care, may shew our zeal in the maintainance of the true religion; not as the manner of some is, by violent oppression, but in putting to silence by such method as our law directs, the calumnies and invectives of these bold accusers, and in dispelling as we are devoutly disposed, so dreadful and dangerous a combination.

In short, gentlemen, we should deviate from the pious path we profess to tread in, and should be unjust to God, to our king, to our country, to ourselves and to our posterity, not to take cognizance of so great a wickedness, whereby the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ is turned into lasciviousness.

CHAP. II.

dleton, appears in the class of the persecutors, a proof that liberality and toleration are not instinctive qualities, the growth of an hour; but the result of wisdom and experience.

THE coast of Virginia being left unguarded by the departure of the royal ships for Europe and New England, the governor engaged a Bermuda built sloop, and armed her for a guarda coasta. A dispatch arrived from commodore Warren,* announcing the landing of the New England troops under Shirley and Pepperel, in Chapaurouge Bay, and the capture of the grand battery. This was quickly followed by an express of the surrender of Louisburg and the island of Cape Breton.

Express of the capture of Louisburg.

THIS singular expedition, concerted and executed with such admirable skill and courage by the New England states, was a profound secret to the other colonies until the moment of its execution; and was not more honourable to that confederacy than beneficial in its consequences to all the colonies. Calculated as it was to enhance the reputation of colonial bravery in the esteem of the mother country, it was attended with the more beneficial effect of raising them in their own estimation. Virginia, once the enemy of the New England states, less from feeling than commercial jealousy and religious bigotry, and who once pretended to contrast her own loyalty with the turbulent spirit of these colonies, was not slow

Liberality of Virginia.

* The substance of the letters of governor Shirley and commodore Warren, referred to in the governor's message, was to desire an aid of soldiers, ammunition and provisions, for securing the conquest made of Cape Breton. The king's instructions, mentioned in the same message, are general to the governors of the northern colonies.

on this occasion to render a just tribute of praise to her illustrious sisters; and if her feelings were mingled with any thing like regret, it was that she herself had no share in the glory of this atchievement. But although Virginia had no part of the honour arising from this gallant action, she had yet an opportunity of rendering the conquest more complete and certain by a liberal supply to the garrison of that valuable fortress. With this view a proclamation issued that a free trade, free of all duty, was permitted to Cape Breton: But lest the benefits of this arrangement should be too tardy for the wants of the garrison, the governor by advice of council purchased two thousand pounds worth of beef and pork for this purpose.

Of Pennsylvania.

THE assembly of Pennsylvania, although averse to war, did not forget on this occasion the duties of humanity. They subscribed four thousand pounds; 'tis true the king's instructions had recommended this conduct: But the character of that assembly forbids the opinion that their bounty was the result of any such influence.

MEANWHILE the storm of invasion, long threatened by France, burst upon Scotland, where it was hoped the prejudices in favour of the old dynasty would favor the progress of rebellion; and the first movements of the pretender appeared to justify this expectation. The first notice of this event produced a very strong sensation in Virginia, and the governor immediately called together the assembly. The speech contained nothing that was not already known. He gave to the people, however, and their representatives, an opportunity of speaking their will with an effect infinitely imposing. The college, the convocation of the clergy, the council, the representatives of the people, with one voice pledged their private re-

CHAP. II

sources and those of the colony to resist the arrogant and upstart adventurer, whose absurd pretensions had embroiled the nation. The governor, after directing their attention to the college, the acts in favour of which were about to expire, and recommending the support of the troops destined for Louisburg, who had been forced in by bad weather, made use of these words which prove sufficiently the great weight of this body, and how thoroughly its powers were understood. He stated that he had of his own accord given orders for the disembarkation of the troops and for a supply of fire wood and candles, "promising to report and recommend the whole to the consideration of your house, in *whose power* it is to relieve them."

The convention of the clergy called together by a circular letter from Dawson, president of the college, sent addresses to the governor and king, by the medium of the bishop of London, expressive of like sentiments of loyalty and attachment. The council too came in for their share of this overflow of loyalty; the climax was capped by an address to the assembly full of professions of gratitude for past favours, and signifying in delicate terms their willingness to receive some fresh marks of legislative bounty for their *alma mater*, the university of William and Mary. The session came to a close without any occurrence to interrupt this harmony, or disappoint those expectations. The soldiers were provided for; the college felt the influence of the public bounty; appropriation was made for the sum paid the Six Nations. It is not enough to say that the governor was barely satisfied: His address to the legislature at the prorogation evinces the warmest gratitude, the most cordial approbation.

CHAP. II

A PROCLAMATION issued at this time against Romish priests, who, it is pretended, came as emissaries from Maryland to seduce the people from their allegiance: So strong an impression had the late measures of France and the invasion of the pretender left even on the mild temper of Gooch.

MEANWHILE an express arrived from Boston, with advice of a projected expedition of some consequence, in pursuance of which the gover- 10th June, nor issued a proclamation, directing the enlist- 1746. ment of soldiers, who were to serve under his own immediate command. The other colonies were at the same time busied in preparations. The *quotas* of Virginia and Maryland sailed from Hampton under convoy of the Fowey man of war, destined as *was given* out for Canada, whose conquest could alone it was thought, ensure any permanent repose to the British colonies. But this expedition, prepared with so much care and labour, the only one in which before this time the colonies had generally united, produced nothing anywise answering to the public expectation.

THE Capitol with all the public offices was about this time destroyed by fire: And the governor summoned the assembly by proclamation to meet at the college previous to the term of their prorogation. Two other proclamations were issued at the same time, the one offering a reward for the detection of the supposed incendiary of the Capitol, the other forbidding under severe penalties the meeting of Moravians, New Lights and Methodists.

THE answer of the house of burgesses to the governor's speech disclosed a secret which had hitherto been only uttered in whispers; but which had silently been gaining ground in Virginia. Owing to the rapid growth of the colony she had

CHAP. II.

successively advanced her frontiers from the falls to the heads of the rivers, and thence to the rich vallies on the farther side of those enormous mountains discovered and passed by Spotswood. The deputies of those remote places felt the inconvenience of travelling so far beyond the centre of the colony to the seat of government, and all became sensible that the principal tribunals for administering civil and criminal justice might be more advantageously situated in the heart rather than at the extremities of the country.

The fire had given the occasion wanted, together with a body and form to the opposition; a certain expense was now to be incurred, and why not at once make choice of some site for a city worthy of the prosperous fortunes and future destinies of this colony?

"To lay the foundation of a new city," say the burgesses in their answer, "to raise this building in a place commodiously situated for navigation, will complete the glory of your administration, and transmit your name with the highest lustre to future ages. With what pleasure may we then extend our view through future centuries and anticipate the happiness provided for posterity." Such are the lofty scenes which the assembly, with the animated eye of hope, see in the perspective of fancy.

But widely diffused as was the desire of removal, it encountered a strong opposition from local interest and attachment. The governor and members of the council, together with some of the most conspicuous characters in the colony, were owners of property in Williamsburg, the value of which would experience an inevitable diminution by a removal. The influence of the college and of the officers of government too would be thrown into the scale of opposition. To

these were added reflections on the certain advantages of the present site, and the hazard, inconvenience and difficulties of raising a new city from the foundations.

From interests and feelings so clashing as these, little unanimity was to be expected. After a violent debate, protracted for several days, a bill for a removal passed the house of bugesses: But was stopped in the council. This opposition in the council gave rise to one equally obstinate in the lower house, and a bill for preparing some temporary accommodations for the purposes of government on the old site was negatived. The governor concluding that nothing was to be expected from so violent a contention of party zeal, after an address wherein some passion was mingled with his usual politeness, prorogued them, and some time after, rightly judging that elements so repulsive could not be expected to adhere with a stronger attraction in the short space of time allowed by the prorogation, he dissolved them by proclamation, and immediately issued writs for a new election.

The spirit and intelligence of the Virginia assembly at this time will appear from a comparison with the other states. The opinions of the attorneys and solicitors general respecting the right of impressment in the colonies had never been admitted in Virginia, and although lately enforced by the governor's proclamation had never received the sanction of an act of assembly. The manner of the colonies was rather to elude an act of the parliament or royal mandate than to resist, and when they disapproved this uncharted interference, they were silent so long as it confined itself to a mere assertion of power without any attempts to enforce it. Impressment was rarely resorted to in Virginia, and when at-

CHAP. II.

tempted was invariably and successfully resisted by the people. The assembly saw no necessity for an interference; the governor's proclamation on a point supposed to affect the rights of the colonists having little effect when opposed to public opinion. But it was not thought prudent by the British government to attempt the introduction of any arbitrary measure in a province so high spirited and alive to the purity of her institutions and principles. It was usually stolen through the legislatures of some of the other provinces in the hope of thus acquiring for it a sort of precedent or authority.

For the same reasons the state of Massachusetts and the other members of the New England confederacy were generally exempted in the first instance. In the present case it was hoped that the military ardour prevailing in this confederacy, added to the influence of general Shirley would ensure an acquiescence to this statute; but these hopes encountered a fatal disappointment. The first attempt to enforce this justly abhorred statute excited a riot, marked by the most furious and terrific features. Civil government tottered and sank beneath its fury, and even the favourite Shirley, who attempted to enforce obedience to it, was compelled to fly and take refuge in Castle William.*

---

* BOSTON, December 14th.

A letter writ by his excellency governor Shirley, to the honourable Josiah Willard, esquire, secretary of this province.

Castle William.

Sir,

After suffering the insults of an outrageous mob at Boston, on Tuesday forenoon, by having my house beset, and one of the under sheriffs who was placed at my door, drag-

CHAP. II.

THERE is even reason to believe that the Massachusetts assembly, like that of Virginia, winked at the popular excesses on this occasion.

---

ged away from thence, beat, plundered and put in the stocks; and greater outrages committed at night in a rebellious manner upon myself and his majesty's council, by being surrounded in the council chamber by an armed mob, and assaulted there with brick-bats, and by their forcibly entering the town house, and afterwards the same mob assembling before my house in a tumultuous manner, and threatening to burn a barge which they then thought belonged to his majesty, in my court yard; possessing themselves of the gates of the town, and threatening to seize all his majesty's officers then in the town and detain them as hostages, and subject them to the violence of their arbitrary and lawless will, in defiance and to the overthrow of his majesty's government; and finding myself without a proper and sufficient force for suppressing this insurrection and maintaining the king's authority in the town; the soldiers of the militia there having refused and neglected to obey my orders given them by their officers to appear under arms, for quelling this tumult, and to keep a military watch at night; and there being reason to apprehend that the insurrection was secretly countenanced and encouraged by some ill minded inhabitants and persons of influence in the town; and that the same rebellious rout would be repeated the night following; I did not think it consistent with the honour of his majesty's government to remain longer in the midst of it, destitute of all proper means for suppressing it, preserving the peace and protecting his majesty's subjects committed to my care, but have retired to his majesty's castle, William, till I can assemble a sufficient force of the province militia from the neighbouring regiments in the country, to quell the tumult and restore his majesty's government and the public tranquility in the town of Boston: For which purpose I would have you forthwith issue orders to the colonels of the several regiments of the towns of Cambridge, Roxbury and Milton, and of the regiment of horse; to cause the officers of the respective regiments to hold themselves in readiness to march at an hour's warning, to such place of rendezvous as I shall further order, which I hope,

CHAP. II.

THE importance of the Six Nations about this time is proved by the proceedings of almost all the colonial legislatures. Apprehensions were entertained that the intrigues of the French had

---

together with such officers and gentlemen of the town of Boston, (of whose duty and zeal for his majesty's service I received an undoubted mark in their message to me upon this occasion by colonel Hutchinson) the sheriff and inferior civil officers in discharging their respective duties for the maintenance of his majesty's government and restoring the public peace; and at the same time I would have you to draw up letters to be sent with those orders to the several colonels, puporting the occasion of them, and my dependence upon the duty and zeal of their respective regiments, for his service; and then transmit the letters to me fairly wrote, to be signed and immediately forwarded, I would also have you take the first opportunity to communicate this letter to the gentlemen of his majesty's council and house of representatives, and let them know that I am greatly concerned at their being disturbed in the public business by this rebellious riot and tumult; and that I desire they would proceed in it, and that I will concur with them in any measures for his majesty's service, and the interest of the province; and doubt not from their known zeal for both of being enabled with their assistance, to set all things right now, and prevent such riots in the town of Boston, and breaches in his majesty's government for the future. I shall be likewise glad of the advice of the gentlemen of the council upon this occasion, and of seeing them here for that purpose, if they think his majesty's service require it.

Inclosed I send you governor Knowles's answer to the letter which I sent him yesterday and read over to you first, and which I am sorry has not procured yet the dismission of the inhabitants of the province, lately impressed and carried on board his squadron, as also of many other seamen belonging to outward bound vessels; which I am satisfied he would have done instantly had not the outrages committed on his officer and the king's government prevented him; and I am sorry to say that further obstructions are laid in my way by the mobs securing and detaining captain Erskin, as also some petty officers last night in custody; but I have the satisfaction to find that my answer to Mr Knowles's letter from hence, has prevented him from putting his resolutions

weakened their attachment to the English interest, and the utmost solicitude is discovered to conciliate them by presents: It appears that these exertions were not without success: But

---

in execution, which, had I remained in Boston, nothing would have hindered. I likewise received another letter from him between three and four o'clock this morning, with an offer of two hundred marines to reinforce the Castle, and that he would come with them in person, but I instantly excused myself from accepting his offer (as what must have cast a reflection upon the loyalty of the whole province to his majesty) by letting him know that I did not retire here for safety to my own person, but only to shew a public mark of my resentment at the behaviour of the town of Boston upon this occasion, and until I had collected sufficient of the country militia to quell the insurrection; and that I had not the least apprehension of the Castle being in danger from the mob; however, I found this morning he had brought three of his ships nearer the Castle, and I hear, designs to come near the next tide; but as I shall dine on board with him to-day, I will endeavour to divert him from such thoughts, and to influence him to discharge the inhabitants, and as many others as I can in the end, but cannot promise success from the present temper I hear he is in at Erskin's being in the mob's possession; which I earnestly wish could be forthwith remedied. I have only to add, that notwithstanding I think the soldiers of the militia of the town of Boston have been very tardy in their duty on this occasion, and behaved very ill, I shall be concerned at fixing a lasting brand upon the town for their failure in it, and therefore, notwithstanding my before mentioned orders (which I will not suspend) if they will obey the orders they have received by appearing forthwith under arms, and exert themselves vigourously in dispersing the mob and securing the ring-leaders, and enforcing the execution of the civil authority, so as that I may be sure of finding myself in a condition of supporting his majesty's government in the town, and obtaining satisfaction for the indignities offered it, and the rebellious breaches of the peace, without my calling on the aid of the country regiments, I will yet give them an opportunity of retrieving their own honour and my good opinion of them,

CHAP. II.

Importance of the Six Nations.

the treaty of Aix la-Chapelle, which took place about this time, rendered this and the other expedients of less value in the estimation of the colonists. They imagined, and not without reason, that their own obvious interests as well as the national honour were sacrificed by some of the stipulations of this treaty. The encroachments of the enemy on the territory of the Five Nations, the allies of the English, and their project of connecting the St. Laurence with the Mississippi, were passed over in silence, and a tacit right was thereby acknowledged to these dangerous pretensions. But what was considered particularly by the people of New England as the most reprehensible concession, was the surrender of Cape Breton. This island was regarded as the price of colonial bravery, and it was thought unfeeling and impolitic to barter away this first conspicuous garland of American glory.

---

and preventing an infamous reproach upon the duty and loyalty of the town.

It is fit that all grievances should be inquired into and redressed, so far as it is in the power of this government to do it: But I am sure the people have suffered no grievance from the government on this occasion.

I am, sir, your most assured friend and servant,

W. SHIRLEY.

Some further particulars concerning the riot. On the 17th of November, being the day on which the riot began, a committee of the council and house of representatives was appointed to inquire into the impress which had been made of the inhabitants of the province, and the disorders consequent thereon in the town of Boston, and on the 29th of November, before that committee had made a report, the house of representatives passed several resolves, and appointed a committee who upon the same day waited upon the governor at Castle William, with a copy thereof.

CHAP. II

New assembly. Nov 3. 1748.

THE new assembly met agreeably to prorogation on the third of November, and after the usual formalities, proceeded to an immediate inquiry into the question of a site for the new capitol. The last prorogation had taken place with a view to let the passions of the moment pass away, and perhaps in the hope of being able to influence particular members by personal solicitations. The governor, notwithstanding his former reserve, was now the avowed head of the party for retaining the government at Williamsburg, and in his communication he expressly wishes that the public edifices should be erected on the old foundations. A considerable change had taken place in public opinion on this head. In the assembly, immediately subsequent to the loss of the capitol, there were but fifteen votes in favour of the present site, and the spirited discussions in the public journals were calculated to increase this majority. The strong resolution manifested by the last assembly on this head had caused its dissolution, and it was supposed that the irritation produced by this measure would tend to confirm the opposition to the present site, yet contrary to all expectation, a decided majority appeared against a removal. Nor can this be ascribed to any want of virtue or intelligence in this body. By an inspection* it will be seen that

* The following is a list of the burgesses elected for the several counties, to serve in the present general assembly, viz.

For Accomac,	Thomas Parramore, Edward Allen,
Albemarle,	Joshua Fry, Charles Lynch,
Amelia,	Thomas Tabb, Wood Jones,
Augusta,	John Wilson, John Maddison,
Brunswick,	Sterling Clack, Drury Stith,

CHAP. II

it contained some of the most respectable names in Virginia.

Caroline,	John Baylor, Lunsford Lomax,
Charles City,	Richard Kennon, Edward Broadnax,
Elizabeth City,	William Westwood, John Tabb,
Essex,	William Beverly, William Dangerfield,
Fairfax,	Laurence Washington, Richard Osborne,
Frederick,	George Fairfax, Gabriel Jones,
Gloucester,	Beverley Whiting, Francis Willis,
Goochland,	George Cavington, Archibald Cary,
Hanover,	William Meriwether, John Chiswell,
Henrico,	John Bolling, Richard Randolph,
James City,	Carter Burwell, Benjamin Waller,
Isle of Wight,	John Simmons, Richard Gray,
King George,	Charles Carter, Henry Turner,
King and Queen,	John Robinson, George Braxton,
King William,	Bernard Moore, Francis West,
Lancaster,	Joseph Chinn, Peter Conway,
Louisa,	Abraham Venable, Charles Barret,
Lunenburg,	Clement Reade, Henry Embry,
Middlesex,	Ralph Wormley, Philip Grymes,
Nansemund,	Lemuel Riddick, William Hunter,
New Kent,	William Hickaday, William Massie,
Norfolk,	Willis Wilson, William Portlock,
Northampton,	Littleton Eyre, Matthew Harmanson,
Northumberland,	Presley Thornton, Spencer Ball,
Orange,	George Taylor, John Spotswood,
Princess Anne,	Anthony Wilks, Jacob Elligood,
Prince George,	Richard Bland, Francis Eppes,
Prince William,	Thomas Harrison, Joseph Blackwell,
Richmond,	William Fantleroy, John Woodbridge.
Spotsylvania,	William Waller, Rice Custis,
Stafford,	William Fitzburg, Peter Hedgeman,
Surry,	Robert Jones, Augustus Claiborne,
Warwick,	William Harwood, John Langhorne,
Westmoreland,	John Bushrod, George Lee,
York,	Thomas Nelson (secretary), Ed. Diggs,
James Town,	Philip Ludwell,
Williamsburg,	The Attorney-general,
Norfolk Town,	Robert Todd,
The College,	Beverley Randolph.

CHAP. II.

SEVERAL acts of an interesting nature were passed during this session. By one the grants in the Northern Neck were confirmed as they then stood. Petersburg and Blandford were established as towns, and the use of wooden chimnies was forbidden in them. Richmond had been established during the preceding session: All precisely at the points marked out by colonel William Byrd in his journal before alluded to. During the succeeding assembly we discover the same new born fondness for towns. Acts passed for building one in Augusta in King William, near Warwick in Henrico, and at Hunting Creek Ware house in Fairfax. During this session also, a general revisal of the laws was ordered, and Peyton Randolph, Philip Ludwell, Beverley Whiting, Carter Burwell and Benjamin Waller were appointed a committee to superintend the revisal and prepare the index. During this session too several grants of land were made out in favour of adventurers on the other side of the mountains. The houses in Philadelphia at this time amounted to two thousand and seventy-six, exclusive of Churches and public buildings.

MEANWHILE the governor and his family being on the eve of a final departure from Virginia, the president and council waited on him with an address, dictated by the sincerest respect for his public and private virtues, and the most unaffected regrets, added those of the whole colony, at his departure; they were followed by the college and municipality of Williamsburg. He had been more than twenty two years governor of the colony, and notwithstanding repeated differences in opinion with the house of burgesses, not a single expression of disrespect or incivility escaped him in his various communications with that body. As commander of the colonial forces on

Governor addressed previous to his departure.

CHAP. II.

a distant expedition, he is equally clear of offence and imputation; and when after the reduction of Louisburg an important expedition is projected against the French possessions, the Virginians are called upon to enlist under a solemn assurance that they shall be commanded by their favourite Gooch.

His character.

He appears by the stile of his communications to have been a man of an excellent capacity. His morality was recomended by the example of his private virtues: But although sincere and in general beneficial, it was tinctured by a slight shade of intolerance, principally owing to the prevailing apprehensions of popery, and the agitation of party opinion in those times.

As the reward of his long and faithful services he was created a baronet. His family formed connections in Virginia, and after his departure he continued the warm and stedfast friend of the colony. Nothing can better establish this fact than his appointment as agent to present and enforce the assembly's petition to the king for a reduction of the tax* on tobacco. He departed on

---

* The following state of the tobacco trade was published in the London General Advertiser, by an eminent Virginia merchant, at a time that the ministry intended to have laid a farthing a pound on all tobacco exported.

"In whatever light we take a view of the British tobacco plantations, they merit a large share in the British legislature, and they have been treated accordingly whenever they have obliged to have recourse to parliament.

"The general growth of tobacco for several years past is computed to be 62,000 hhds. per annum, each hogshead weighing about 900lbs. net one with another.

"The consumption of tobacco in Great Britain is supposed rather to diminish than increase, especially if we do take not into consideration the quantity of tobacco used in snuff which is said to have increased considerably.

the 14th of August, 1749, amidst the blessings and tears of the people, amongst whom he had lived as a wise and beneficent father.* CHAP. II.

The quantity of tobacco computed to be exported to foreign parts is said to be 50,000 hhds. comunibus annis, which pays no revenue to the crown as tobacco, but with regard to the balance of the trade with foreign nations, it may be truly stated at upwards of 400,000l per annum, besides the employment of above 25 000 tons of British shipping; of which 400,000l. per annum, after paying the necessary charges of foreign insurance and bringing to market, there does not remain to the maker scarce 100,000l. per annum, the other 300,000 may not be called a duty but is a tax on the maker of 300 per cent. which the planters in Europe have not to struggle with; and during the war is so great a load on British tobacco as may be doubted whether it can be supported without additional favours from the legislature.

"An additional duty of one fourth per lb laid on the exportation will take away near 50,000l. per annum from the maker, who then would have only 50 000l. per annum for their support; and this is a duty to them of cent. per cent. and whatever gloss gentlemen may please to put on such a duty this is the true fact.

"Compare this with any other branch of the British trade and see (the woolen manufactory excepted) what other branch is so extremely beneficial to Great Britain as the export tobacco trade is, with regard to the quantity of British shipping, a nursery for sailors, the bulwark of the nation, and the addition to the nation every year besides the consumption of British manufactures.

"Though the British plantation tobacco exported pays no duty, yet what is consumed in Great Britain is charged with four pence three farthings per lb and brings into the revenue in England 150 000l per annum.

"It possibly may be suggested that there are great frauds in the tobacco duties, and that the revenue amounts to much less than it ought; it may be so, but well known to be reland ing after exportation, which ware-housing will not

* His son married Miss Bowles of Maryland, who after his death was afterward married to colonel William Lewis.

CHAP. II.

1749. Thomas Lee presiden.

THE government now devolved on Robinson, the president of council, but he dying in a few days after this event, Thomas Lee as president succeeded to the administration. The installation of this gentleman was announced in the usual mode by a proclamation, in which all the existing officers were continued. It recited also

---

prevent any more than it has done with regard to the strictest regulations in regard to tea, &c.

"To supply the necessity of government, however it may be thought necessary to burthen ourselves with taxes, yet it must be obvious to all impartial persons (especially where there are so many competitors in trade, not to encourage foreigners to vie, as it will grow in every climate) especially in so desirable a branch as tobacco, and the laying a duty on export tobacco will most certainly do it.

"After being drove to the merest brink of ruin as the tobacco trade was in queen Anne's war, the administration, notwithstanding all its difficulties, found it necessary to relieve and encourage this trade. Meaning the export of tobacco by repaying the whole duty.

The growth of British plantation tobacco is, hhds.	62,000
Of which is exported, - - - - - - - - - -	50,000
Remains for home consumption, - - - - - - -	12,000

The whole duty on exportation is drawn back. The home consumption is charged with four pence three farthings per lb. duty,

And brings per annum, - - - - - Pounds,	150,000
Tobacco exported is computed to produce in the whole, per annum, - - - - - - - - - -	400,909
The necessary charge of freight, insurance, &c. is,	300,000
Leaves for the mak- - - - - - - - - -	100,000
A duty of one farthing per lb. amounts to - - -	50,000
There remains for the ma- only - - - - - -	50 000

Which is but twenty shillings a hhd for the planter, notwithstanding it raises eight pounds per hhd. towards the national stock

the commission to the duke of Albemarle as governor in chief: It concluded by proroguing the assembly to the last Thursday in the following year. CHAP. II.

THE measures of this administration were few and unimportant. Surveyors were permitted to measure and locate lands on the other side of the mountains, provided they did not interfere with the grants to the Ohio company. The assembly was farther prorogued to the last Thursday in November, but before this meeting took place the president died.

THE events of this adminstration excite no curiosity respecting the character of this gentleman. It is recorded by his cotemporaries, who still survive, that his influence and connexions in England were sufficiently powerful to have procured him the appointment of deputy governor if he had not been taken off so suddenly.* He was succeeded by Lewis Burwell† of Gloucester county, as president of council, who prorogued the assembly to the first Thursday in June. During this administration nine Cherokee chiefs, with thirty warriors, arrived in Williamsburg, for the purpose as they pretended, of opening a direct trade with Virginia. A deep and deadly hatred subsisted between this tribe and the Nottoways on account of murders alledged to have been perpetrated by the former, when in conjunction with the other Indians of the south, they had been in the habit of making excursions on Vir- 1750.

* He was the father of Philip Ludwell Lee, Richard H. Thomas L. Arthur, Francis, Lightfoot Lee, and William.

† The father of Mrs. Peter Whiting, Mr. Armstead Lightfoot, and Mrs. Ambler, of Richmond.

CHAP. II

ginia and North Carolina. A knowledge of the unquenchable spirit of revenge, which burns without any abatement from time in the breasts of this people, had given the president some uneasiness lest the Nottoways, hearing of the arrival of this deputation, should approach the city and make it the theatre of their vengeance. A very short time evinced that these fears were not unfounded. Information was received that a band of Nottoway warriors, painted and prepared for battle were approaching, and the Cherokees were advised to stand on their defence. Astonished at this information, they prepared for battle, and raised the war song: But the influence of the president prevented an encounter, by giving time for explanations. The Cherokees averred that the excesses complained of had been perpetrated by a different tribe, and the two nations smoked together the calumet of peace.

THIS incident furnishes a proof that the Indians of Virginia, called tributary Indians, enjoyed their former notions of independence, and preserved their unconquerable spirit and their external customs in defiance of their melancholy reverse of fortune, and although surrounded by the genius and power of the white man.

Theatre built.

DURING this administration the New York company of comedians were permitted to build a theatre in Williamsburg, and a taste for the elegancies as well as the more erudite parts of literature shone out beneath the patronage and example of the president. Nothing of the character of this gentleman, so far as I am acquainted, has descended in any authentic record to our times: But his surviving cotemporaries represent him to have been eminently profound and polished as a scholar and a gentleman. During his residence in England he had been compelled to submit to the

Character of Governor.

operation of trepanning in consequence of a fracture by a fall from his horse, and was ever after occasionally subject to derangements, to which his intense study in almost every branch of human knowledge was thought to have not a little contributed. His last act was a farther prorogation of the assembly to the first Thursday in March in the following year.

October 9, 1751.

But it was not in Virginia alone that the influence of literary improvement began to be felt. In the neighbouring settlement of Pennsylvania the progress of inventive wisdom kept pace with any thing that is recorded of the most polished age or nation in a given time. So early as the year 1720 a newspaper had been established in Philadelphia, and after a short interval a second was set on foot. Thenceforward improvements in political economy rapidly developed themselves, by the procreative genius of Franklin, at once the humblest and most exalted of human kind; and the spark of colonial patriotism was fanned into a flame by his terse and spirited discussions.

Literary improvements in the colonies

From these familiar but useful topics he rose all at once above the horizon in the brightness of a primal planet. The science of electricity had been little more than a collection of independent facts, badly connected and worse understood. Their uses or application had not been so much as conjectured: But the results of the successful experiments excited the curiosity of philosophers, and amongst the rest, of the young Pennsylvanian. Some observations on the late experiments, communicated to the library company of Philadelphia by a Mr. Collinson, first attracted his attention to this subject. After having ascertained the power of points in drawing and throwing off the electrical matter, which had escaped the notice of his predecessors, he effect-

CHAP. II.

ed his grand discovery of a plus and a minus state of electricity.

By deductions from this, he explained in a satisfactory manner the phænomena of the Leyden phial, which had hitherto eluded the sagacity of electricians. He afterwards demonstrated that the electricity did not reside in the coating, as had been imagined, but in the pores of the glass itself.*

He next suggested his idea of explaining the phænomena of thunder gusts and of the aurora borealis, upon electrical principles, and he conceived the sublime idea of drawing down the forked lightning from the clouds. But there is no end to an enumeration of his virtues and literary atchievements: Suffice it to say, that his name in the course of this history will be found associated with the prosperity and glories of his country.

Cotemporary with him and long united in habits of familiar and friendly intercourse, lived the self taught mathematician Godfrey, the real inventor of the quadrant denominated Hadley's. The ingenious and learned Logan of Pennsylvania has collected the evidence on this head, and it must be pronounced irresistible.† The story of this ingenious man, thus cheated of his fame, suggests the fate of the great Columbus, suffering a like injustice from the ingratitude or neglect of posterity. In Boston a press had been established earlier than in the other provinces. In Virginia until 1736 there was no newspaper, and it was the only one in the colony for many years.

Project of sir William Keith.

Before I close this period it may not be amiss to take some notice of an extraordinary project of sir William Keith for raising a revenue within

* Franklin's Life. † Miller's Retrospect,

the colonies by act of parliament. The original MSS. is in my hands, bearing date November, 1728, better than one year after Keith had been superseded in his government by major Gordon. This paper is important as being the earliest evidence on record, of an avowed project for raising an internal revenue in the colonies by an act of the British legislature. The apparent motive of the projector was to provide a regular force against the incursions of the Indians and the intrigues of France, instead of depending on the precarious and inadequate supplies of the colonial legislatures. The more immediate and particular occasion was the indisposition constantly manifested by the Quakers, who formed a majority of the Pennsylvania legislation, to war on any account, even of a defensive nature.

JUDGING from the character drawn by Benjamin Franklin for this projector, as well as the tenor of the instrument in question, there is reason to believe that he was in a great measure influenced by motives of personal ambition. This project, which is given at length, discovers considerable knowledge of the American trade, and it is drawn up with no small art and judgment. But the sagacious minister to whose consideration it was recommended by the commissioners of trade, easily detected the fallacy of its reasoning; and however insensible he might have been to he suggestions of honour and morality, he declared himself deficient in the hardihood necessary for carrying into execution a project at once so full of danger and so pernicious to commerce.

CHAP. II.

Copy of sir William Keith's scheme, presented to the king of Great Britain, November, 1728, and referred in council to the lords commissioners of trade.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"*May it please your Majesty,*

"SINCE the observations contained in the following discourse, were occasionally made in your majesty's and your royal father's service abroad, during the space of twelve years; I most humbly beg leave to lay them at your royal feet, as a natural effect of the purest loyalty to your sacred person, and the only means which is left in my power to serve the public, and to demonstrate that I am,

"May it please your Majesty,
"Your Majesty's
"Most humble, most faithful and
"Most obedient subject,
W. KEITH.

"A SHORT DISCOURSE ON THE PRESENT STATE "OF THE COLONIES IN AMERICA, WITH RE-"SPECT TO GREAT BRITAIN.

"HAPPY are the people whose lot it is to be governed by a prince who does not wholly depend upon the representations of others, but makes it a chief part of his delight to inspect the condition of his subjects, according to their several ranks and degrees; who, from the clearness of his own mind, distinguishes the true merit of his servants, leaving the liberties and properties

of his people to be equally guarded and justly defended by a punctual execution of the laws.

"THE unbounded extent of knowledge, to be daily acquired by the judicious inquiry and application of such a prince will soon abolish the use of flattery, and the pernicious effects of all designed misrepresentation. The paths of virtue and honour, with a strict adherence to truth, will be the only avenues of access to the sovereign's esteem; and the royal favour in such a reign, will ever be agreeably dispensed, in proportion to the useful conduct and true merit of the party.

"So great an example from the throne will doubtless inspire every honest breast with a better share of public spirit, men's thoughts will not then be so intent on what they can get for themselves, as on what they can do for their country. And as for such parts of the prince's prerogative and executive power, as necessarily must be intrusted with ministers, they will ever be thought an advantage and security to a nation; while the conduct of the ministry principally shines in the support of liberty, which cannot fail to gain the hearts and affections of a free people.

"WHEN, either by conquest or increase of people, foreign provinces are possessed, and colonies planted abroad, it is convenient and often necessary to substitute little dependent provincial governments, whose people, by being franchised and made partakers of the liberties and privileges belonging to the original mother state, are justly bound by its laws; and become subservient to its interests, as the true end of their incorporation.

"EVERY act of a dependent provincial government ought therefore to terminate in the advantage of the mother state, unto whom it owes its being, and by whom it is protected in all its

CHAP. II.

valuable privileges. Hence it follows, that all advantageous projects or commercial gains, in any colony, which are truly prejudicial to and inconsistent with the interest of the mother state, must be understood to be illegal, and the practice thereof unwarrantable: because they contradict the end for which the colony had a being, and are incompatible with the terms on which the people claim both privileges and protection.

"WERE these things rightly understood amongst the inhabitants of the British colonies in America, there would be less occasion for such instructions and strict prohibitions as are daily sent from England to regulate their conduct in many points. The very nature of the thing would be sufficient to direct their choice, in cultivating such parts of industry and commerce only, as would bring some advantage to the interest and trade of Great Britain: They would soon find by experience that this was the solid and true foundation, whereon to build a real interest in their mother country, and the certain means to acquire riches without envy.

"ON the other hand, where the government of a provincial colony is well regulated and all its business and commerce truly adapted to the proper end and design of the first settlement—such a province, like a choice branch springing from the main root, ought to be carefully nourished, and its just interest well guarded. No little, partial project, or party gain, should be suffered to affect it: But rather it ought to be considered and weighed in the general balance of the whole state, as an useful and profitable member; for such is the end of all colonies, and if this use cannot be made of them, it would be better for the state to be without them.

"It has ever been the maxim of all polished nations to regulate their government to the best advantage of their trading interest; whence it may be helpful to take a short view of the principal benefits arising to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies.

"1. The colonies take off and consume above one sixth part of the woollen manufactures exported from Great Britain; which is the chief staple of England, and the main support of the landed interest.

"2. They take off and consume more than double that value in linen and callicoes, which are partly the product of Britain and Ireland, and partly the profitable returns made for that product when carried to foreign countries.

"3. The luxury of the colonies, which increases daily, consumes great quantities of English manufactured silks, haberdashery, household furniture and trinkets of all sorts; as also a very considerable value in East India goods.

"4. A great revenue is raised to the crown of Britain by returns made in the produce of the plantations, especially tobacco; which, at the same time helps England to bring nearer to a balance her unprofitable trade with France.

"5. These colonies promote the interest and trade of Britain, by a vast increase of shipping, and seamen, which enables them to carry great quantities of fish to Spain, Portugal, Leghorn, &c.; furs, logwood and rice to Holland, where they keep Great Britain considerably in the balance of trade with those countries.

"6. If reasonably encouraged, the colonies are now in a condition to furnish Britain with as much of the following commodities as it can demand, viz. Masting for the navy and all sorts of timber, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, oil, rosin, cop-

CHAP. II.

per ore, with pig and bar iron; by means whereof the balance of trade to Russia and the Baltic may be very much reduced in favour of Great Britain.

"7. The profits arising to all those colonies by trade, are returned in bullion, or other useful effects, to Great Britain; where the superfluous cash, and other riches, acquired in America, must centre; which is not one of the least securities that Britain has, to keep the colonies always in due subjection.*

"8. The colonies upon the main are the granary of America, and a necessary support to the sugar plantations in the West Indies, which could not subsist without them.

"By this short view of the trade in general, we may plainly understand that these colonies may be very beneficially employed both for Great Britain and themselves, without interfering with any of the staple manufactures of England. And considering the bulk and end of the whole traffic, 'twere pity that any material branch of it should be depressed, on account of the private and particular interests, which in comparison with these, cannot justly be esteemed a national concern; for if the trade of the colonies be to the advantage of Britain, there is nothing more certain than that the discouragement of any substantial branch, for the sake of any company or

---

* Note. If this maxim was true in 1728, ought not we, of the present generation, seriously to consider what will be the probable consequences of our trading with Britain for articles of luxury and extravagance. A commerce, which not only turns the balance of trade against us, and drains us of our circulating cash, but also keeps us constantly and deeply indebted to her?

private interest, would be a loss to the nation. But, in order to set this point yet in a clearer light, we will proceed to consider some of the most obvious regulations in the American trade, for rendering the colonies truly serviceable to Great Britain.

"1. THAT all the product of the colonies, for which the manufactures and trade of Britain have a constant demand, be enumerated amongst the goods which by the law must be first transported to Britain before they can be carried to any other market.

"2. THAT every valuable merchandize, found in the English colonies, and rarely any where else, and for which there is a constant demand in Europe, shall also be enumerated, in order to assist Great Britain in the balance of trade with other countries.

"3. THAT all kinds of woolen manufactures, for which the colonies have a demand, shall continue to be brought from Britain only, and linen from Great Britain and Ireland.

"4. ALL other kind of European commodities to be carried to the colonies, (salt excepted) entry thereof first to be made in Britain, before they can be transported to any of the English colonies.

"5. THE colonies to be absolutely restrained, in their several governments, from laying any manner of duties on shipping or trade from Europe, or upon European goods transported from one colony to another.

"6. THAT the acts of parliament relating to the trade and government of the colonies be revised, and collected into one distinct body of laws, for the use of the plantations and of such as trade with them.

"SUPPOSING these things to be done, it will evidently follow that the more extensive the trade

CHAP. II

of the colonies is, the greater will be the advantage accruing to Britain therefrom; and, consequently, that the enlargement of the colonies, and the increase of their people, would still be an addition to the national strength. All smaller improvements, therefore, pretended and set up for private gain by the lesser societies, in Great Britain or elsewhere, although they might have a just pretence to bring some sort of public benefit along with them; yet if they shall appear to be hurtful to the much greater and more national concern of the trading useful colonies, they ought in justice to the public to be neglected in favour of them. It being an unalterable maxim, that a lesser public good must give place to a greater; and that it is of more moment to maintain a greater than a lesser number of subjects well employed to the advantage of any state.

"From what has been said of the nature of colonies, and the restrictions which ought to be laid on their trade, it is plain that none of the English plantations in America can, with any reason or good sense, pretend to claim an absolute legislative power within themsevles: So that, let their several constitutions be founded on ancient charters, royal patents, custom by precription, or what other legal authority you please, yet still they cannot be possessed of any rightful capacity to contradict or evade the true intent or force of any act of parliament, wherewith the wisdom of Great Britain may think fit to affect them, from time to time: And in discoursing on their legislative powers (improperly so called in a dependent government) we are to consider them only as so many corporations, at a distance, invested with ability to make temporary bye laws for themselves, agreeable to their respective situatious and climates, but no ways interfering with

the legal prerogative of the crown, or the true legislative power of the mother state.

If the governors and general assemblies of the several colonies would be pleased to consider themselves in this light, one would think it was impossible they could be so weak as to fancy that they represented the king, lords and commons of Great Britain, within their little districts. And indeed the useless, or rather hurtful and inconsistent constitution, of a negative council in all the king's provincial governments, contributed, as it is believed, to lead them into this mistake: For, so long as the king has reserved to himself in his privy council, the consideration of, and negative upon, all their laws; the method of appointing a few of the richest and proudest men in a small colony, as an upper house, with a negative on the proceedings of the king's lieutenant governor, and the people's representatives, seems not only to cramp the natural liberty of the subject there, but also the king's just power and prerogative: For it often happens that very reasonable and good bills, sometimes proposed for the benefit of the crown by the wisdom of a good governor, and at other times offered by the people's representatives, in behalf of their constituents, have been lost, and the enacting of such made impracticable, by the obstinacy of a majority in the council; only because such things did not square with their private particular interest and gain, or with the views which they form to themselves, by assuming an imaginary dignity and rank above all the rest of the king's subjects. And as to the security, which it is pretended that either the crown or proprietary may have by such a negative council, it is in fact quite otherwise; for that caution would be much better secured if this council was only a council of state to advise with the governor, and

CHAP. II.

be constant witnesses of all public transactions; and it cannot be thought that an officer who is not only under oaths and bonds, but answerable by law for his misdeeds, and removable at pleasure, would, in the face of witnesses so appointed, contradict a rational advice, thereby subjecting himself to grievous penalties and losses: Neither is it to be supposed that these men, if they had only the privilege of advising, would oppose such good bills or other reasonable propositions, as they well knew they had no legal power to reject. But while they find themselves possessed of a peremptory negative, without being in any sort accountable for their opinions, it is easy to imagine how such a power may be used on many occasions to serve their private interests and views in trade, as well as to indulge the too natural propensity which mankind have, especially abroad, to rule over and oppress their poor neighbours. Besides, an artful, corrupt governor will find means by preferments, &c. so to influence a negative council, that knowing themselves to be under no bonds, or any other valuable penalty to answer the party aggrieved by their opinions, they may without risk proceed in such manner as to screen the governor in many things which otherwise he would be personally and singly bound to account for in a legal and just way.

If then a council of state, only to advise with the governor, shall appear (in all emergencies and cases that can be proposed) to be equally useful, and not attended with the inconsistences, obstructions and disadvantages of a negative council; the one seems to be much preferable to the other, and more agreeable to that liberty and just equality which is established by the common law amongst Englishmen, and consequently less pro-

ductive of those grievances and complaints which have been so frequent hitherto from the plantations. CHAP. II.

"At first view it will appear natural enough for an Englishman, who has tasted the sweetness of that freedom which is enjoyed under the happy constitution of king, lords and commons of Great Britain, to imagine that a third part should be formed in the little governments of the plantations, in imitation of the house of lords; but if we might rightly consider it, that part of the constitution is already most properly and fully supplied by the lords of his majesty's privy council: besides, let us suppose, that instead of an house of lords in Britain, a like number of select commoners were invested with a power to set apart, and to put a negative upon the proceedings of the house of commons, consisting of three times the number of persons of equal rank, and representing all the commons of Great Britain in parliament, the inconsistency and unreasonableness of the thing does presently obtrude itself upon our minds; and yet, such is the very case of that negative, which is now practised by the councils in America.

Next to the legislative power, we shall proceed to consider the civil jurisdiction in the plantations, which by their own arts is branched out into so many different forms, almost in each colony, that it is scarcely practicable to reduce them under such heads, in any one discourse, as to make it intelligible to those who are altogether unacquainted with American affairs. On the civil jurisdiction.

"It is generally acknowlegd in the plantations that the subject is entitled by birth right unto the benefit of the common law of England; but then

CHAP. II.

as the common law has been altered from time to time, and restricted by statutes, it is still a question in many of the American courts of judicature, whether any of the English statutes, which do not particularly mention the plantations, can be of force there until they be brought over by some act of assembly in that colony where they are pleaded; and this creates such confusion, that according to the art or influence of the lawyers and attornies before the judges, who by their education are but indifferently qualified for that service, they sometimes allow the force of the particular statutes, and at other times reject the whole, especially if the bench is inclinable to be partial, which too frequently happens in these new and unsettled countries; and as men's liberties and properties in any country depend chiefly on an impartial and equal administration of justice, this is one of the most material grievances which the subjects of America have just cause to complain of; but while for the want of schools and other proper instruction in the principles of moral virtue, their people are not so well qualified even to serve on juries, and much less to act on a bench of judicature, it seems impracticable to provide a remedy until a sufficient revenue be found out amongst them, to support the charge of sending judges from England, to take their circuits by turns in the several colonies on the main, which if it is thought worthy of consideration, will appear neither to be improper nor impracticable, and until that can be done, all other attempts to rectify their courts of law will be fruitless and may be suspended.

"COURTS of chancery which are known to be necessary in many cases to correct the severity of the common law, seem to subsist there on a most

precarious footing; for it does not appear that there is a proper and legal authority to hold such a court in any of the colonies; nevertheless, by custom every where some kind of chancery is to be found in one form or other; so that when a rich man designs to contest any thing in dispute with his poor neighbour, if he can contrive to bring into chancery he is sure the matter will rarely or never be brought to issue; which on many occasions proves an intolerable oppression; wherefore, it is hoped that so high a jurisdiction, issuing immediately from the crown, will in due time be put on a more regular and certain establishment.

On the military strength.

"A MILITIA in an arbitrary and tyrannical government may possibly be of some service to the governing power, but we learn from experience that in a free country it is of little use: The people in the plantations are so few in proportion to the lands they possess, that servants being scarce and slaves excessively dear, the men are generally under a necessity there to work hard themselves in order to provide the common necessaries of life for their families; so that they cannot spare a day's time without great loss to their interest; wherefore, a militia there would become more burthensome to the poor people than it can be in any part of Europe; but, besides, it may be questioned how far it would consist with good policy to accustom all the able men in the colonies to be well exercised in arms, it seems at present to be more advisable to keep up a small, regular standing force in each province, which might be readily augmented for a time, if occasion did require, and thus, in case of war or rebellion, the whole of the regular troops might be without loss of time united or

CHAP. II.

distributed at pleasure, and if, as has been said before, a suitable revenue abroad can be raised for the defence and support of the plantations, it would be no difficult matter both to form and execute a proper scheme of this nature.

On taxes.

"LAND is so plenty and to be had so very cheap in America, that there is no such thing as a tenant to be found in that country, for every man is a landlord in fee of what he possesses, and only pays a small quit or ground rent to the lord of the soil; and this makes it impracticable to find an assembly of such freeholders in any of the colonies, who will consent to lay any tax upon lands, nor indeed is it to be expected they should voluntarily agree to raise any revenue amongst themselves, except what is absolutely necessary for erecting court houses, bridges, high ways and other needful expenses of their civil government, which is commonly levied upon stock, an excise on foreign liquors retailed, or a small poll tax, and the public there is generally in debt, because they are extremely jealous of attempts upon their liberties, and apprehensive that if at any time the public treasury was rich it might prove too great a temptation for an artful governor, in conjunction with their own representatives, to divide the spoil and betray them.

On their independency.

"IT must be allowed that a share of personal interest, or self love, influences, in some degree, every man; affection gives a natural impulse to all our actions, and though this is most perceptible in trade or commercial affairs, yet there is not any other transaction in life that passes without it; and as it is with men in this case, so we find it has ever been with all states or bodies politic, so long as they are dependent one upon another; the wisdom of the crown of Britain, there-

fore, by keeping its colonies in that situation, is very much to be applauded; while they continue so it is morally impossible that any dangerous union can be formed amongst them, because their interest in trade and all manner of business being entirely separated by their independency, every advantage that is lost or neglected by one colony, is immediately picked up by another; and the emulation that continually subsists between them in all manner of intercourse and traffic, is ever productive of envies, jealousies and cares how to gain upon each other's conduct in government or trade, every one thereby endeavouring to magnify their pretensions to the favour of the crown, by becoming more useful than their neighbours to the interest of Great Britain. But to render the colonies still more considerable to Britain, and the management of their affairs much more easy to the king and his ministers at home, it would be convenient to appoint particular officers in England, only for dispatch of business belonging to the plantations, for often persons that come from America on purpose either to complain or to support their own just rights, are at a loss how or where to apply; this uncertainty does not only fatigue the ministers, but frequently terminates in the destruction of the party, by his being referred from office to office, untill both his money and patience be wore out; such things in time may cool people's affections, and give them too mean an opinion of the justice of their mother country, which ought carefully to be prevented, for where there is liberty the inhabitants will certainly expect right, and still have an eye towards obtaining it one way or other.

On the management of plantation affairs in England.

"It may be considered, therefore, how far it would be serviceable to put all the crown's civil

CHAP. II.

officers in the plantations, of what kind soever, under the direction of the board of trade, from whom they might receive their several deputations or appointments, and to whom they ought to be accountable both for their receipts and management, and if a particular secretary was appointed for the plantation affairs only, or if the first lord commissioner of that board was permitted to have daily access to the king, in order to receive his majesty's commands in all businesses relating to the plantations, the subject's application would be reduced into so narrow a compass, and the board of trade would always be so perfectly acquainted with the king's pleasure, that great dispatch might be given, even to those distant matters, without taking up too much of the ministry's time, and interfering with other (perhaps) more important business; the people of the colonies would be pleased to find themselves thus equally regarded without giving one any undue preference to another, and all the rents, revenues, and other profits in any manner arising from the plantations would then centre in one place, where another proper member of the same board might be appointed treasurer of that particular revenue, to answer all such orders as should be issued from time to time, for the plantation service, and as the revenue from America would in all probability be increased daily, it may reasonably be expected that the expense of paying the board of trade, and other officers wholly employed in the plantation affairs, which is now borne by the civil list, would then more properly arise and be discharged out of the American fund, the overplus remaining would in time become a most useful stock for purchasing of the proprietary lands, erecting

forts, and extending the present settlements as far as the great lakes, or might be applied to such other uses as his majesty should think proper for that service. CHAP. II.

"ALL that has been said in respect of the improvement of the plantations will, it is supposed, signify very little unless a sufficient revenue can be raised to support the needful expense, in order to which it is humbly submitted, whether the duties of stamps upon parchment and paper in England, may not with good reason be extended by act of parliament to all the American plantations. Of a revenue in America.

"WHEN we do but cast an eye upon the vast tracts of land, and immense riches, which the Spanish nation have, in little more than one century, very oddly acquired in America, insomuch that the simple privilege of trading with them, on very high terms too, is become a prize worth contending for, amongst the greatest powers in Europe; surely we must on due reflection acknowledge that the preservation and enlargement of the English settlements in those parts, is of the last consequence to the trade, interest and strength of Great Britain: And moreover, considering how that the last resort of justice in the plantations is solely lodged in the king's sacred person; with the advisement of his majesty's privy council, exclusive of Westminster-hall or any other judicature, the brightening that jewel in the crown may not, perhaps, be thought unworthy of the present happy reign, to which the improvement and future security of so large a part of the British dominions, the advancement of trade, and universally supporting the glorious cause of liberty, seems to be reserved by the peculiar hand of providence." Conclusion.

CHAP. II.

REMOTELY connected with this project is the proclamation* of governor Dinwiddie, reciting a resolution of the parliament of England, respecting some proceedings of the assembly of the island of Jamaica. Nothing tends more forcibly

---

* *Virginia, ss.*

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE ROBERT DINWIDDIE,

Lieutenant-governor, and commander in chief of the said colony and dominion.

WHEREAS I have received from the right honourable the lords commissioners for trade and plantations, a copy of the resolution of the house of commons of the 23d of May, 1757, upon certain resolutions of the assembly of the island of Jamaica, on the 29th of October, 1753, to the end that his majesty's subjects in this colony may be fully apprized of the sense of that house upon such extraordinary claims; I have, therefore, thought fit by and with the advice of his majesty's council, to cause the same to be published in the Gazette, a true copy whereof is as follows, viz.

The order of the day being read for receiving the report from the committee of the whole house, to whom it was referred to consider further of the several papers which were presented to the house upon the 18th and 24th days of February, and the 17th day of March, in the last session of parliament, relating to the then governor, council, and assembly of Jamaica, and of the other papers referred to the said committee. Mr. Thomas Gore accordingly reported from the said committee, the resolutions which the committee had directed him to report to the house, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the said were again read and are as followeth, viz.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this committee, that the resolution of the assembly of the island of Jamaica, contained in the minutes of the said assembly of the 29th day of October, 1753, in the words following, viz. Resolved, that it is the inherent and undoubted right of the representatives of the people to raise and apply monies for the services and exigencies of government, and to appoint such person or persons for the receiving and issuing thereof, as

to prove the extreme jealousy of her colonies, entertained by the mother country than this paper, and that, although the plan of Keith was not acted on, she was resolved to discountenance any

---

they shall think proper; which rights this house hath exerted, and will always exert in such manner as they shall judge most conducive to the service of his majesty and the interest of his people; so far as the same imports a claim of right in the said assembly to raise and apply public money without the consent of the governor and council, is illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great Britain.

Resolved, that in the opinion of this committee, that the six last resolutions of the assembly of Jamaica, of the 29th of October, 1753, proceed upon a manifest misapprehension of his majesty's instructions to his governor, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual and extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his majesty's prerogative, or property of his subjects may be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of this kingdom be anywise affected, unless there be a clause inserted suspending the execution of such bill until his majesty's pleasure be known, and that such instruction is just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of that island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of his subjects there.

The first resolution of the committee being read a second time, was, with an amendment thereto, agreed to by the house, and is as followeth, viz

Resolved, that the resolution of the assembly of the island of Jamaica, contained in the minutes of the said assembly of the 29th day of October, 1753, in the words following, viz. Resolved, that it is the inherent and undoubted right of the representatives of the people, to raise and apply monies for the exigencies of government, and to appoint such person or persons for the receiving and issuing thereof, as they shall think proper, which right this house hath always exerted, and will always exert in such manner as they shall judge most conducive to the service of his majesty and the interests of the people, so far as the same imports a claim of right in the said assembly to raise and apply public money, without the consent of the governor and

CHAP. II.

thing like a strong assertion of rights in the colonials. Dinwiddie, who arrived in Virginia in 1752, was specially charged to lay the Jamaica resolutions, accompanied by those of the British parliament, before the assembly, for the purpose of deterring them from any similar pretensions, which would only have a tendency to excite the resentment of the national legislature.

I HAVE at length brought to a close an æra in history barren in incident, but the night is passing off, and the dawn of the American morning faintly appears in the horizon. If I should fail adequately to describe its mild radiance or the blaze of its meridian glory, it will yet be impossible by any defect of mine, wholly to shroud them from the admiration of the world.

---

council, is illegal, repugnant to the terms of his majesty's commissions to his governor of the said island, and derogatory to the crown and the rights of the people of Great Britain.

The second resolution of the committee being read a second time, an amendment was made thereunto by the house.

The house was moved that the entries in the journal of the house of the 21st and 23d days of December, 1678, of the proceeding of the house in relation to the bill for granting a supply to his majesty for paying off and disbanding the forces, may be read thus.

And the same were read accordingly.

Then the said resolution so amended was agreed to by the house, and is as followeth, viz.

Resolved, that the claim in the said resolution of a right in the assembly to appoint such person or persons for the receiving and issuing of public money as the said assembly shall think proper, is illegal, repugnant to the terms of his majesty's commissions to his governor of the said island, and derogatory to the rights of the crown of Great Britain.

The last resolution of the committee being read a second time, was agreed to by the house.

CHAPTER III.

Dawn of American genius. Confederacy of the American colonies against France.—Examination of the causes which led to this event.—Vast disproportion between English and French power in America.—Reasons of the temporary ascendance of France.—Ohio company.—Encroachment on their territory. Governor Dinwiddie resolves to remonstrate—Selects George Washington to bear his message to the French commandant on the Ohio.—The dangers and difficulties of this mission.—He delivers the message, and receives a polite denial.—The assembly make provision for expelling the intruders.—A regiment is raised.—Governor of Canada issues orders to act offensively.—Logstown surprized.—Mons. Contrecœur issues from the port of Venango with 300 canoes—Surprizes the American fort at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela.—Affair at Little Meadows.—Death of Jumonville.—Capture of the French detachment.—Junction effected between the different detachments at Great Meadows.—Information is received that a large body of French is approaching.—Distress and danger of the Virginians.—Return to Fort Necessity—Are attacked by the French and Indians, who are repulsed—They surrender on favourable terms—Are harassed by the Indians after capitulation—Reach Winchester in safety.—Stobo and Van Braam

the hostages—Their extraordinary adventures. —La Force. Liberal conduct of assembly to the Virginia troops.—Governor Dinwiddie issues orders that they should again cross the Alleghany.—Washington remonstrates in vain against this order.—Assembly refuse to appropriate funds for the completion of the regiment and independent companies.—Governor's disappointment and mortification. Virginia regiment reduced to independent companies. Regulations respecting rank introduced by British government. Washington resigns. General Braddock arrives with a body of regular troops—Attends the council of war at Annapolis. Assembly.—Liberality of Assembly.—Satisfaction of Governor. The army moves from Alexandria. Washington, by invitation of Braddock, acts as volunteer aid.—His opinion submitted to a council of war, and adopted —The general pushes on with the main body.—Col. Dunbar left behind to proceed slowly with the baggage—Army crosses the Monangahela in order of battle.—Is attacked within six miles of Fort Duquesne by a body of French and Indians—Is routed with great slaughter —Panic of the regular troops.—Death of Braddock —Coolness and bravery of Washington and the provincials—They cover the retreat of the army.—Their extreme sufferings in their retreat. Washington is sent before to the camp of Dunbar. The army reaches Fort Cumberland. Dunbar goes to Philadelphia. Dreadful incursions of the Indians. An assembly—Their liberality —Order a regiment to consist of sixteen companies. Washington appointed commander in chief of the colonial troops. Dissolution of assembly. View of the war in the other parts of America. A fast ordered by proclamation. De-

parture of Dinwiddie. John Blair president. Assembly — Presidents speech. — Answer of assembly. Dawn of Mr. Pitt's vigour. Francis Fauquier governor. Assembly dissolved. — New assembly — John Robinson speaker. General Forbes marches towards Fort Duquesne — Virginians move in detachments from Winchester Battle of Loyal Hanny. Defeat and slaughter of the British. Celebrated retreat of captain Bullet. Fort Duquesne evacuated. An assembly. Death of Fauquier — His character. View of the war in the other colonies.

CHAPTER III.

CHAP. III

HITHERTO we have witnessed the American provinces, singly and unconnected, exerting their efforts for the protection of their frontiers against their savage neighbours, or occasionally furnishing a scanty and ungracious aid to the parent state. Though sprung from the same common stock, strong prejudices, arising from a difference of charters and the jealousy of commercial competition, had tainted the minds of the colonists; and though they generally sympathized with the mother country in her good or ill fortune, and imagined that as British subjects they were equally participators in the glory of her arms and the wisdom of her political institutions: To each other their deportment was cold and formal; and their friendship appeared rather the result of a sense of duty than the impulse of feeling or attachment. A new and more splendid æra arises on our view. By an almost supernatural agency, starting all at once into manhood, new ideas arise; with their strength and boldness springs out the consciousness of their power. Driven into an union by the sense of common danger, and the sleepless ambition of an active and daring foe, they sink their local prejudices and lay the foundation of an American character. The dawn of genius appears; a thirst for glory; a taste for elegance and refinement is introduced with wealth and commerce: Grown every day better acquainted with the rich and varied productions of

Dawn of American genius.

CHAP. III.

the British classics, their minds are smitten with the delicate and exalted passions which they so ably pourtray.

THIS æra may not inaptly be called the cradle of American literature. Here were nursed those hardy and luminous spirits, who in arts and arms were afterwards to rival the worthies of antiquity. Names which call up images of honour and virtue, of extensive benevolence and consummate wisdom were at this time imbibing the sublime precepts and storing up the bright examples of the ancient sages. In this æra were slowly formed the elements of revolution; and then first was projected the model of that federal confederacy, which afterwards wrought into a more perfect form was attended with so many eventful and beneficial consequences.

BRITAIN saw for a long time, in this confederacy, only the means of advancing her own glory and the extension of her empire. She little thought that an union, apparently calculated only to humble the power of her enemies and exalt her own, would one day effect an impairment of her strength and a dismemberment of her territory.

IT may not be amiss to examine the causes which led to this union. The inquiry will lead us beyond the limits we have prescribed to ourselves; but it will give us a more clear and comprehensive view of the comparative relations of the British colonies; and by shewing at once the whole ground, enable us to correct the defects of a more partial and limited prospect.

BY an inspection of the map will be seen the vast disproportion between the French and English colonies in North America. The one inhabiting the margin of the ocean and the mouths and banks of all the rivers as high as their

sources, which discharged themselves into it, enjoyed under a genial sky and an extensive and adventurous commerce, all the blessings which wealth and independence could bestow. The cities were crowded; their fields teemed with fertility; and their rapid growth portended at no distant day the total extinguishment of French or Spanish power on the American continent.

THE position of the French on the other hand was in the highest degree unfavourable. Shut out from the ocean, except by the streams of the St. Laurence and the Mississippi, and a few cheerless settlements on the shores of Acadie, they seemed in these cold and unsociable regions less to live than to prolong an existence. But notwithstanding this striking disparity in their strength, there were some circumstances which seemed to bring the parties more on a level, and which sometimes gave France a temporary ascendancy over her rival. Although the royal charters extended the western frontier of Virginia from sea to sea, the French living at the extremities of her bounds and on the back of her central settlements, resolved to connect those distant points by a chain of forts extending from the St. Laurence to the Mississippi. They would thus be able to hold the British colonies as it were in a state of seige..... They would monopolize the whole Indian trade, and what was of infinitely more consequence, they would have all the numerous bands of warlike Indians which inhabit those vast regions, decidedly under their influence, and could direct their destructive inroads along the vast and undefended frontier.

THIS plan was not at first openly avowed. It gradually disclosed itself in the movements of

CHAP. III.

the French at Canada, and it was not finally declared until the Indian traders under the Ohio company were seized, and the farther settlement of the disputed territory was interdicted under similar penalties.

ANOTHER circumstance had a still stronger effect in equalizing the strength of the parties. The governors of Canada were generally soldiers of reputation, and had the absolute care and superintendance of Indian affairs; whereas, the English governors were generally appointed by court favour; and the province of Indian affairs was left in the hands of the traders, who had no care of the public good and were actuated only by the most sordid motives and considerations. With the exception of the Five Nations and their tributaries, the French had the art too of conciliating in a high degree the affections of the Indians; there was a greater unity and decision in their means: Whereas among the English the best projects were often rendered abortive by the cautious jealousy and tardy deliberations of their assemblies. So that though the actual force of France was indisputably inferior, it was less diffused, more compact and disposable. It could be brought to a given point with more celerity, advantages that often counterpoised the otherwise amazing disparity.

IN order to a better illustration of the succeeding events, it will be necessary to say something of the Ohio company established and composed of merchants belonging to Virginia and Maryland, and several rich commoners and lords in the mother country. This extensive association, whose views were at once territorial and commercial, anxious immediately to occupy the fertile country included within their vast grant, dispatched surveyors to form a map of the country,

even to the falls of the Ohio. This project afforded the justest uneasiness and offence to the natives, who saw that even the wilderness, whither they had retired, did not save them from the rapacity of their invaders. No attempt had been previously made to conciliate them by kindness and presents. Their rights to the lands might have been purchased for a small sum prudently expended in nails, paints, blankets and hatchets. But the avarice and rapacity of speculators had overlooked or disdained this compromise, unmindful of the melancholy train of misfortunes to which their conduct would give birth.

The French were not slow in representing this procedure in a stile best calculated to inflame the passions of this people: Not omitting at the same time to contrast their own just and conciliating policy with this rude and insolent encroachment.

But independent of the impolicy of alienating a powerful body of Indians, hitherto pacific and favourably disposed to the British, the monopoly of Indian trade exclusively vested in this company, afforded just grounds of uneasiness to the merchants in general, and their private representation had a tendency to strengthen the suspicions and jealousies inspired by the representations of France.

Emboldened by these circumstances, the French ventured to extend their encroachments even to the Ohio, and erected a fort at Au Beuf, a river which empties itself into it. Mr. Hamilton, at that time governor of Pennsylvania, laid these proceedings before the assembly of that province, and recommended the erection of trading houses, strong enough to serve at the same time as forts for the protection of British traders: But owing to the jealousies existing in the le-

CHAP. III.

gislature, this plan was only slowly and partially executed.

Robert Dinwiddie governor.

THIS vast project having been now fully and explicitly avowed, the lieutenant governor remonstrated against this daring infraction of the royal grant; and the national pride was fortunately stimulated by the fears of the frontier settlers, and the importunities of the Ohio adventurers. It was seen that the project of France, if persisted in and allowed time to mature itself, threatened not only the security, but the very existence of Virginia; and it was resolved that no time should be lost in defining a point, which, if left to the ambiguity of construction, would be productive of endless dispute and aggression.

THE next care of the governor was to find out a man fit to discharge the duties of an envoy. It could not be concealed that it was attended with great, if not insuperable difficulties. Amongst civilized nations, the character of an envoy is regarded with a sort of artificial veneration. Like the ancient heralds, their persons are looked on as sacred; and there is every where a solicitude wherever they pass, to receive them with all the forms of good breeding, and to extend to them the courtesies and civilities of life. But the ground over which our envoy had to pass was wild and solitary, and had never been trodden but by the wolf and the savage, unless occasionally perhaps by the silent and adventurous foot of the Indian trader.

IT required the union of physical and moral powers to contend successfully with these difficulties, and to the capacity of executing those duties with judgment, should be added the sanguine and adventurous temper, whose confidence borders on presumption; whose anticipation of success looks like the workings of prophecy.

Considerations calculated only to furnish matter of apprehension and danger to ordinary men, served but to inflame the ardour and ambition of George Washington, a youth scarcely yet nineteen; and on the first intimation from the governor of his intention, he embraced the proposal with that frank and unaffected warmth that bespoke a modest consciousness of his own worth.

THIS youth, afterwards called upon to fill so distinguished a station on the globe, was the third son of Augustine Washington, and the great grandson of major John Washington, who has been spoken of in the foregoing part of this work. He was born at Bridge Creek in Westmoreland county, the very spot on which his great ancestor had first made a settlement. In his early years he is represented to have betrayed a strong predilection for military life. His youthful mind would dilate and kindle at the recital of British and American prowess, and he burnt to engage in the contest which Britain manfully sustained against the united power of the house of Bourbon. At the age of fifteen, by his pressing solicitations, the place of midshipman was obtained for him: But, according to a recent biographer, the "interference of a timid and affectionate mother for a time suspended his military career."

HAVING lost his father at the age of ten, his education wanted that elegant and useful knowledge of the glorious incidents and examples to be found in the ancient classics, and his mind that hardy discipline to be acquired by the study of the mathematics. Writing, vulgar arithmetic and practical surveying, composed the total of his knowledge of books; and as his paternal estate was not equal to his ideas of independence and the liberality of his mind, he made these ac-

CHAP. III.

quirements subservient to the increase of his fortune. "His youth," adds the same biographer, "was employed in useful industry, and in the exercise of his profession of surveyor, he had an opportunity of acquiring that information respecting vacant lands, and of forming those opinions concerning their future value, which afterwards greatly contributed to the increase of his private fortune."

THE general opinion of his capacity may be gathered from his appointment, at the age of nineteen, to the station of adjutant-general with the rank of major.

SUCH was the character selected to bear the governor's message to the French commandant on the Ohio; and at a future day destined to extend the empire of liberty and reason from the St. Croix to the sources of the Mississppi, from the ocean to the borders of the lakes.

THE zeal of the youthful envoy will be collected from his journal. He set out from Williamsburg on the day on which his commission was dated, in company with an interpreter and four attendants; and having encountered incredible difficulties from the nature of the country, he had to pass through; from the intrigues of the French and the attempts of a subtle and implacable enemy, he returned with an answer from the French commandant, having made such observations on the nature of the country as were calculated at a future day to advance the military operations in this quarter.

THE answer of the French commandant was dictated by that polite and artificial courtesy peculiar to the French character, and was calculated, as it was probably intended, to arrest the progress of military preparation, by holding up the chance of accommodation. He stated that he

would transmit the letter of governor Dinwiddie to his general in Canada, by whose order he had taken possession of the place, and by whose answer his conduct should be regulated. This evasion being justly considered as amounting to a refusal, the assembly at the instance of the governor made provision for expelling the intruders by force. Funds were immediately appropriated for raising a regiment of three hundred men. The command in chief was given to Mr. Fry, who, to considerable personal respectability was supposed to add a competent knowledge of the country which was to be the seat of war. The young Washington was appointed second in command, a striking proof of the opinion entertained of his capacity, and their sense of his faithful and able discharge of his late arduous duties. CHAP. III.

MEMORIALS* had been forwarded by several colonies to the British government, detailing minutely the various encroachments of France, and Albemarle, the British ambassador at Paris, had protested in form against so palpable an infraction of the treaty of Aix la-Chapelle. When it was discovered that no prospect of an amicable adjustment remained, the colonies were severally instructed to stand upon their defence, and expel the French from the Ohio. But whilst the British were only deliberating, the French were occupying some of the most important points in the country, and strengthening themselves daily by troops from Canada and old France, and by alliances with the numerous tribes that wander on the Ohio and its branches.

AFTER the departure of Mr. Washington, having received information of the military prepara-

* *Wynne's British Empire.*

CHAP. III.

tions in Virginia and the other colonies, the governor of Canada issued orders to the commander on the Ohio, to destroy the British forts and trading houses before they could be reinforced. In obedience to these directions, the fort at Logstown was surprized, and skins and stores to the amount of twenty thousand pounds fell into the hands of the victors. At the same moment M. Contrecœur launched himself from the port of Venango with a thousand men and ten pieces of cannon in three hundred canoes, and surprized a fort which, in obedience to the advice of Mr. Washington, had been erected at the confluence of the Ohio and Monongahela.

The preparations not being yet fully completed, Mr. Washington was directed to march with two companies in advance to the Great Meadows. This movement is represented by a recent biographer to have taken place at the pressing solicitations of Washington; and the motives for it are stated to have proceeded from a "desire to protect the country, to make himself more acquainted with it, as well as with the situations and designs of the enemy, and to preserve the friendship of the savages." On his march he received information by some Indians in friendship with Virginia, that a party of workmen employed by the Ohio company to construct a fort on the south-eastern branch of the Ohio, had been driven off by the French, who were themselves actually employed in completing one at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, on the very spot which he himself in his journal had pointed out as an admirable site for this purpose. It was further stated that they saw a detachment from this place on their way to the Great Meadows, and offered to act as guides to the French encampment.

WASHINGTON lost no time in improving this information to his advantage, and having marched all night, at the approach of day his guides shewed him the French just pitching their tents in the bosom of a retired valley at a small distance from the path, and a few miles to the west of the Great Meadows.

HIS dispositions were immediately made. Captain Waggoner was ordered to take a circuit and make his appearance on an opposite hill, which overlooked the French. As soon as the party of Waggoner made their appearance on the hill, the French hastily ran to their arms: But hearing the shouts of Washington's detachment in their rear, they faced about to defend themselves against a danger more pressing and immediate. Both parties fired so nearly at the same time that it sounded like a single discharge: Not another gun was fired. Only one man escaped: Twenty one were made prisoners, and the only person killed was Jumonville, the leader of the detachment.*

Capture of the French detachment.

IN this action, inconsiderable as it was, we see the dawn of that genius which afterwards di-

* According to Wynne, De Villier, who commanded at the fort at Monongahela, sent a formal requisition to Mr. Washington to abandon his post, which he called an encroachment on the French territory, by the hands of one of his subalterns, called Jumonville, attended by a small party. But he delivering no opinion of his own upon the subject, and immediately after he says, "According to the French accounts, Jumonville and his party were either killed or taken prisoners by Washington, in a manner contrary to all the rules of war established among civilized nations." It is certainly improbable that so large a party should have been sent for pacific purposes, and that they should have encamped at a distance from the path, which in the wilderness is considered as an infallible index to hostility.

CHAP. III.

rected the expeditions to Trenton and Princeton. It had, however, nearly proved destructive of the fate of the conqueror. A report had gone abroad, originating probably with the prisoners, that Monsieur Jumonville, whilst preparing for a parley and actually engaged in reading a paper, was run through the body by col. Washington. This story, so well calculated to taint the fame and the feelings of a soldier, was circulated by the industrious policy of France. It became the subject of several angry remonstrances: It soon made its way into Europe, and all the journals rang with the melancholy story of Jumonville, and with execrations against his inhuman murderer.

TRUTH and good sense at length slowly overtook the slander: But the refutation of a calumny is infinitely more difficult than its propagation, and there were many who still wished to believe it in opposition to the most disinterested and conclusive testimony. The account of this event, given by Mr. Washington himself some time after in answer to the inquiries of one of his intimate friends, is marked with frankness and sincerity. He knew nothing (he said) of such a man as Jumonville: He could not tell which party fired first; that it was possible he might have killed him with a musket: But for a complete refutation of the slander, he invariably referred to his officers and soldiers, who were then alive, and who bore testimony to its falsehood and atrocity.

Junction at the Great Meadows.

SHORTLY after this event a junction was effected with the main body at the Great Meadows, and immediately after, being reinforced with two independent companies of regulars, the detachment moved on towards Fort Duquesne under Washington, on whom, by the death of colonel Fry, devolved the command of the expedition.

CHAP. III.

But previously, a small stockade was erected at the Great Meadows, for the security of their horses and provisions. At the westernmost foot of the Laurel Hill, only fourteen miles distant from their stockade, they were met by a party of Indians, who in their figurative language informed them that the enemy were approaching, as numerous as the pigeons in the woods. This intelligence derived credit from the report of a faithful chief, who had himself been eye witness to the arrival of a considerable reinforcement only two days before at Fort Duquesne, and was confirmed by the accounts of deserters.

Information is received that a large body of French is approaching.

The only hope of success in the expedition, was to attack the French fort before it was reinforced from Canada; and even then, a concurrence of favourable circumstances was regarded as necessary to its accomplishment. The general and faithful co-operation of the Indian auxiliaries, and a defection of the enemies' Indians; a rapid march and surprize, before the garrison was prepared for hostilities. The war had not as yet been declared in form. Only a single man of Jumonville's party had escaped; and it was hoped that h had either perished in the woods, or that he would rejoin his countrymen too late to warn them of the danger that impended over them.

The intelligence just received destroyed all those expectations. In a moment it became obvious that offensive operations must be abandoned. Instead of the original project of sweeping the French from the Ohio, Mr. Washington saw that they must abandon the past advantages, and confine themselves to the defence of the Virginia frontier. The condition of the troops was deplorably destitute. They had been five days without tasting bread, and the allowance of meat was too scanty to supply the want of so necessary an arti-

Distress and danger of the Virginians.

CHAP. III.

cle. The position which they occupied was not calculated to diminish their apprehensions. "The enemy could approach it within five miles by water, and might either pass them by a road leading through the country some distance from them, so as to cut off all supplies and starve them into a surrender, or fight them with a superiority of three to one."*

Return to Fort Necessity.

In this delicate crisis a council of war was hastily called, and an unanimous opinion was pronounced in favour of an immediate retreat to their stockade at the Great Meadows, which from the present aspect of affairs, was henceforth known by the name of Fort Necessity. The reason urged for the adoption of this measure was, that the stockade being situated at the point of union of two roads, the nature of the surrounding country would give them timely notice of the approach of an enemy. Here it was vainly hoped they might make a stand until supplies and reinforcements might arrive.

Are attacked by the French and Indians, who are repulsed.

Before the works were yet fully completed, the French and Indians, amounting as it was supposed to fifteen hundred men, made their appearance, and enabled by their great superiority and the small extent of the stockade, to spread themselves on every side, they commenced a furious fire against every point at the same moment. The shock was maintained with great steadiness and intrepidity by the Americans, not only from the interior of the stockade, but from the surrounding ditch who altho' sunk to their knees in mud and water, kept up an incessant and destructive fire. The gallantry of the troops was animated and enforced by the personal example of

* *Washington's Life.*

their youthful leader. He had early taken post on the outside of the fort, and in the midst of danger he exhorted his companions by his countenance and example.

The French fought under cover of the trees and long grass, and as it was not thought prudent to attempt taking it by storm, the battle was protracted from ten in the morning until night. No impression was yet made upon the works. The French were ignorant of the force of the garrison, but from the obstinacy of the defence there was every reason to apprehend that the conquest, if indeed attainable, would be attended with great difficulties and loss. Famine, it was true, was an auxiliary certain and fatal: But the garrison might be relieved by the militia, and in that event they would be placed between two fires, and their own retreat perhaps cut off to Fort Duquesne. These considerations induced De Villier to propose terms, and a flag of truce was dispatched to Mr. Washington for this purpose. But the proposed capitulation contained conditions too humiliating to be brooked by the aspiring spirit of the youthful leader, and they were sent back with the solemn declaration, that no necessity or danger should ever induce so base a surrender of his own honour and that of his brave companions.

An answer so full of spirit and determination was attended with the proper effect on the mind of M. De Villier. He found himself compelled to recede from his haughty demand of unconditional submission, and in the course of the night it was stipulated that the garrison should march out with the honours of war; should be permitted to retain their arms and baggage, and to

CHAP. III.

march without molestation into the inhabited parts of Virginia.*

Some stipulations were inserted in favour of the French, which are not mentioned by any historian, but which from their intimate connection with several important transactions are well entitled to notice.

It appears that a Frenchman of the name of La Force had considerable influence among the various tribes of Indians at the back of our settlements, and that after the seizure of Fort Duquesne, he had been appointed to use his best address to procure exact information of the state of the Virginia frontier, and to embroil the savage neighbours. Young Washington having received information that this emissary was travelling in disguise through the country, had him arrested, and in his possession were found papers confirming the suspicions against him, and disclosing a part of the plans and policy of France. A man possessed of such formidable powers it was deemed impolitic to treat according to the common usages of war, and the resentment of governor Dinwiddie according with his ideas of prudence, La Force was by his orders brought to Williamsburg and thrown into prison.

The opportunity to redeem this man, so meritorious for his activity and sufferings, immedi-

* According to Wynne, the terms were, that both parties should retire: The provincials to Will's Creek, within the acknowledged confines of Virginia; and the French to their former situation at Monongahela. *Vol. 2. p. 26.*

And again, he says, "Washington embraced the proposal, and delivered two officers as hostages for the restitution of the surviving prisoners of Jumonville's detachment."

ately suggested itself to De Villier; and for the performance of this condition, so important to the feelings and interest of the French cause, two hostages were demanded and received. The hostages were lieutenants Stobo and Van Braam.

ANOTHER stipulation procured by an artifice unworthy of a soldier, seemed to confound forever the fame and pride of Mr. Washington. The capitulation was drafted in French, a language with which neither Mr. Washington nor any of the party were acquainted. Of this ignorance De Villier availed himself, by inserting an expression, implying an admission on the part of Mr. Washington, that he had been the assassin of Jumonville. This imposture, together with the articles of capitulation, was afterwards published, and an apparent confirmation was for a moment obtained by its official form.*

---

* SIR,

I AM really sorry that I have it not in my power to answer your request in a more satisfactory manner. If you had favoured me with the journal a few days sooner, I would have examined it carefully, and endeavoured to point out such errors as might conduce to your use, my advantage, and the public satisfaction; but now, it is out of my power.

I had no time to make any remarks upon that piece which is called my journal. The inclosed, are observations on the French notes. They are of no use to me separated, nor will they, I believe, be of any to you, yet I send them unconnected and incoherent as they were taken; for I have no opportunity to correct them.

In regard to the journal, I can only observe in general, that I kept no regular one during that expedition; rough minutes of occurrences I certainly took; and find them as certainly, and strangely metamorphosed; some parts left out, which I remember were entered, and many things added, that never were thought of; the names of men and things

CHAP. III.

THE loss of the Virginia troops on this occasion amounted to fifty-eight in killed and wounded: But in this return was not included the loss of the independent companies. The French are supposed to have suffered much more severely;

---

egregiously miscalled; and the whole of what I saw Englished, is very incorrect and nonsensical; yet I will not pretend to say that the little body who brought it to me, has not made a literal translation, and a good one.

Short as my time is, I cannot help remarking on Villier's account of the battle of, and transactions at, the Meadows, as it is very extraordinary, and not less erroneous than inconsistent. He says the French received the first fire. It is well known that we received it at six hundred paces distance. He also says, our fears obliged us to retreat in the most disorderly manner after the capitulation. How is this consistent with his other account? he acknowledges that we sustained the attack, warmly, from ten in the morning until dark; and that he called first to parley, which strongly indicates that we were not totally absorbed in fear. If the gentleman in his account had adhered to the truth, he must have confessed, that we looked upon his offer to parley, as an artifice to get into and examine our trenches, and refused on this account, until they desired an officer might be sent to them, and gave their parole for his safe return. He might also, if he had been as great a lover of the truth as he was of vain glory, have said, that we absolutely refused their first and second proposals, and would consent to capitulate on no other terms than such as we obtained. That we were wilfully or ignorantly deceived by our interpreter, in regard to the word *assassination*, I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but, whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is, he called it the *death*, or the *loss*, of the sieur Jumonville. So we received, and so we understood it, until to our great surprize and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation. That we left our baggage and horses at the Meadows is certain; that there was not even a possibility to bring them away is equally certain, as we had every

conjecture having with some probability estimated their killed and wounded at two hundred. If the nature of the action be considered, this

CHAP. III.

---

horse belonging to the camp killed, or taken away during the action; so that it was impracticable to bring any thing off that our shoulders were not able to bear; and to wait there, was impossible, for we had scarce three days provisions, and were seventy miles from a supply, yet, to say we came off precipitately is absolutely false, notwithstanding they did contrary to articles, suffer their Indians to pillage our baggage, and commit all kinds of irregularity; we were with them until ten o'clock the next day; we destroyed our powder and other stores, nay, even our private baggage to prevent its falling into their hands, as we could not bring it off. When we had got about a mile from the place of action, we missed two or three of the wounded, and sent a party back to bring them up; this is the party he speaks of. We brought them all safe off, and encamped within three miles of the Meadows. These are circumstances, I think, that make it evidently clear, that we were not very apprehensive of danger. The colours he speaks of to be left, was a large flag of immense size and weight; our regimental colours were brought off and are now in my possession. Their gasconades, and boasted clemency, must appear in the most ludicrous light to every considerate person who reads Villier's journal; such preparations for an attack, such vigour and intrepidity as he pretends to have conducted his march with, such revenge, as by his own account appeared in his attack, considered, it will hardly be thought that compassion was his motive for calling a parley. But to sum up the whole, Mr. Villier pays himself no great compliment in saying, we were struck with a panick when matters were adjusted. We surely could not be afraid without cause, and if we had cause after capitulation, it was a reflection upon himself.

I do not doubt but your good nature will excuse the badness of my paper, and the incoherence of my writing; think you see me in a public house in a crowd, surrounded with noise, and you hit my case. You do me particular honour in offering your friendship: I wish I may be so happy as always to merit it, and deserve your correspondence, which I should be glad to cultivate. *Washington's Life.*

CHAP. III.

disproportion will not be thought surprizing. The Indians and Canadians must have been more exposed, and their great superiority of numbers would have only aggravated this evil, while the Americans were covered during the whole of the action.

In these first specimens, we behold the dawnings of future greatness. Nor are the symptoms less promising at the failure at the Great Meadows than by the victory at the Little. In the first the foresight, decision and impetuosity of the young man, during his first essay, are visible: In the second those qualities are united with steadiness and coolness. The names of Bullet, of Mercer, and of several others afterwards conspicuous for their courage and patriotism, are to be found in the muster rolls of that day; nor can it ever be uninteresting to see from what humble beginnings the glories of the country have proceeded.

Washington had scarcely commenced his march towards the inhabited parts of Virginia, when in defiance of the terms of capitulation, he found himself interrupted by the Indians, who hovered round them, occasionally appearing on their wings, or hanging on their rear, intercepting their stragglers. Their persons and effects were not secure for a moment. What they did not steal by night, they would openly lay their hands forcibly on by day, and every moment indignity the most mortifying was added to robbery and outrage the most wanton, by the unrestrained licence of regular and brutal barbarity. Night brought on no repose; for no eye could close amidst the terrors of the war whoop and the scalping knife. At length, spent with fatigue and wasted by hunger and watchings, they reached Winchester.

THE house of burgesses, with a liberality that reflects honour on their understanding, approved the conduct of the officers and soldiers engaged in this expedition in a vote of thanks, and gave three hundred pistoles as a reward of their bravery, and a temporary relief to their immediate necessities.

MEANWHILE governor Dinwiddie, without attending to the condition of the Virginia regiment or the circumstances of the country, issued orders that it should again pass the Allegany. The companies expected from Carolina and Maryland had arrived, but the regiment was not complete; nor was it yet sufficiently recovered from the hardships of the late expedition. The troops were in want of articles of comfort and even of the first necessity, and their minds had not yet forgotten their late terrors and humiliation. It required time, added to the utmost address of a beloved commander, to restore their former confidence and inspire them again with military ardour.

IN spite of these obvious considerations, they were ordered immediately to seek an enemy more than double their numbers and flushed with their late victory; to dispossess the French of Fort Duquesne or construct one in some eligible site for observing the movements of the enemy, and affording protection to the trembling inhabitants of that frontier. Against these orders, so marked by precipitation and folly, colonel Washington protested in the strongest terms. But the governor was not of a temper to give up any opinion he had once formed, and he reluctantly prepared to carry into execution the orders under the direction of colonel Jones of North Carolina, on whom devolved the duties of commander in chief.

CHAP. III.

But the funds necessary for these objects were yet to be found. For although a governor of Virginia might issue his commands for the levy and march of troops, he had no means of paying a single company, unless by the constitutional mode of legislative supply. He entertained, however, little doubt that the widom of the house of burgesses would provide for an object so interesting as the security of the frontier and the national honour. In these expectations he was confirmed by the address of that body in reply to his communication at the opening of the session; an address at once bespeaking ardour and capacity. In this, for the first time, they take notice of the French project of stretching their frontier across the British settlements from the "St. Laurence to the Mississippi, and to secure the same by forts built at the most convenient places." They take notice of the invasion of the colony, and the forcible possession of the lands of the Ohio company, contrary to the faith of treaties, and declare that those measures are calculated to rouse their indignation, as they are to demand the most serious and strict attention. They cannot doubt, they add, that the British colonies will exert themselves in a mutual assistance and unite with them in the common cause. But whatever they do, say they, we are determined on our part to withstand the impending danger, and to pursue every measure in our power to defeat these pernicious attempts of our enemies, that we may convince the world we have nothing more at heart than a zealous discharge of duty to the best of kings, and the sincerest regard to the safety and true interests of the colony.

But notwithstanding these warm professions, the assembly refused to advance a shilling to the

completion of the regiment, and even to the support of the independent companies in the pay of the king, which were sent expressly to the assistance of the colony, and the project of Dinwiddie was necessarily abandoned. CHAP. III.

NOTHING will better describe the governor's disappointment and regret at this unaccountable obstinacy than his speech in proroguing the session. Sept. 5th, 1754.

Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the house of burgesses,

THE impending danger from the violent incursions of the French, their threats and depredations, were the only motives for calling you together at this time; and the lives, liberties and properties of your constituents, are in such imminent hazard, I did not in the least doubt but that before this to have strengthened my hands with a proper supply to frustrate their malicious intentions, and especially when I received from you such strong and repeated assurances, that you "were determined on your parts to withstand the impending danger, and to pursue every measure in your power to defeat these pernicious designs of your enemies." I thought I might reasonably admit the pleasing hopes that "you would effectually provide for your country's preservation, and convince the world that you had nothing more at heart than a zealous discharge of your duty to the best of kings, and the sincerest regard for your country's welfare."

How great then, gentlemen, must be my surprize, and with what amazement must that country and the world see such high expectations cast down so low; see you called upon in the day of your country's distress, declaring your knowledge of

CHAP. III.

her danger, and declaring the greatest zeal for her service, yet find these declarations only a flourish of words; and that inconsistent with them, and our purpose for meeting you, withhold your aid, and thereby leave the enemy at full liberty to perpetrate their destructive and unjust designs.

The independent companies ordered by his majesty, clothed and paid by him, and now employed in your immediate defence, you absolutely, by your resolve to me, deny subsistence to: A thing unprecedented in any of his majesty's dominions where they have been employed in their defence from incursion or threatened invasions. I have my master's service and the safety and honour of Virginia so much and so truly at heart that I cannot but be deeply affected with a conduct so contrary to her interests, and not altogether unconcerned for you, gentlemen of the house of burgesses, that you should appear in so bad a light to his majesty, and give such ill impressions to the neigbouring colonies.

However, as I find you are determined not to do what your duty to his majesty and the present obvious danger indispensably require, I think it proper to avoid augmenting unnecessary expenses, particularly inconvenient at this time, and, therefore, to put an end to your continuance here, I do hereby prorogue you to the seventeenth day of October next, and you are accordingly prorogued to that time.

It is difficult to account* for this sudden revolution in the opinions of the assembly. Per-

* Wynne, who was a man of penetration, and appears to have drawn his information of the events he relates from the most authentic sources, gives this incident with several

haps they were of opinion that the means of the colony should not be wasted in the chemerical project of fighting for deserts and wilderness so remote from their inhabited frontier, and which seemed to be the common property of nature; they thought too, perhaps, that the expenses of equipment should be defrayed by the Ohio adventurers, or what is more probable that the expedition of the French, as it was a common grievance, should be undertaken by the common exertions of the British colonies. Meanwhile the Virginia regiment was reduced to independent companies, and Mr. Washington resigned.

His motives for this procedure, independent of the state of inaction, are stated by a recent biographer, who certainly had the best opportunity of knowing the fact, to take their rise "in

---

others, which retarded the success and embarrassed the order of military operations. "The English," said he, "were divided into separate governments, actuated by distinct and sometimes contradictory interests. (p. 27) They not only had complaints against each other, the Virginians imputing Washington's misfortunes to the people of New York, who had not fulfilled their engagements, but were also discontented among themselves. Some very immaterial points in dispute raised a quarrel between the assembly and the governor, which put a stop to all business, an extremity which both parties ought carefully to have avoided, when the danger from the common enemy was great. The governor and assembly of Pennsylvania were, from the like causes, in the same situation; and the inhabitants of New York were inflamed to the highest pitch of discontent, by a discovery they had made of some instructions which sir Danvers Osborne their late governor, who died immediately on his arrival, brought over with him. The rest of the colonies, were in a very little better situation, and had agreed on no one plan of action: If they concurred in any thing, it was in alternately blaming the backwardness, and imploring the assistance of the mother country."

CHAP. III.

orders received in the course of the winter for settling the rank of the officers of his majesty's forces, when joined or serving with the provincial forces in North America; which directed that all officers commissioned by the king, or by his general commander in chief in North America, should take rank of all officers commissioned by the governors of the respective provinces. And further, that the general and field officers of the provincial troops should have no rank when serving with the general and field officers commissioned by the crown; but that all captains, and other inferior officers of the royal troops, should take rank over provincial officers of the same grade, having senior commissions."

THESE regulations, originating in the grossest and most selfish partiality, and founded in a contempt for colonial honour and understanding, could not be brooked by the punctilious and honourable spirit of Mr. Washington. In his observations on the comparative merits of European and Virginian officers and soldiers, he saw nothing to justify this arrogant assertion of superiority, and he was determined to discountenance by his own example at least, an insult, which, if carried into a precedent, would have the most injurious effects on the courage and character of his countrymen.

MEANWHILE La Force had by almost incredible efforts broken his prison at Williamsburg, and the minds of the people of the whole country were in alarm. The opinion that before prevailed of his extraordinary address and activity, his desperate courage and fertility in resources, was by this new feat wrought into a mingled agony of terror and astonishment. Already had he reached King and Queen court house without any knowledge of the country through which he pas-

sed, without a compass, and not daring to ask a question, when he attracted the notice of a backwoodsman. Their route lay the same way; and it occurred to La Force, that by the friendship and fidelity of this man, he might escape in spite of the difficulties and dangers of his situation. Some questions proposed by La Force relative to the distance and direction of Fort Duquesne, confirmed the woodsman in his suspicions, and he arrested him as he was about to cross the ferry at West Point. In vain did La Force tempt the woodsman with an immediate offer of money, and with promises of wealth and preferment on condition that he accompanied him to Fort Duquesne. He was proof against every allurement inconsistent with his duty, and he led him back to Williamsburg.

THE condition of La Force, after this attempt, became in the highest degree distressing: He was loaded with a double weight of irons, and chained to the floor of his dungeon.

SUCH was the situation of affairs when colonel Washington, after his resignation, arrived in Williamsburg. Here, for the first time, he heard of the imprisonment and persecution of La Force, and he felt himself compelled to remonstrate with Mr. Dinwiddie against them, as an infraction of the articles of capitulation, and of the laws of honour acknowledged by soldiers. His application was strongly backed by the sympathy of the people, which now began to run strongly in favour of the prisoner: But the governor was inexorable.

MEANWHILE the hostages, Stobo and Van Braam, had been ordered for greater security to Quebec, and in retaliation of the sufferings of La Force, they too were confined in prison, but

CHAP. III.

without any additional severity. Almost at the same moment that La Force had broken his prison, Stobo and Van Braam, by efforts equally extraordinary, had escaped from Quebec, and were passing the causeway leading from the city, at the moment that the governor of Canada was airing in his carriage. Stobo succeeded in effecting his escape: But Van Braam fainting with fatigue and hunger, and despairing of being able to effect his escape, called out to the governor from beneath the arch of the causeway where he concealed himself, and desired to surrender. The governor received him in his carriage, and remanded him to prison, but without any extraordinary severity.

EVEN these facts were not unknown to Mr. Dinwiddie: Yet without being touched by so generous an example, he persisted in his unjustifiable rigour towards La Force.

MEANWHILE the troops expected from Britain arrived in Hampton Roads, under the convoy of commodore Keppell. They consisted of draughts from the regiments in Ireland, and were commanded by major general Edward Braddock, an officer of reputation, who was appointed to command in chief all the forces in North America. In a short time after, the men of war, Seahorse and Nightingale, with several transports full of troops and military stores, made their appearance, and were ordered round to Alexandria, which was fixed on as the place of rendezvous.

THE arrival of this armament was the signal for convening an assembly; and it was hoped the care manifested by the king for their security in sending so fine a body of troops to their assistance would induce a liberal and cordial disposi-

tion in the councils of the colony to co-operate for their own safety and honour.

With this view the assembly was summoned by proclamation to meet on the first day of May. About the same time the governor signified his majesty's directions, authorizing and requiring him to make and pass grants of land to the westward of the ridge of mountains, which separate the rivers Roanoak, James and Patowmac from the Mississippi, free from the payment of quit-rents, for ten years from the date of their patents. This measure originated in a wish to possess and strengthen that fine country by a hardy population, interested in its defence.

Attends convention of war at Annapolis.

On the 22d the governor and general Braddock proceeded to Annapolis in Maryland, for the purpose of meeting the governors of the other states, and on the 14th of April a grand concert of military operations was decided upon in a council composed of the governors of New England, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, assisted by the information and experience of general Braddock and commodore Keppell.

May 1. Assembly.

The assembly at length convened agreeably to proclamation, and the governor addressed them in a speech calculated to exalt their courage and rouse their indignation. The project of France for extending her dominions; and her late violent encroachments on the territory of Virginia; the paternal care of their own sovereign exemplified in dispatching to their aid a powerful fleet and army under the guidance of an able commander; the liberal contributions of the other colonial assemblies, estimates of which he submitted to them; their own personal honour and security, and the glory of their ancestors: These topics were successively presented to them, and urged with a force proportioned to their importance. Amidst

CHAP. III.

affairs of such magnitude, minor considerations were not forgotten. The distressed condition of the troops, who fought at the Great Meadows was recommended to the bounty of the assembly, and they were urged by every motive that could interest rational beings to raise a body of troops to co-operate with the British army in expelling the invaders.

Liberality of assembly

THE conduct of the assembly corresponded with the urgency of the crisis, and the governor prorogued them by a speech expressive of his satisfaction.

SOON after his arrival, general Braddock had become acquainted with the merits of Mr. Washington, and with his motives for leaving the service; and judging that his knowledge of the country, which was to be the theatre of war, would be highly beneficial, he gave him the place of volunteer aid, and admitted him into his family. This invitation colonel Washington readily accepted, "stipulating only for permission to employ himself in the arrangement of his private affairs until the general should be on his march, and that he might return to them when the active part of the campaign should be over."*

Army arrives from Alexandria

THE army now began to move from Alexandria. It consisted of two British regiments, a train of artillery and a few corps of provincials. Having reached Will's Creek, afterwards called Fort Cumberland, it halted for several days, waiting the coming up of their horses, waggons,†

---

* *Life of Washington.*

† For the principal part of the waggons, the general was indebted to the active and generous patriotism of Dr. Franklin and his son.

and provisions. The short experiment of the difficulty of the roads induced the general to adopt to a considerable extent the advice of colonel Washington, to use pack horses instead of waggons.*

Fort Cumberland was the extreme frontier settlement in Virginia; every inch beyond this was rugged and unreclaimed, unless where the silent step of the savage or the adventurous foot of the Indian trader had opened a path.

The army had been already three days in advance of this place, and had made only six miles; and the difficulties of the way were increasing at every step. Trees were to be felled; the matted underwood to be cut away; rude bridges to be thrown over creeks and torrents, to admit the passage of waggons and artillery. It became obvious that by an adherence to this plan the season would be lost for any effectual service, and the enemy would have time to receive reinforcements, which would render the success of the expedition very doubtful, if not entirely desperate. These observations were constantly enforced by the anxious solicitations of colonel Washington, from his bed where he was confined by a burning fever, brought on by fatigue of body and mind. 15th June, 1755.

This gentleman, in whose knowledge the general is said to have reposed considerable confidence, urged the propriety of leaving the wag- Washington's opinion sub-

* Whilst the army was encamped at Fort Cumberland, a large body of Indians of different nations arrived, and were kindly received by general Braddock. They were drawn up before the army in single files, and addressed after the Indian fashion, in a speech full of metaphor and allegory. The Indians replied, and mutual friendship was sworn and confirmed by several belts of wampum.

CHAP. III.

gons, heavy artillery and baggage behind with the rear guard, to follow by easy marches, and to press forward in person with the flower of the troops, some light artillery and stores.*

mitted to a council of war and adopted.

THE reasons urged by him in support of this advice were, that according to all their intelligence the French were at present weak on the Ohio, but hourly expected reinforcements; that during the present excessive drought these re-inforcements could not arrive with the necessary quantity of provisions and other supplies, because the river La Bœuf, on which they must necessarily be brought to Venango, did not then afford water enough to admit of their portage down it. By a rapid movement, therefore, it was extremely probable that the fort might be reached with a sufficient force to carry it before the arrival of the expected aid; but that if this measure was not adopted, such were the delays attendant on the march of the whole army, that "rains sufficient to raise the waters might reasonably be counted on, and the whole force of the French would probably be collected for their reception; a circumstance which might render the success of the expedition extremely doubtful."†

The general pushes on with the main body.

THIS opinion was submitted to a council of war held at the Little Meadows; and it was determined that the general should advance at the head of a select corps to consist of fourteen hundred men, unincumbered with waggons save what was necessary for the transportation of the artillery. The baggage and provisions for this force were to be transported on pack horses. The

* *Life of Washington.*

† *Ibid.*

remaining part of the army was to remain behind with all the heavy baggage, under the command of colonel Dunbar.

Colonel Innes had been previously left for the defence of Fort Cumberland, and it was determined to construct works at the Little and Great Meadows to afford a refuge in the event of any adverse fortune to the retreating army.

Yet, notwithstanding the unincumbered state of the army, they took up four days in marching only nineteen miles from their late position at the Little Meadows to the great crossings of the Yohogany.* This delay arose from the absurd application of European tactics. The march of columns, the passage of defiles, and the complex machinery of cavalry, of cannon and baggage, may do for the extensive and open plain in Europe; but in the dark and continued forests of America, this system is in the last degree mischievous and pedantic. Here every thing is to be done by surprize. You must adopt the Indian method of fight. The single file; the eye and the ear continually on the watch; the body like the leaves; the cover of the oak; the silent step; the swiftness of the deer. These are the properties that laugh to scorn the cumbrous tactics of Europe. Mr. Washington beheld with regret this pernicious system adhered to, and laments it in a letter to his brother. "I found," said he, "that instead of pushing on with vigour, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every mole-hill, and to erect bridges over every brook."†

---

* *Life of Washington*

† *Ibidem.*

CHAP. III.

It took up nearly one month to complete the remainder of the journey, a distance of not more than eighty miles: On the ninth of July the army came in sight of the Monongahela, on the opposite side of which, and at six miles distance, was seated Fort Duquesne.

It is difficult to account for the blind presumption and security of general Braddock on this occasion. Accounts well authenticated stated that a considerable reinforcement from Canada had been seen navigating Lake Ontario in batteaux, and were directing their course to the Ohio. The arrival of this force at Fort Duquesne was afterwards confirmed by some friendly Indians, together with the intelligence that most of the tribes inhabiting the Ohio, Mississippi and their branches, had been allured into a co-operation with the French. Possibly he mistook the silence and solitude of the country through which he passed, as the effects of the fear his name and presence had inspired; and the little interruption in his march from the Indians as an evidence that all idea of resistance was abandoned and that the fort would be evacuated at his approach.*

Colonel Washington was not at hand to remove these impressions. The violence of his disease had confined him to the camp at the Lit-

* This conduct is thus related by Wynne: "Having by this means lessened his line of march, he carelessly proceeded with great expedition, insomuch that his rear was left near forty miles behind; and being so incautious as seldom to bestow time to scour the woods he was to pass thro' though earnestly entreated by sir Peter Halket to proceed with caution, and to employ the Indians that were with him in scouting the woods, suffered himself when he had advanced within ten miles of the fort, to be surprized by an ambuscade of French and Indians. *Vol.* 2. 41.

CHAP. III.

tle Meadows, and he did not join the army until the eighth of July, too late to remedy the mischief, if indeed his influence could at any time have extended so far. He arrived in a covered waggon, exhausted by disease and the fatigues of his journey: But the ardour of his spirit and the urgency of the crisis would not permit him to take any repose, and he immediately entered on the duties of his station.

The army cross the Monongahela in order of battle.

In the morning of the 9th, general Braddock made preparations for passing the Monongahela. A chosen body of three hundred light and unincumbered men, under the command of colonel Gage, passed as the advanced guard for the purpose of covering the army and scouring the country. These were quickly followed by a party of two hundred, who were instructed to act as a reserve to the other detachment. The general himself, with the column of baggage, artillery and the main body of the army, passed the river at one o'clock, and proceeded in order of battle in the route of the other detachment, which moved slow, and halted occasionally for the coming up of the centre. The general had advanced but a short distance from the bank, when a quick and heavy fire was distinctly heard in the front and left flank, and the main body advanced to support it. But before this could take place parties of three hundred and two hundred successively fell back on the main body, to which they immediately communicated their panic and confusion, and from which no efforts or exertions could afterwards relieve them. The firing now extended to every point Nothing could now be more unequal than the circumstances of the two armies. The French drawn up in the form of a crescent at the skirt of a thick forest which

Is attacked within six miles of Fort Duquesne.

CHAP. III.

appeared to have been studiously cut into this form, and their position was strengthened by parties of Indians, who concealed in the grass and shrubs, ambuscaded the whole ground on the flanks almost to the edge of the river. The route of Braddock lay directly in the centre of the French position, and they had it in their power to attack him at any moment with the greatest advantage. It was thought prudent, however, to let him approach to a gentle eminence, at about one hundred yards of their centre, where a most destructive fire was poured in from behind the felled trees and brushwood, with which the French had masked their whole position at the skirt of the wood. The volley from the French centre was the signal for the Indians, who, after firing from the grass and bushes, spread themselves over the plain.

And routed with great slaughter.

The same fatal principle of manœuvering that retarded the march, was closely observed. The British were drawn up in two lines with the artillery in the centre; and they presented a solid point, black front to the fire of the enemy. Every thing that depended on courage was performed by the general. He was distinguished in front on horse back, endeavouring to dispel the fears of the troops, and crying out to them to advance, his face pictured with the violence of his internal emotions. The officers followed his gallant example. But no exhortations; no example could conquer the panic of the troops. For three hours the battle had lasted without the least intermission in the slaughter, or in the panic and confusion. The British yet kept their ground: But their firmness arose rather from obstinacy than courage. No entreaties of the officers could induce them to fire with any precision or effect. Their ammunition was wasted, and they gathered

themselves into a body twelve deep, in defiance of every effort to order, and in their confusion shot down their own men. In vain the unfortunate general attempted to restore order. He had already five horses shot from under him; and both his aids were killed at his side. Nearly half the officers were killed or wounded, and the ground was covered with dead bodies. In this dismal situation, the general received a shot in his lungs through his right arm, and fell from his horse. This was the signal for a general rout amongst the regulars. From this moment every thing was havoc, flight and dismay, and the officers, who displayed, in advancing against the enemies' flanks in the woods, the most romantic gallantry, were reluctantly hurried along with the torrent. The provincial troops, better acquainted with the Indian mode of fighting, by dispersing themselves, and covering the flight of the regulars, and prevented by their courage and experience the entire extermination of the army.*

MEANWHILE the general was brought off the field in a tumbril by colonel Washington, captain Stewart of his guards, and his servants; and by the unequalled bravery of this body he was saved from the distressful condition of a captive. It would have been a melancholy aggravation of the distress and disgrace of the whole army, to have seen their venerable leader the victim of his own too ardent courage, fall into the power of an insolent and barbarous enemy, who regarded not the rights or usages of civilized war, and whose lust of revenge and savage ferocity were the only measures of right and wrong.

---

* *Wynne's British Am. Vol. 2. p. 42.*

CHAP. III.

NOTHING could have been more imprudent than the measures pursued to remedy the disorder induced by the defeat of the advanced guard. Instead of a retreat until he had an opportunity of scouring the thickets with grape shot from his ten pieces of cannon, or of orders from the Indian allies and provincials, to advance and flank the enemies' ambush, he obstinately continued on the ground most exposed to the enemies' fire, and repeated his orders to form and advance.

THE rout of the army continued until they recrossed the Monongahela, when they again formed and proceeded in their retreat with some appearance of order. They had now an opportunity of observing more minutely the melancholy reverse of fortune, and their reflection was embittered by comparing the shattered state and bleeding remnants with its gallant plight a few hours before, when they passed the river in order of battle. More than sixty officers were either killed or wounded. Upwards of three hundred and eighty privates were killed or taken, and three hundred and twenty-eight wounded. All the baggage, stores, tents, artillery, and even the general's cabinet, containing his instructions and other papers of consequence, had fallen into the hands of the enemy. But past misfortunes were aggravated by the prospect before them. They had to travel more than sixty miles through a wilderness exhausted as they were, and if they should escape the scalping knife they must perish for the want of food.

IT is difficult to give any estimate either of the force or loss of the enemy in this action. By their own accounts both were inconsiderable, and this appears to have been the opinion of colonel Washington. Covered and almost concealed during the action, they could have suffered but little

from the fire of a confused, terrified and routed army, more intent on escaping than inflicting destruction.

The conduct of the Virginia troops in this action has been the theme of deserved eulogy. To speak the language of the time, they fought like men and died like soldiers; for out of the three companies that were in the field, scarcely thirty escaped. Captain Perroney and all his officers down to a corporal were killed. Captain Polson's company shared almost as hard a fate, only one of his men escaping. He himself was amongst the slain. Captain Stewart and his light horse behaved gallantly, having twenty five killed out of twenty nine. Colonel Washington behaved throughout with the greatest coolness and resolution. After the loss of Mr. Orne and Mr. Morris, the general's aids, who had been wounded early in the battle, on him devolved the whole duty of forwarding the orders of the commander in chief, amidst an incessant fire of marksmen of three hours continuance. He had two horses shot under him and four bullets through his clothes, yet he came off unhurt, and contributed by his coolness and activity to save the shattered remains of the army. After the battle he was dispatched to the camp of colonel Dunbar to procure some comfortable provisions for the troops, at which place he arrived at the following evening; and in a short time he was joined by the army, exhibiting a picture of wretchedness sufficient to melt into compassion every beholder.

The absence of Dunbar from the battle of Monongahela was esteemed a fortunate incident. For amidst the panic that prevailed, numbers would have been rather an injury; and but for the provisions found in his camp, no human expedient could have saved the lives of the army.

CHAP. III.

At this place died general Braddock, a man by his ardour and resolution, his noble contempt of death, his generous thirst of fame, deserving a better fate. His misfortunes and those of the army arose from a fatal mistake, into which he had fallen in common with all the officers of the regulars serving in America; an obstinate perseverance in the principles of the art of war as conducted by large armies in Europe; a too high opinion of the courage and discipline of British regulars, one somewhat bordering on contempt for the provincial troops. It was owing to this blind and fatal presumption that the provincial corps was left behind at Fort Cumberland, at the Little and Great Meadows and with Dunbar: And that only three companies of Virginians were retained with the main army, and even these perhaps merely in compliment to Mr. Washington and the colony, which was the immediate theatre of action.

But a mistake so general, that it becomes a sort of popular belief, ought to affect only in a slight degree the fame of the commander in chief. In Europe his adherence to system, added to his genius and courage, would have probably insured success to his efforts. In any event, his magnanimous courage, added to his misfortunes, will raise up for him advocates among the brave; and the traveller as he walks on the banks of the Monongahela, and contrasts the proud array and majestic spectacle of Braddock's passage of the river in the morning, with the afflicting view of a shattered army with their dying general repassing it in the afternoon, will mingle with his reflections on the capricious tenure of human greatness, a sentiment of sorrow for the fate of this gallant spirit.

MEANWHILE it became necessary to adopt some plan of operations better suited to the present condition of the army. The number of the horses was reduced, and those remaining were so exhausted that all hope of bringing off the stores, artillery and baggage, was necessarily abandoned. An attempt to defend any of the intermediate positions in the present panic of the army, was looked on as equally chimerical, and colonel Dunbar, on whom devolved the command, after destroying every thing superfluous, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, proceeded with the utmost expedition to Fort Cumberland, from whence immediately after, under pretence of wintering and recruiting, he marched to Philadelphia.

To every man of judgment in the army there appeared but one mode of alleviating the present misfortunes and averting consequences still more disastrous. It was certain that on the departure of the army, innumerable detachments would descend the Alleghany with fury, and deluge the frontiers. A strong garrison at Fort Cumberland or some other commanding position, where the remains of the army might fortify themselves, could alone furnish an efficient barrier to these irruptions. Instead of this, the sick and wounded were left at this post with only two companies of provincial militia, whilst the remainder, consisting of sixteen hundred choice men, were transported to a quarter where they could be of no immediate advantage.

THE conduct of the regular troops had a considerable effect in abating the long established notion of their great superiority: on Mr. Washington in particular it excited a strong disgust; whilst the prowess of the Virginians affected him with pleasure and admiration. In his letter to the

CHAP. III.

governor, after dwelling on the courage of the Virginia troops, he adds, "the dastardly behaviour of the regular troops (so called) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty to certain death; and at length in spite of every effort to the contrary, they broke and ran as sheep before the hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and in short every thing a prey to the enemy; and when we endeavoured to rally them in hopes of regaining the ground, and what they had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild bears of the mountains or the rivulets with our feet, for they would break in spite of every effort to prevent it."

The immediate consequences of this disastrous battle were the exposure of all the frontier settlements to the destructive incursions of the savages. Parties of French Indians had already approached Fort Cumberland, which they surrounded, and even penetrated in several points to the Blue Ridge, marking their track with blood and desolation. Dispatches arrived every hour of atrocities, whose bare recital are shocking to the feelings of human nature, and neither age, innocence nor sex offered any stay to those barbarities. In this desperate crisis the lieutenant governor thought proper immediately to summon an assembly, as the only effectual mode of affording a remedy to the complicated distresses of the country, and this body accordingly convened on Tuesday the 4th of August.

The session, which was short, was wholly occupied in providing for the wants and security of the colony, and however cautious they might have formerly been in disbursing the monies of their constituents, it appeared that when the crisis arose

answering to their ideas of necessity they could be generous if not profuse of the public resources.*

An order was made for raising a regiment, to consist of sixteen companies, and funds were set a part for this and other services, beyond what had hitherto appeared of colonial bounty. The command of this body was given to colonel Washington with the command in chief, as his commission specified, of all the forces raised and to be raised in Virginia, and with the uncommon privilege of naming his own field officers.

Nothing certainly bespeaks more forcibly the opinion thus early entertained of his capacity than this appointment: Nor was this reputation founded, as too often happens, on the glare of a single atchievement: But on the consummate prudence and address displayed during a course of the most adverse fortune. It is the mind that preserves its tenor in the midst of reverses that is alone formed for true greatness.

The situation of the colonies at this time suggested to Dr. Benjamin Franklin the propriety of adopting some efficient plan of union amongst the British colonies; and commissioners from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland met at Albany for this purpose.

---

* Mr. Marshall erroneously supposes that the assembly was in session when the news arrived of Braddock's defeat. Independent of the date, the language of the governor's communication to both houses, effectually determines this point. "I am truly sorry," he says, "for the occasion of calling you together so suddenly, but the unexpected and fatal defeat of general Braddock at Monongahela, made it absolutely necessary to call the assembly," &c.

CHAP. III.

Plan of Albany.

Dr. FRANKLIN attended here as a commissioner from Pennsylvania, and produced a plan, which, from the place of meeting, has been usually termed, "The Albany Plan of Union." This proposed, that application should be made for an act of parliament, to establish in the colonies a general government, to be administered by a president-general, appointed by the crown, and by a grand council, consisting of members chosen by the representatives of the different colonies; their number to be in direct proportion to the sums paid by each colony into the general treasury, with this restriction, that no colony should have more than seven, nor less than two representatives. The whole executive authority was committed to the president general. The power of legislation was lodged in the grand council and president-general jointly; his consent being made necessary to passing a bill into a law. The power vested in the president and council were, to declare war and peace, and to conclude treaties with the Indian nations; to regulate trade with, and to make purchases of vacant lands from them, either in the name of the crown, or of the union; to settle new colonies, to make laws for governing these until they should be erected into separate governments, and to raise troops, build forts, fit out armed vessels, and use other means for the general defence: And, to effect these things, a power was given to make laws, laying such duties, imposts, or taxes, as they should find necessary, and as would be least burdensome to the people. All laws were to be sent to England for the king's approbation; and unless disapproved of within three years, were to remain in force. All officers in the land or sea service were to be nominated by the president-general, and approved of by the general

council; civil officers were to be nominated by the council, and approved by the president." Such are the outlines of the plan proposed, for the consideration of the congress, by Dr. Franklin. After several days discussion, it was unanimously agreed to by the commissioners, a copy transmitted to each assembly, and one to the king's council. The fate of it was singular. It was disapproved of by the ministry of Great Britain, because it gave too much power to the representatives of the people; and it was rejected by every assembly, as giving to the president general, the representative of the crown, an influence greater than appeared to them proper in a plan of government intended for freemen.

MEANWHILE expresses continually arrived that a large body of Indians joined to a select corps of French had issued from Fort Duquesne, and were spreading destruction on the defenceless frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. So far from being able to restrain the fury of these irruptions, the regulars and militia pent up in forts, had the misery of viewing the desolation, which they could not relieve. The conflagration of houses; women and children ripped open whilst yet alive; old men knocked on the head and scalped, and every brutal indignity and mutilation inflicted on their bleeding bodies by the drunken triumph of savages, were rendered familiar by their frequency and repetition.

Mr. WASHINGTON, who was on his way to Williamsburg, for the purpose of conferring with the governor on the plan of operations for the campaign; for the more effectual organization of the militia, and the management of the Indians, was overtaken below Fredericksburg by an express, announcing a new irruption more destructive than any of the preceding, and he hast-

CHAP. III.

ened back to Winchester, where every object bespoke the terror excited by these dreadful invaders. "The back inhabitants, instead of assembling in arms and obtaining safety by meeting the enemy, fled into the lower country, and increased the general terror. In this state of things he endeavoured to collect and arm the men who had abandoned their houses, and to remove their wives and children to a distance from the scene of desolation and carnage exhibited on the frontiers; he gave too the most pressing orders to the new appointed officers, of whose inattention to duty he greatly complained, to hasten 1755. their recruits; and directed the county lieutenants below the Blue Ridge to order their militia immediately to Winchester. But before these orders could be carried into execution the enemy recrossed the Alleghany, with their prisoners and plunder, leaving behind them impressions of terror and dismay so deep as no time could afterwards obliterate or efface:"* This writer, to illustrate more forcibly his remarks, quotes largely from the letters and dispatches of colonel Washington. Descriptions of scenes so distressing drawn by the principal agent and rendered more vivid by the colourings of his own feelings and observation, produce an effect more striking and dramatic than the narrative of the historian. But this effect should not be weakened by a too frequent use. It may serve to embellish and illustrate a particular situation or incident: But the order of the narrative should not be materially interrupted. Under this impression I shall abstain from quotations heedlessly resorted to, and without sufficient reason; but I conceive it would be the

* *Life of Washington.*

last degree of affectation, when writing a narrative of facts, to omit any thing that may conduce to a more complete knowledge of those facts, for no better reason than because it has been adopted by another. CHAP. III.

THE same writer goes on to give a still more affecting repetition of these horrors: "Early in the ensuing spring, the enemy invited by the success of the preceding year, made another irruption into the inhabited country, and did great mischief. The number of troops on the regular establishment was totally insufficient for the protection of the frontier, and it was found impracticable to obtain effective service from the militia. The Indians divided into small parties, concealed themselves with so much dexterity, as seldom to be perceived until the blow was struck. These murders were frequently committed in the very neighbourhood of the forts, and the detachments from the garrisons, which were employed in scouring the country were generally eluded, or attacked to advantage. In one of these skirmishes, immediately in the neighbourhood of a stockade, the Americans were totally routed, and captain Mercer killed. Such was the confidence of the enemy, that the smaller forts were very frequently assaulted, and they had repeated skirmishes* 1756.

"* In one of these skirmishes, Mr. Donville, an ensign in the French service was killed, and in his pocket were found the orders given him by Dumas, the commandant on the Ohio, in which he was directed to pass Fort Cumberland, to harass the convoys, and, if possible, to burn the magazines at Conogagees. To the honour of Dumas, particular instructions were given, to restrain the Indians as far as it should be in his power, from murdering those who should fall into their hands. Unfortunately, obedience to such orders could seldom be enforced."

CHAP. III.

Governor Dinwiddie.

with such scouting parties as they fell in with. The people either abandoned the country, or attempted to secure themselves in small stockade forts, where they were in great distress for provisions, arms, and ammunition; were often surrounded and sometimes cut off. With this state of things, colonel Washington was deeply affected. "I see their situation," said he, in a letter to the lieutenant governor, "I know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants now in forts must unavoidably fall, while the remainder are flying before the barbarous foe. In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuses cast upon the officers in general, which is reflecting on me in particular, for suffering misconduct of such extraordinary kind, and the distant prospect, if any, of gaining reputation in the service, cause me to lament the hour that gave me a commission, and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign, without one hesitating moment, a command, from which I never expect to reap either honour or benefit: But on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of helpless families may be laid to my account here.

"The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me with such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease."

CHAP. III.

THESE multiplied disasters induced colonel Washington to propose a new and more effectual organization of the militia, and an increase of the regular troops: But the determined economy of the assembly refusing to sanction his projects, he proposed a plan of defence, by establishing a chain of twenty two forts to extend from the river Mayo to the Patowmac, a line of three hundred and sixty miles. This project required a force of two thousand men: But only provision for ten companies could be extorted from the assembly, and the project could therefore be only partially adopted.

"LORD LOUDON at length arrived in Virginia, and in addition to his character as commander in chief, he was clothed with the highest civil authority, having been appointed governor of the colony. A complimentary address from the regiment, stating their pleasure at his arrival and appointment, and the readiness with which they would execute his commands, was presented to him; and a very comprehensive statement of the situation of the colony in a military point of view, and of the regiment in particular, was drawn up and submitted to him by colonel Washington. In this he enumerated the errors which had prevented the completion of his regiment, showed the insufficiency of the militia, and demonstrated the superiority of an offensive over the defensive systems which had been pursued. After stating the particular situation of the forts, he proceeded to say, "it will evidently appear from the whole tenor of my conduct, but more especially from my reiterated representations, how strongly I have urged the governor and assembly to pursue different measures, and laboured to convince them by all the reasoning I was capable of offering, of the impossibility of covering so exten-

CHAP. III.

sive a frontier from Indian incursions, without more force than Virginia can maintain. I have endeavoured to demonstrate that it would require fewer men to remove the cause, than to prevent the effects while the cause exists."

"PROCEEDING then to state the services of his regiment, he added, that under the disadvantageous restraints which had been enumerated, he must be permitted to observe, that the regiment had not been inactive. "On the contrary," he said, "it has performed a vast deal of work, and has been very alert in defending the people, which will appear by observing, that notwithstanding we are more contiguous to the French and their Indian allies, and more exposed to their frequent incursions than any of the neighbouring colonies; we have not lost half the inhabitants which others have done, but considerably more soldiers in their defence. For, in the course of this campaign, since March I mean, as we have had but one constant campaign, one continued scene of action since we first entered the service, our troops have been engaged in upwards of twenty skirmishes, and we have had near one hundred men killed and wounded."

"AFTER condemning the ill judged economy shewn in raising men, he proceeded thus to describe the prevailing temper of the day, a temper by no means peculiar to that particular era. "We are either insensible of danger until it breaks upon our heads; or else, through mistaken notions of economy, evade the expense until the blow is struck, and then run into an extreme of raising militia. These, after an age as it were, is spent in assembling them, come up, make a noise for a time, oppress the inhabitants, and then return, leaving the frontiers unguarded as before. This is still our reliance, notwithstanding former ex-

perience convince us, if reason did not, that the French and Indians are watching the opportunity when it shall be lulled into fatal security, and unprepared to resist an attack, to invade the country, and by ravaging one part, terrify another; that they retreat when our militia assemble, and repeat the stroke as soon as they are dispersed; that they send down parties in the intermediate time to discover our motions, procure intelligence, and sometimes to divert the troops. Such an invasion we may expect in March, if measures to prevent it are neglected as they hitherto have been."

"THIS statement was probably presented by colonel Washington in person, who was permitted, during the winter, to visit lord Loudon in Philadelphia, where that nobleman met the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and North Carolina, and the lieutenant governor of Virginia, in order to consult with them on the measures to be taken in their respective provinces, for the ensuing campaign. He was however, disappointed in his favourite hope of being enabled to act offensively against the French on the Ohio. Lord Loudon had determined to direct all his efforts against the enemy in the northern parts of the continent, and to leave in aid of the middle and southern colonies only twelve hundred men. Instead of receiving assistance, Virginia was required to send four hundred men to the aid of South Carolina: Yet colonel Washington continued indefatigable in his endeavours to impress on Mr. Dinwiddie, and on the assembly, the importance of reviving and properly modifying their military code, which had now expired, of making a more efficient militia law, and of increasing their number of regular troops."

CHAP. III.

THE assembly prorogued to the 27th of October, was dissolved on the 9th of November, and writs were issued for a new assembly to meet on the 22d of the same month. The sole attention of government was now directed to the defence of the frontiers, and as the late disasters were supposed to flow from the sins of the people, a fast was enjoined by proclamation, for the purpose of averting the anger of heaven. As some alleviation of the present distresses, information was received that the Cherokees and Catawbas, hitherto enemies, had smoked the calumet of peace at Fort Cumberland, and had jointly taken up the war club in favour of Virginia, and danced the war dance, the usual preface of Indian war.

THE campaign to the north, with the exception of the defeat and capture of Baron Dieskaw, was equally inglorious; notwithstanding the great force employed by the colonies, it failed in every one of its parts. Johnson directed an expedition against Crown Point, and Shirley against Niagara: But owing to the lateness of the season both were abandoned, and troops put into winter quarters.

THE plan of operations conceived by the provincial generals appears to have been judicious. Its first feature was the reduction of Niagara,* for

---

"* Niagara is without exception, the most important post in America, and secures a greater number of communications, through a more extensive country, than perhaps any other pass in the world; for it is situated at the very entrance of a streight by which Lake Ontario is joined to that of Erie, which is connected with the other three great lakes by the course of the vast river St. Lawrence, which runs through them all, and carries off their superfluous waters to the ocean. A little above the fort is the Cataract of Nia-

the purpose of destroying the communication between Canada and Louisiana. The safety of New York required the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The principal passes CHAP. III.

---

gara, the most remarkable in the world for the quantity of water and the greatness of the fall; the perpendicular fall of the water being exactly one hundred and thirty-seven feet. This fall would interrupt the commerce between the two lakes, but for a road made by the French up the hilly country that lies by the streight; so that, after travelling about eight miles, persons may reimbark, and proceed, without further interruption, to the Lake Erie.

"Those who travel by land are also obliged to cross the streight; the lakes being so disposed, that without a hazardous voyage the Indians cannot otherwise pass from the north-west to the south-east parts of North America, for many hundred miles. The fort of Niagara thus naturally commands the Six Nations, and all those Indian tribes that lie to the northward of the lakes, as well as those that are scattered along the banks of the Ohio, Ourbache and Mississippi, and, according as it was possessed by the French or English, connected or disjointed Canada and Louisiana.

"From the time the French were acquainted with this place, they were fully sensible of its importance, both with respect to trade and dominion. They made several attempts to establish themselves here; but the Indians constantly opposed it, and obliged them to relinquish a fort which they had built; and guarded this spot, for a long time, with a very severe and prudent jealousy.

"But whilst we neglected to cultivate the love of the Indians, the French omitted no endeavours to gain these savages to their interest, and prevailed at last, under the name of a trading house, to erect a strong fort at the mouth of the streight. A French officer, of an enterprising genius, had been a prisoner among the Iroquois a long time; and, according to their custom, having been naturalized, grew very popular amongst them, and at last regained his liberty. He communicated to the then governor of Canada a plan for an establishment at Niagara, and undertook to execute it himself. He returned among the Iroquois, and pretending great love for their nation, which was now his own, told them he would gladly visit his brethren frequently; but it

CHAP. III.

on Lake Champlain were to have been secured. Fort Duquesne besieged, and Quebec itself threatened by an army by the Kennebeck. But the delay of lord Loudon, who was appointed the successor of Shirley, paralized these projects. The want of union and capacity in the British ministry had retarded the expedition until the season was too far advanced.

MONTCALM, a soldier of reputation, who had lately been appointed to the command of all the French in America, seized this interval of suspense and embarrassment to strike a blow that should retrieve the honour of the French arms, and establish on a firm foundation the safety of Canada. He set out from Quebec with a chosen body of French, and by a course of bold and judicious maneuvres, having distracted the attention of the Americans, he successively appeared before the important posts at Oswego and Ontario, all of which were carried with scarcely any

---

was proper for that purpose that they should allow him to build himself an house, where he might live according to his own manner; at the same time, proposing to them advantages in trade for this establishment. His request was easily granted. The house was built, and by degrees extended and strengthened by various additions, and at last became a regular fortress, which had ever since awed the Six Nations, and checked our colonies.

"As to those immense lakes, which are all in a manner commanded by this fort, the reader need only cast his eyes on the map of North America to be convinced of their importance. They afford by far the most extensive inland navigation in the whole universe. Whoever is master of them must sooner or later command that whole continent. They are all surrounded by a fine fruitful country, in a temperate pleasant climate. The day may possibly come when this noble country, which seems calculated for universal empire, will sufficiently display its own importance."

Wynne's British Am. Vol. 2. p. 102—104.

opposition. The earl of Loudon, who had arrived immediately after these disasters, contented himself with making preparations for the ensuing campaign.

Fort Granville, on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, was at the same time surprized by a body of Indians, and the garrison with their wives and children driven into captivity; whilst roving parties extending themselves, spread terror and desolation along the vast extent of undefended frontier.

The only offset to the multiplied disasters arose from a spirited incursion into the enemy's country, by colonel Armstrong at the head of two hundred and eighty provincials. He proceeded from Fort Shirley on the Juniata to Kittatinning, the rendezvous of the Morian Indians, who had destroyed Fort Granville. This settlement lay twenty-five miles above Fort Duquesne on the Ohio; and his route lay through thick woods and swamps, a distance of at least one hundred and forty miles. On the fifth day he reached the town, at one hundred yards below which he halted, on the banks of the river, and disposed his men in ambush. The Indians engaged in celebrating one of their festivals, were attacked at day break, and though wholly unprepared defended themselves with heroic bravery. Captain Jacobs, their chief, defended his house through the logs, and repeatedly rejected quarter. The house at length beng fired in several places, many were suffocated; and Jacobs, his wife, and a child called the king's son, were shot in their attempts to escape by the window. Forty Indians perished in this assault, and eleven English prisoners were released from a captivity worse than death.

CHAP. III.

To repress the future incursions of the Indians, a strong fort was built at Winchester, which was called Loudon in honour of the commander in chief. At the same time the governor of Pennsylvania concluded a peace with the Delawares, who inhabited the banks of the Susquehannah.

July 22, 1757.

MEANWHILE Dinwiddie announced his intended departure from the colony; and the council, together with the municipality of Williamsburg, addressed him in language expressive of their esteem and respect. Whilst describing their regret on account of his determination they took occasion to deplore the successless efforts of the British fleets and armies. He sailed in the early part of the following year, leaving the government, according to established usage and the king's instructions, in the hands of the president of council, John Blair.

April 24, 1758.

THE character of Dinwiddie is marked by few of those points which render a rational being conspicuous or distinguished. Previous to his appointment as governor, he had acted as clerk to a collector of the customs in one of the British West Indies. In this situation he had the virtue and sagacity to detect and expose to government, an enormous system of fraud which had been practised by his principal; and was for this service immediately appointed to the government of Virginia. In this situation, rendered critical and of great importance immediately after his arrival by having given rise to a war which raged in every quarter of the globe, his conduct is liable to several strong objections. Several charges were brought against him of avarice and extortion in the exaction of illegal fees; and against one in particular the exaction of a pistole for every patent; the assembly protested in form, by their agent Peyton Randolph, the king's attorney general, a man eminently respect-

able for his worth and talents. A still more serious ground of dispute between him and this high minded body, arose from a peculation of a more daring nature. The sum of twenty thousand pounds, transmitted him by his government, as a compensation to Virginia for monies expended by her beyond her proportion, remained unaccounted for in his hands, and he was deliberately and solemnly charged with having arrested the stream of national bounty, and diverted it to his own personal use and benefit. His rigorous proceedings to La Force shew a bosom little sensible of the sympathies of humanity; while his arrogant and contumelious deportment to Washington prove him as little attentive to the feelings and duties of a gentleman.

The administration of Blair commenced with some appearance of activity. The several measures were announced by proclamation. In one all the officers of government were continued and the assembly prorogued. By another permission is given at desire of lord Loudon to raise eight hundred men within the colony. A third directs the assembly to meet on the 30th of March, instead of the 30th of April, the day to which a former proclamation had prorogued them.

This assembly, the most respectable* by its talents and weight of character that had ever de-

* A list of representatives in assembly for the several counties in Virginia, 1758.

Accomac,	Edmund Allen, Thomas Parramore,
Albemarle,	Allen Howard, William Cabbel, junr.
Amelia,	Edmund Booker, Richard Booker,
Augusta,	John Wilson, Israel Christian,
Brunswick,	William Thornton, Edward Goodrich,
Bedford,	Zachariah Burnley, Samuel Hairstone,

CHAP. III.

liberated in America, convened agreeable to notice, and were as usual addressed by the king's representative. In the exordium of this address, the fears and passions of this body are dexterously

Caroline,	Edmund Pendleton, John Baylor,
Charles City,	Benjamin Harrison, William Kennon, jun.
Chesterfield,	Archibald Cary, Richard Eppes,
Culpeper,	
Cumberland,	George Covington, John Fleming,
Dinwiddie,	Leonard Claiborne, junr. Robert Ruffin,
Elizabeth City,	William Wager, John Tabb,
Essex,	John Upshaw, Francis Waring,
Fairfax,	George Mason, George Johnston,
Frederick,	Thomas B. Martin, George Washington,
Gloucester,	John Page, Thomas Whiting,
Goochland,	Reuben Skelton, John Paine,
Halifax,	Robert Wade, Nathaniel Terry,
Hampshire,	
Hanover,	Nath. West Dandridge, John Syme,
Henrico,	William Randolph, Bowler Cocke,
James City,	Benjamin Waller, Lewis Burwell,
Isle of Wight,	James Bridger, Joseph Bridger,
King George,	Charles Carter, Charles Carter, junr.
King and Queen,	John Robinson, George Braxton,
King William,	Peter Robinson, Harry Gaines,
Lancaster,	Charles Carter, William Ball,
Loudon,	Francis Lee, James Hamilton,
Louisa,	Thomas Johnston, Thomas Walker,
Lunenburg,	Clement Read, Matthew Marrable,
Middlesex,	Ralph Wormley, Thomas Price,
Nansemond,	Lemuel Riddick, Willis Riddick,
New Kent,	Richard Adams, Lewis Webb,
Norfolk,	George Veal, John Tatem,
Northumberland,	Presley Thornton, Spencer Ball,
Northampton,	Littleton Eyre, John Kendall,
Orange,	
Prince Edward,	Peter Legrand, Charles Anderson,
Prince George,	Richard Bland, Alexander Bolling,
Prince William,	Henry Peyton, Henry Lee,
Princess Ann,	Anthony Walke, junr. Thomas Walke,
Richmond,	John Woodbridge, Landon Carter,
Southampton,	Benjamin Symmons, William Taylor,
Spotsylvania,	William Waller, Zachariah Lewis,

assailed by the mention of a popish project for the destruction of civil and religious liberty upon the earth, and the necessity of one great and common effort among the British provinces, for defeating the intentions of the enemy, at least in America. In attempting to accomplish this desirable object, he said defensive war must be wholly abandoned. He dwelt with particular emphasis on his majesty's permission to him to issue commisions to such gentlemen of weight as felt the laudable ambition of serving their country, and concluded by declaring his majesty's express commands to him to pass but such laws only as were actually necessary for the peace and defence of the province. The assembly, in their answer, regret their inability to engage in offensive operations, but at the same time declare their willingness to do all in their power for the successful accomplishment of an object of such peculiar interest and urgency.

Francis Fauquier governor.

Francis Fauquier arrived on the 7th June, and having produced his commission of lieutenant governor in the council and taken the usual oaths of office, he issued a proclamation in which all the officers of government were continued. At the same time he dissolved the assembly, and

---

Stafford, Thompson Mason, Thomas Lee,
Surry, William Clinch, Heartwell Cocke,
Sussex, John Edmunds, John Mason,
Warwick, William Diggs, William Harwood,
Westmoreland, Richard Lee, Richard Henry Lee,
York, Dudley Diggs, Robert Carter Nicholas,
College of William and Mary, George Wythe,
James Town, Edward Champion Travis,
Norfolk Borough, William Aitchison,
Williamsburg, The Attorney-general.

CHAP. III.

directed that a general election of burgesses should take place. This body having met by prorogation, chose John Robinson for their speaker, and having presented him to the governor for his approbation, they petitioned by him that they might enjoy their ancient rights and privileges.

HITHERTO the vessel of state had wandered through a midnight and tempestuous sea, occasionally directed by flashes which shed a sudden and portentous gleam. Ignorance sat at the helm, and corruption filled the sails; and nought but the intrepid exertions of the crew had hitherto saved the wreck from the shoals and quick sands: when all at once a new light* appeared above the British horizon more glorious than the star of the morning, and the malignant influence of *Bute*† sank beneath its ascendant. As it reached its meridian, clouds, and night, and tempest passed away, to lower and rest on the house of Bourbon. From this moment the national character became impressed with images of glory.

MEANWHILE the public attention became strongly attracted to the operations against Du-
Sept. 14. quesne, the conquest of which had been decided on as one of the most important and necessary features in the campaign.

THE troops, according to the original plan of the campaign destined for the reduction of this fortress, amounting to eight thousand men, were appointed to rendezvous at Raystown. The general himself, with as many regular troops as could be spared from the service of the northern department, proceeded from Philadelphia on the 30th of November. Colonel Bouquet, with a

---

* William Pitt.

† *See Junius.* "When that noxious planet," &c.

body of two thousand men, had been previously dispatched as an advance, and from the outset, the utmost caution was used by choosing advantageous posts, and establishing depots of provisions and other necessaries to guard against a recurrence of those disasters consequent on the defeat at Monongahela.

PURSUANT to the orders of the commander in chief, the Virginia troops moved in detachments from Winchester to Fort Cumberland. The whole frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia swarmed with Indians, who emboldened by an uninterrupted career of successful cruelty, hung continually on the wings and rear of the main body and the advanced guard, and continually harassed the Virginia troops almost within sight of Fort Cumberland.

THEIR first object after their arrival at Fort Cumberland, was to open a road from that post to Raystown, where colonel Bouquet was stationed. A question had arisen by what road the army should march. That by Raystown and Franks had been generally used by the Pennsylvania and northern traders; the other led from Wills Creek by the Little and Great Meadows, and was denominated Braddock's. Both these roads had their partisans, and it is not a little curious that Bouquet should have decided in favour of Raystown as leading directly from his own state, whilst colonel Washington was equally solicitous that the army should march by the Virginia route, with which he had been acquainted for many years. It is probable that these gentlemen, notwithstanding their zeal for the success of the expedition, judged more from their habits than from any comparison of the advantages of these roads. There is reason to believe that Bou-

CHAP. III.

quet never saw the road of Braddock, and colonel Washington never that by Raystown. After some consultation that by Raystown was preferred, to the great chagrin and disappointment of colonel Washington, who persisted to the last, though ineffectually, in pointing out what he conceived the disadvantages, and what he apprehended would be the consequences of this resolution.

His letters, detailing his arguments in support of this opinion, discover a strong and vigorous capacity, together with the faculty but rarely possessed of setting the strong parts of his subject in a striking point of view, and insisting on them with peculiar force. They contain at the same time innuendos against the folly and arrogance of men in power, and the blunders of their agents in this country, which will display the proud feeling of his own worth and a haughty defiance of authority. But notwithstanding the ingenious manner in which he has defended his opinion, there is just reason to believe that he was wrong.

The route of the main body of the army lay through the whole extent of Pennsylvania. If the army had assembled at Will's Creek, Braddock's road had been incomparably superior; but as matters stood, to march by this route would have added fifty miles to the distance. It was asserted too with some appearance of reason, that the Raystown road was less subject to an inundation of its water courses, and abounded much less with difficult passes and defiles. The official letters of Braddock had described the face of the country through which he marched, "to lie across mountains and rocks of an excessive height, vastly steep and divided by torrents and rivers." Such at least is the opinion of the ingenious historian

of North America.* Speaking of Braddock he says, the general should have therefore certainly landed in Pennsylvania, and the contract for supplying his troops should have been made with some of the principal people there, who could easily have performed their contracts; and had he encamped at Frankstown or somewhere on the south west borders of that province, his road to Fort Duquesne would have been more practicable and fifty miles nearer than by Will's Creek. Later experience has fully justified the correctness of this opinion.

The different detachments of the army having assembled at Raystown, they proceeded slowly on their march through a country hitherto little known, rendered almost impassable by woods, mountains and morasses, and continually harassed by the French and Indians. Colonel Bouquet with the same formidable guard, was always kept a considerable distance in advance, for the purpose of protecting the workmen employed in making the road, and in order to repress the incursions of the Indians. By incredible labour the advance at length reached Loyal Hanning a post about fifty miles distant from Raystown, whose advantageous site pointed it out as proper for a fort. From this post major Grant was detached with a chosen body of eight hundred men to reconnoitre the country in the neighbourhood of Fort Duquesne, and make such further observations of the strength of the enemy as would facilitate the success of the main operations. During the night he reached a hill near the fort where his men were posted in order of battle, and an a party of observation was advanced, who returned

---

* *Wynne.*

CHAP. III.

after having burnt a log house near the Walls. The ensuing morning Grant posted major Lewis with a guard in his rear for the protection of the baggage, and at the same time sent an engineer with a covering party to take a plan of the works. These things passed within full view of the fort, and as if the enemy were not sufficiently apprized of his imprudence and temerity, the reveillez, by orders of the commander, was beaten by all the drums of the detachment in several places.

Battle of Loyal Hanning.

DURING the whole of this rash and arrogant parade the fort did not fire a single gun. Silence reigned within those walls that formerly resounded with the roar of cannon and the terrific din of the war whoop. These delusive appearances having confirmed the blind and fatal security of Grant, on a signal given the gates of Fort Duquesne were thrown open, and multitudes of Indians at once setting up the terrific scream of the war whoop, issued forth and spread themselves according to custom on the flanks; whilst a chosen body of French regulars proceeded in close order to the attack of the advanced party. This being almost immediately dissipated or destroyed, Grant arrived with the main body, and a sanguinary encounter took place similar in all respects to the fatal day at Monongahela: the same obstinate adherence to European tactics; the same panic, and disorder, and destruction of the troops; the blind and obstinate presumption of the commander was the same, differing only in the ultimate fate of the commanders. For the gallant spirit who commanded at Monongahela expiated his indiscretion by his blood; whereas the vain and boasting Grant was spared to obliterate this disgrace at Loyal Hanning by his superior folly and imprudence in the British senate.

CHAP. III.

At the commencement of the action major Lewis hastened with the principal part of the rear guard to the support of Grant, leaving behind him fifty Virginians with captain Bullet, for the defence of the baggage. But their united efforts were unavailing to stop the progress of the enemy, who now confident of success left their concealment, and proceeded to finish with the tomahawk and scalping knife what had been left undone by the rifle. A scene of brutal and ferocious cruelty immediately commenced, which the utmost efforts of the French were unable to put a stop to. Irritated by the fate of several of their countrymen during the battle, the Indians refused to give quarter and inhumanly butchered the English and provincials in the very act of surrender. Major Grant, the author of all these misfortunes, had barely time to save his life by giving himself up to a French officer, who had the utmost difficulty in protecting him. The bloody tomahawk was uplifted to strike, and the angry glance of the savage demanded his victim; but the Frenchman insisted on his promise and the usages of civilized warfare. The life of the gallant Lewis was exposed to greater and more imminent peril. He had been engaged for some time with an Indian whose repeated blows he had hitherto successfully parried. At length he was so fortunate as to extricate himself by the death of his enemy: But his place being immediately supplied by others, he retreated until he reached a French detachment to whose officer he surrendered himself.

Defeat and rout of British and provincials.

An universal rout now took place, and carnage unresisted and marked by those shocking enormities which characterize Indian war. In this exigence Bullet, whose magnanimous spirit was equalled only by his foresight and collection,

CHAP. III.

took immediate measures for saving the principal part of the baggage, and if possible the remains of the detachment. Having dispatched the most valuable part of the baggage with the strongest horses, he disposed the remainder at an advantageous point of the road, as a cover for his troops and rallied several of the fugitives as they came up. Aware, from the character of the enemy and their conduct during the engagement, that no quarter was to be expected, he embraced an expedient contrary to all the established laws of arms, and which under any other circumstances would have been wholly unjustifiable. Having animated the courage of his followers by a brief but expressive appeal to their character to and circumstances, he directed them to fire with precision until their enemies became too numerous, when on a signal given they were to march out with their arms as if demanding quarter.

Animated by his example, the troops literally followed the order of their leader, and as the Indians pressed on, a destructive fire unexpectedly opened from behind the baggage waggons, which checked their career and threw them into visible confusion; but their numbers increasing every moment, and apprehensive that they would attempt to get in his rear, Bullet held out the signal for capitulation. In a moment the detachment in a suppliant position and with their arms inverted, proceeded slowly towards the enemy, whose impatience would hardly permit them to wait the form of a surrender. Already the tomahawk was grasped for the purpose of vengeance, and the scalping knife thirsted to slake its fury in their blood when the terrible word *charge* was uttered by Bullet, and was repeated by the whole detachment; a most destructive volley at only eight yards distance announced the ready execution of this order, and

before the enemy could recover from the astonishment and terror excited by this procedure, a furious onset with fixed bayonets effected a complete discomfiture and route. The Indians imagined from the fury of this onset that the whole army was at hand, and never stopt till they reached the French regulars.

Bullet having gained the respite wanted, and rightly judging that to attempt any thing offensively with his handful of men, would be only a vain and desperate sacrifice, wisely continued his retreat towards the main body, collecting as he proceeded the wounded and terrified regulars who, ignorant of the country, wandered up and down without food, and haunted by incessant terrors of the savages.

In this fatal action twenty one officers and two hundred and seventy-three privates were either killed or taken. Of these the first Virginia regiment lost six officers and sixty-two privates; no other corps, the Highlanders excepted, suffered in the same proportion.

But great and serious as was the loss of men wantonly sacrificed by the rashness of their commander, it added another honourable wreath to the brow of Virginia prowess. The cool and steady valour of the provincials had a second time saved from certain destruction the regular troops. The merits of captain Bullet in particular were the theme of general and merited eulogy. Governor Fauquier who was an excellent judge of merit, was often in the habit of pronouncing the retreat of Loyal Hanning equal to any thing of its kind in history; and the appointment of Bullet to the rank of major would justify an opinion that his promotion was the reward of his conspicuous merit on this occasion.

CHAP. III.

MEANWHILE the main body of the army had marched from Loyal Hanning on the 13th, followed on the 17th by the general, who brought up the rear with the whole of the artillery. Along the whole route they were infested by small parties of Indians, who were often daring enough to fire into the camp, and often successful in taking scalps, and prisoners within the very view of the army.

THE duty of guarding against and repelling these dangerous and destructive incursions was prudently committed to the provincials, a service in which the Virginians, with colonel Washington, peculiarly distinguished themselves. In one of these skirmishes at a short distance from Loyal Hanning, colonel Washington having defeated a party of Indians, took some of them prisoners: Colonel Mercer of the second Virginia regiment, having been detached to support him came up about night, and having seen indistinctly the Indian prisoners, he concluded they were enemies and fired. Under the influence of this fatal mistake an engagement immediately commenced, which was terminated only by the admirable judgment and intrepid interference of the officers. The mistake was detected by the sound of the musquets: It was known that Washington's men fired a bullet and two buck shot: fourteen men were killed and wounded.

THE different bodies had again united and proceeded with the utmost circumspection towards Fort Duquesne, in sight of which the whole army arrived in good order on the twenty-third, and preparations immediately commenced for besieging it in form.

THIS fort, celebrated as having given rise to a most destructive war almost in every region of the globe, was situated on a point of land

formed by the junction of the Monongahela with the Ohio, and was by its real strength and importance every way disproportioned to the exaggerated picture drawn by the fears and terrors excited by repeated disasters. Every step taken by the army from Loyal Hanning contributed to keep alive those impressions. It was strewed with human bones in various stages of decay, mingled with those of horses and of oxen. As they approached, the accumulations of whitened bones and putrid bodies alternately pointed out the melancholy defeat of Braddock and more recent disaster of Grant. To within one hundred yards of the walls, the remains of these disasters extended as so many seeming proofs of the massy strength of its ramparts, as terrible trophies of the bravery of its garrison.

A NEARER and more accurate observation pointed out the fallacy of this opinion. The face of the fort, whose form was a polygon, extended only one hundred and eighty feet; and the effect of a few shells demonstrated its utter incompetency to resist a cannonade, even for a few hours. A series of unsuccessful attacks convinced the enemy that they could no longer look for success in the mistakes or blunders of the British, and fear for the first time passed from their camp into the walls of Fort Duquesne. The Indians, whose notions of policy depend wholly on the prospect of success, wavered in their attachment; and several tribes having been previously gained, withdrew from the defence of a post which the *Great Spirit* was supposed to have devoted to destruction.

DETERMINED by these decisive warnings, the French commander had for some time been preparing for the evacuation of this interesting posi-

CHAP. III.

tion, and from their posts on the Mississippi and Ohio had collected canoes and batteaux for the transportation of every thing valuable which could be withdrawn. A variety of skilful manœuvres were practised for the purpose of dividing the attention of the British, and a feint was made to call their attention to the safety of their rear, which was menaced by small parties of Indians who yet remained faithful. Every thing at length being ready, fire was communicated to various combustibles disposed for the destruction of the fort, which for the most part was constructed of wood; whilst a mine sprung at the moment of departure, completed the demolition of the fortress. A short time after the explosion, colonel Washington, with the advanced guard, entered the fortress amidst the ruins still smoking, and planted the British flag: But the enemy were beyond the reach of attack, having dropt down to their settlements at Presqu'isle and Venango.

THUS in the third year of the war, after incredible losses, dangers and humiliation, this fort passed into the hands of the British without any resistance; and after receiving such repairs and improvements as the nature of circumstances would permit, was garrisoned by a party of provincials, and called Pittsburgh in honour of the great stateman who now presided over the councils of Britain.

HAVING accomplished those necessary objects, the army and their general were seized with the tender and pious sentiment of discharging the last sad duties to the remains of their countrymen, which lay scattered round the fort. Disfigured, mutilated by wounds inflicted in battle, or torn by birds and beasts of prey, they presented a spectacle horrible to the sight, disgust-

ful to the imagination; whilst the masses of bare and whitened bones furnished a melancholy association of remote and recent disasters. Nothing could exceed the silent sublimity of feeling amongst the victors as they walked through this army of the dead: Now and then the silence was broken by the exclamation of some veteran, who had been present and had miraculously survived those calamities. The bones and bodies were collected with pious care, and buried in one common tomb; the whole army from the general to the lowest centinel assisting at the solemn ceremony.

THIS scene suggests a parallel situation in Roman history, described by the masculine eloquence of Tacitus.

"NOT far hence lays the forest of Teutoburgium, and in it the bones of Varus and his legions, by report still unburied: Hence Germanicus became inspired with a tender passion to pay the last offices to the legions and their leader: the like tenderness likewise affected the whole army. They were moved with compassion, some for the fate of their friends, others for their relations, here tragically slain. They were struck with the doleful casualties of war, and the sad lot of humanity. Cœcina was sent before to examine the gloomy recesses of the forest, to lay bridges over the pools, and upon the deceitful marshes and causeways. The army entered the doleful solitude, hideous to sight, hideous to memory. First they saw the camp of Varus, wide in circumference; and the three distinct places allotted to the different eagles shewed the number of the legions: further they beheld the ruinous intrenchment and the ditch nigh choaked up; in it the remains of the army were supposed

CHAP. III.

to have made their last effort, and in it to have found their graves. In the open fields lay their bones all bleached and bare, some separate, some on heaps, just as they had happened to fall, flying for their lives or resisting unto death. Here were scattered the limbs of horess; there pieces of broken javelins, and the trunks of trees bore the skulls of men. In the adjacent groves, were the savage altars where the barbarians had made an horrible immolation of the tribunes and principal centurians. Those who survived the slaughter, having escaped from captivity and the sword, related the sad particulars to the rest. "Here the commanders of the legions were slain; there we lost the eagles: Here Varus had his first wound; there he gave himself another, and perished by his own unhappy hand; in that place too stood the tribunal whence Arminius harangued; in this quarter, for the execution of his captives, he erected so many gibbets; in that, such a number of funeral trenches were digged, and with these circumstances of pride and despite he insulted the ensigns and eagles." Thus the Roman army buried the bones of three legions six years after the slaughter.

"Nor could any one distinguish whether he gathered the particular remains of a stranger or those of a kinsman; but all considered the whole as their friends, the whole as their relations, with heigthened resentments against the foe, at once sad and revengeful: in this pious office, so acceptable to the dead, Germanicus was a partner in the woe of the living, and upon the common tomb laid the first sod."

Having paid this sacred debt to the manes of two armies, the general confirmed by new formalities the treaty ratified with the Indians at

Easton.* and having erected a Block house at Loyal Hanning, which he dignified with the title of Fort Ligonier, he returned to Philadelphia. CHAP. III.

The capture of this interesting fortress dif-

* This meeting, independent of the honourable William Denny, esq. lieutenant-governor; Lawrence Gordon, William Logan, Richard Peters, Lynn-Ford Lardner, Benjamin Chew, John Mifflin, esquires, members of the governor's council; Isaac Norris, Joseph Fox, Joseph Galloway, John Hughes, Daniel Roberdeau, Amos Strickland, esquires, committee of the house of representatives; Charles Read, Jacob Spicer, esquires, commissioners for Indian affairs in the province of New Jersey, and a number of magistrates of this and the neighbouring province, and of the citizens of the city of Philadelphia, chiefly of the people called Quakers; consisted of George Croghan, esquire, deputy agent, for Indian affairs, under sir William Johnson.

Indians of several nations, viz.

Mohawks. Nichas, or Karaghtadie, with one woman and two boys, - - - - - - - - - - - - 4

Oneidoes. Thomas King, Anagaraghiry, Assanyquou, with three warriors captains, six warriors and thirty-three women and children, - - - - - - - - - 45

Onondagoes. Assaradonguas, with nine men and nine women and children, - - - - - - - - - - 19

Seyugas. Tokaaion, with eight men, and eleven women and children, - - - - - - - - - - - 20

Camen necas. Takeaghsado, Tagashata, or Segachadon, chief man, with seven other chiefs, thirty-seven other men, twenty-eight women, and several children, in all, - - - - - - - - - - - - 83

Tuscaroras. Unata, alias Jonathan, with five men, twelve women and two children, - - - - - - - 20

Nanticokes and Conoys, now one nation. Robert White, alias Wolahocumy, Pashaamokas, alias Charles, with sixteen men, twenty women and eighteen children, - - - - - - - - - - - - 56

Kandt, alias Last Night, with nine men, ten women and one child, - - - - - - - - - - - 91

Tuteloes. Cakanonekoanos, alias Big, Arm, Asswagarat, with six men and three women - - - - - 11

CHAP. III.

fused a general joy throughout America, but more especially through the provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland. It was officially announced to the assembly, which sat on the 22d of February, and was urged as a new motive for encreasing rather than abating the exertions of the colony. He tells them that the remainder of the regiment agreeably to the best advice and information he had been able to collect, had been stationed in the most proper and commodious forts and posts in the several counties of Hamshire, Frederick and Augusta, and the four companies of rangers in the counties of Bedford and Halifax; and that in order to the saving expense he had disbanded the militia

---

Chugnuts. Ten men and twenty women and children,	30
Chehohockes, alias Delawares and Unamies. Teedyuscung, with sundry men, women and children, -	60
Munsies, or Minisinks. Egohohowen, with sundry men, women and children, - - - - - - - -	35
Mohickons. Abraham, or Mammatuckan, with several men, women and children, - - - - - -	56
Wapings, or Pumtons. Nimham, Aquaywochtu, with sundry men, women and children, in all, - - -	47
In all,	507

Conrad Weiser, esquire, provincial interpreter; captain Henry Montour, interpreter in the Six Nation and Delaware languages; Stephen Calvin, Isaac Stille, Moses Tittamy, Delaware Indians, interpreters in the Delaware language.

"At a private conference with the Indians, on the 15th of October, 1758, present governor Denny, his council and the committee of assembly, and governor Bernard and the Jersey commissioners; chiefs of the Mohawks, Senecas and Onondagoes; chiefs of the Oneidoes, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticockes or Conoys, and Tuteloes.

"Nichas, the Mohawk chief, stood up, and directing his discourse to both governors, said,

CHAP. III.

It will be proper in this place to take a cursory view of the military operations of this year in the other colonies, there existing at this time amongst them all, an acknowledged identity of interest together with a sentiment of common attachment, arising out of their common danger.

" *Brothers*,

" We thought proper to meet you here, to have some private discourse about our nephew Teedyuscung.

" You all know that he gives out, he is the great man and chief of ten nations; this is his constant discourse. Now I, on behalf the Mohawks say, we do not know he is such a great man If he is such a great man, we desire to know who has made him so. Perhaps you have, and if this be the case, tell us so. It may be the French have made him so. We want to inquire and know whence his greatness arose.

" Tagashata on the behalf of the Senecas spoke next.

" *Brethren*,

" I, for my nation, say the same that Nichas has said; I need not repeat it. I say we do not know who has made Teedyuscung this great man over ten nations; and I want to know who made him so

" Assarandonguas spoke next, on behalf of the Onondagoes.

" *Brethren*,

" I am here to represent the Onondagoes; and I say for them, that I never heard before now that Teedyuscung was such a great man, and much less can I tell who made him so. No such thing was ever said in our towns, as that Teedyuscung was such a great man.

" Thomas King spoke

" *Brethren the governors, and all present*,

" Take notice that I speak in behalf of five nations, who have their deputies here present, viz. the Oneidoes, Cayugas, Tuscaroras, Nanticokes and Conoys, who have joined together, and now make one nation, and Tuteloes. We five are all connected together, and if any thing is said to one of us, it is communicated to all the rest.

" On their behalf I now tell you, we none of us know who has made Teedyuscung such a great man; perhaps the French have, or perhaps you have, or some among you, as

CHAP. III.

THE *army* in America, under the command of Abercrombie, amounted to fifty thousand men, of whom twenty-two thousand were regulars and marines. Independent of the eight thousand men under Forbes, destined for the capture of Fort Duquesne. This army was disposed in the following manner:—Twelve thousand under the command of general Amherst, were to make an attempt on Louisburg—whilst sixteen thousand under the immediate direction of the commander in chief were reserved for the reduction of Crown Point.

The account of the operations in the other states is taken from Wynne.

THE reduction of Louisburg, being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. On the 28th of May, gen. Amherst embarked his troops at Halifax, in No-

---

you have different governments, and are different people. We, for our parts, entirely disown that he has any authority over us, and desire to know from whence he derives his authority. A belt.

Then governor Bernard spoke.

"*Brethren of all the confederated nations*,

"As you proposed your question, concerning Teedyuscung separately, I think it proper to give you a separate answer thereto.

"I know not who made Teedyuscung so great a man; nor do I know that he is any greater than a chief of the Delaware Indians, settled at Wyomink. The title of king could not be given him by any English governor; for we know very well, that there is no such person among Indians, as what we call a king. And if we call him so, we mean no more than a Sachem or chief. I observe, in his treaties, which he has held with the governors of Pennsylvania (which I have perused since our last meeting) he says he was a woman till you made him a man, by putting a Tomahawk in his hand; and through all of those treaties, especially in the last, held at this town, he calls you his uncles, and professes that he is dependent on you; and I know not that any thing has since happened to alter his relation to you. I therefore consider him to be still your nephew.

va-Scotia, and sailed for Louisburg, with the English squadron, consisting of twenty-one line of battle ships, and twenty frigates, commanded by admiral Boscawen, that had arrived from England some time before; the whole fleet, including transports, amounted to one hundred and fifty sail. On the second of June, the fleet came safely to an anchor in Gabarus Bay, about seven miles to the westward of Louisburg. The garrison of this place was composed of two thousand five hundred regular troops, and three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, under the command of the Chevalier Drucour; and, soon after the landing of the English forces, the enemy was reinforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including sixty Indians. The mouth of the harbour was guarded by six ships of the line and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render the passage impassable to the English fleet. The governor had taken every precaution in his power to prevent a landing: he had drawn entrenchments in every part where he supposed it possible to land, supported them with batteries in convenient places, and lined them with a numerous infantry. But though this chain of posts extended two leagues and an half along the most accessible parts of the beach, some spots still remained unfortified; and on one of these the English forces were disembarked.

Upon the first appearance of the English fleet, the French governor, Drucour, sent out several detatchments to observe their motions; but gen. Amherst, by sending several sloops under a strong convoy, towards Lorembec, beyond the mouth of the harbour, drew the enemy's attention to that part of the island, while a landing was actually effected on the other side of the town, on the eighth of June, under the command of bri-

CHAP. III

gadier-general Wolfe; several sloops and frigates having previously scoured the beach with their shot. The disembarkation, however, was attended with many difficulties, from a violent surf which rolled impetuously on the beach, and a severe fire of cannon and musquetry from the enemy, who reserved their shot till the boats were almost close to the shore. Wolfe, however, pursued his point, with admirable courage and deliberation; and the soldiers, though the fire of the enemy did great execution, and many boats were overset and broke to pieces, supported and encouraged in all difficulties, by the example, spirit, and conduct, of their truly gallant commander, leaped into the water, gained the shore, (the general himself being among the first who landed), and fell upon the enemy with such order and resolution, that they soon obliged them to fly in confusion. But the difficulty of landing artillery and stores in boisterous weather, added to the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege, which were carried on with great circumspection by general Amherst.

The first thing done was to secure a point called the Lighthouse-Battery, from whence they might play upon the French ships in the harbour, which were capable of bringing all their guns to bear upon the approaches of the besiegers, and on the batteries on the other side of the harbour. Gen. Wolfe performed this service with his usual conduct, activity, and bravery; and took possession of this and all the other posts in that quarter.—His fire from this post, on the twenty fifth, silenced the island battery, which was that most immediately opposed to his. In the interim, the besieged made several sallies, but with very little effect: but the ships in the harbour still continued

to bear upon him, until the twenty-first of the following month, when one of them blew up, and communicating the fire to two others, they al so were, in a short time, consumed to the water edge. The regular approaches conducted by the engineers, under the immediate command and inspection of general Amherst, were now carried on with vigour, and drew near the covered way, and things were in a good condition to make a lodgment on it; the enemy's fire was considerably slackened; the town was consumed to the ground, in many places; and the works had suffered much, in every part. Yet the enemy still delaying to surrender, the admiral, who had, during the whole siege, co-operated with the general with remarkable harmony, cheerfully assisting him with cannon and other implements, with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and assist in working the guns and mortars; notwithstanding the severity of the weather, resolved on a stroke, which, by being decisive of the possession of the harbour, might make the reduction of the town a matter of little difficulty. He accordingly sent six hundred seamen in boats, to take or burn the two ships of the line which remained; and, if successful in this attempt, he proposed the next day to send in some of his great ships, to batter the town on the side of the harbour. This scheme was successfully executed by captains Laforey and Balfour, who entering the harbour, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty sixth days of the month, in spite of the fire from the French ships and batteries, boarded them, sword in hand, and made themselves masters of both the ships; one of which was set on fire and destroyed, being aground, but the other was towed out of the harbour in triumph.

CHAP. III.

THIS stroke, in support of the spirited endeavours of the land forces, was conclusive; the French governor, finding it impossible to stand an assault, and divers practicable breaches being effected, capitulated on the next day, by which he and his garrison became prisoners of war. Thus, at the expence of about four hundred men killed or wounded, the important island of Cape Breton, and strong town of Louisburg, were taken; in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars. with a very large quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants were sent to France in English ships; but the garrison, sea officers, sailors, and marines, amounting, in the whole, to five thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, were carried prisoners to England.

As this island, and the town of Louisburg, were of the greatest importance to France, and the centre of their valuable fishery, a constant repository for their privateers, who from thence in great numbers infested the colonies, and the key to their settlements on the continent of North-America; a description of both, while they remained in the hands of the enemy, will not, we hope, prove disagreeable to the reader, especially as the island is now ceded to England, the fortifications demolished, and the strong forts and batteries rendered a confused heap of ruins.

THE town of Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton, was situated in the latitude of 45 deg. 50 min. north, and 58 deg. 35 min. west, of the meridian of London. It was of a middling size; the houses of wood, on stone foundations, which were carried about six feet above the ground.—The town was walled, and extremely well fortified in the modern manner: there was, indeed, one part without any wall, for about an hundred yards;

but it would have been here quite unnecessary, the sea flowing close to the town, and therefore a pallisadoe was judged a sufficient defence. Even small barks could not approach it, for want of a sufficient depth of water; and ships were obliged to keep at a very considerable distance, on account of rocks and shoals. Besides, there were two collateral bastions, which flanked this part very advantageously. In the centre of one of the chief bastions was a strong building, with a moat on the side towards the town, which was called the citadel, though it had neither artillery nor a structure proper to receive any: the entrance to it, indeed, was over a draw-bridge; on one side of which was a corps de garde, and advanced centinels on the other. Within this building were the apartments for the governor, the barracks for the garrison, and the arsenal; and under the platform of the redoubt, a magazine, always well furnished with military stores. The parish church also stood within the citadel; and without it was another, belonging to the hospital of St. Jean de Dieu, an elegant, spacious structure, though founded long since.

The harbour is large and safe, but the entrance very narrow; being confined between an island, on which was a strong fort, and the opposite side, where was a very high tower, made use of as a light house. Here was a large fortification, called the Royal Battery, which defended the mouth of the harbour; and beyond it another fort, built farther within the harbour. From this fort the coast winds inward, and forms a large bay, with a good depth of water, defended from all winds; and here the large vessels were laid up in winter; but in summer they anchored before the town, at about a quarter of a league distance; though smaller ships might come within a cable's length of the shore,

CHAP. III.

and lie quiet from all winds except the east, which blows right into the harbour's mouth.

THE entrance of the harbour is very safe, there being only one rock, which is under water; but the sands near it are dry. In winter, however, the harbour is entirely frozen over: that season begins here towards the end of November, and lasts till May or June. Sometimes the frosts set in sooner, and are more intense; it not being uncommon for the harbour to be wholly frozen over in October.

THE island produces a great quantity of timber, particularly oaks of a prodigious size, pines fit for masts, cedar, ash, plane-trees, and aspins. and contains excellent coal-mines. The great length, and intense cold, of the winters, being a great impediment to agriculture, the inhabitants made fishing their sole occupation; and their example was followed by the inhabitants of St. John's, a small adjacent island in the gulph of St. Laurence, which submitted immediately, upon the reduction of Louisburg.

IN the mean time, the military operations on the continent were carried on with equal vigour. The forces under the immediate conduct of gen. Abercrombie, consisting of near seven thousand regular troops and ten thousand Provincials, embarked, in the beginning of July, on the Lake George, in the neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred and thirty-five whale boats, with provisions, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of artillery being mounted on rafts to cover the intended landing, which was effected without opposition. The general then formed his troops into three columns, and marched against Ticonderoga, a fort, situated on a point of land between Lake George and a narrow gut communicating with Lake Champlain,

secured by a morass in front, and on the other three sides surrounded with water.

The enemy's advanced guard fled on his approach, with a great precipitation, deserting a logged camp, after having burnt their tents, &c. The country was all a thick wood, thro' which the English forces continued their march, but found it impassable, with any regularity, for such a body of men; and the guides proving extremely unskilful, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken, falling in one upon another.—Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a party of French regulars, of about four hundred men, who had lost their way in their retreat from their advanced post: a skirmish ensued, in which the enemy were routed, with considerable loss; one hundred and forty-eight being taken prisoners, including five officers. This trifling advantage was dearly bought with the loss of lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted; having distinguished himself, in a peculiar manner, by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and acquired the esteem and love of the soldiers by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address. The troops were now so greatly fatigued and disordered, from want of rest and refreshment, that general Abercrombie thought it adviseable to march back to the landing place. As soon as the men were recovered from their fatigue, lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet was detached with a regiment of regulars, six companies of Royal Americans, and a body of Rangers, to take possession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which had been deserted by the enemy.

CHAP. III.

ABERCROMBIE having secured this post, advanced to Ticonderoga, where the enemy had made a very strong line, upwards of eight feet high, on that part of the front where the morass failed, defended by cannon, and near six thousand men, including Canadians and Indians. A great number of felled trees, with their branches outward, were spread before the entrenchment, which projected in such a manner as to render it almost inaccessible.

NEVERTHELESS, the engineer who was sent to reconnoitre the place, made so favourable a report of the entrenchment, that it appeared practicable to force it by musquetry alone; and, in consequence thereof, the fatal resolution was taken not to wait the arrival of the artillery, which could not be easily brought up, on account of the badness of the ground; but to attack the enemy, without loss of time. The general was confirmed in this precipitate resolution, by the account he received from his prisoners, that a body of three thousand men, under Mons. de Levy, were on their march to join the enemy, and were very shortly expected to arrive. This officer had been detached to make an irruption through the pass of Oneyada, on the Mohawks River, but had been recalled, before he could execute this design, upon intelligence of general Abercrombie's approach to Ticonderoga*.

WHEN the attack began, the strength of the enemies' lines, which had been so little foreseen, was but too severely felt. Though the troops behaved with the utmost spirit and gallantry, they

* Brigadier Stanwix was afterwards sent thither, with a considerable body of Provincials; and this important pass secured by a fort built at that juncture.

suffered so terribly in their approaches, and made so little impression on the intrenchment, that the general seeing their repeated and obstinate efforts fail of success, (being upwards of four hours exposed to a most terrible fire from the enemy, who were so well covered, that they could with the greatest deliberation direct their fire without the least danger to themselves), thought it necessary to order a retreat. The army retired unmolested to their former camp, to the southward of Lake George, the evening after the action, with the loss of about eighteen hundred men, killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps behaved on this unfortunate occasion, with the greatest intrepidity; but the greatest loss was sustained by lord John Murray's highland regiment, of which above half of the private men, and twenty-five officers were either killed or desperately wounded.

To repair this misfortune, general Abercrombie detached colonel Bradstreet with three thousand Provincials, against Fort Frontenac, situated on the north side of the river St. Laurence, where it takes it rise from the Lake Ontario. The colonel had some time since formed a plan for making himself master of this place; he accordingly, after having surmounted great difficulties, penetrated with his army, to the eastern bank of the Lake Ontario, where embarking on board several sloops and batteaus, provided for that purpose, he landed within a mile of Fort Frontenac, the garrison of which, consiting of one hundred and ten men and a few Indians, surrendered at discretion in less than two days after it had been attacked, without the loss of a single man on our side.—The fort itself was inconsiderable and badly constructed, being only a square of one hundred yards; and though it contained sixty cannon, on-

CHAP. III

ly half of them were mounted, and sixteen small mortars. Nine armed sloops were taken and burnt, and an immense quantity of provisions and merchandize, designed for their troops on the Ohio, and their garrisons to the southward and westward. The fort poorly fortified and weakly garrioned for a post of such importance, being the magazine for all their western and southern garrisons and Indian allies, was demolished, agreeable to general Abercrombie's instructions. Colonel Bradstreet having performed this important service, returned safely to Oswego. This was a severe blow to the enemy, whose troops to the southward were now in danger of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon a post so strong by nature, that if it had been properly fortified and garrisoned, and the vessels preserved and kept cruising on the lake, it might have rendered the English masters of Lake Ontario, and have terribly harrassed the enemy, both in their commerce and expeditions to the westward.

THE ensuing campaign was fraught with events and consequences still more important; as the capture of Ticonderoga, had considerably facilitated the operations against Fort Duquesne; so the possession of this fortress added to the reduction of Louisburg, and prepared the way for the final success of the British and American arms.

ACCORDING to the plan of operations now decided on, the different expeditions were planned in such a manner as to assist each other. Gen. Wolfe, who had so eminently distinguished himself at the siege of Louisburg, was to proceed up the river St. Laurence as soon as the navigation should be free from ice, with a body of eight thousand men, and a strong squadron of ships from England, to besiege Quebec, the capital of

Canada. General Amherst, the commander in chief, at the head of twelve thousand troops, was to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, then cross Lake Champlain, and proceeding along the banks of the river Richlieu, to the river St. Laurence, join general Wolfe before Quebec. Brigadier-general Prideaux with a third body of troops, assisted by a considerable number of Indians, assembled by the influence and under the command of sir William Johnson, had orders to attack the French fort near the falls of Niagara, which commanded in a manner all the interior parts of North America, and was a key to the whole continent. As soon as this fort was carried, the general was to embark on the Lake Ontario, fall down the river to St. Laurence, make himself master of Montreal, and then join general Amherst. General Stanwix commanded a smaller detachment for reducing the forts on the Ohio, and scouring the banks of the Lake Ontario. It was imagined hat if general Prideaux's scheme, in addition to its own end, should not facilitate either of the other two capital undertakings, it would probably, as Niagara was the most important place the French had in that part of the world, make them draw together all the troops they had upon the lakes, to attempt its relief, which would leave the forts on those lakes exposed. In reality it had that effect.

General Amherst proceeded immediately to execute his part of the operations, and by a course of bold and skilful manœuvres, succeeded in gaining passession of the important posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which the enemy, after a shew of resistance, hastily abandoned at his approach. Having secured a superiority on the lakes, he employed himself in strengthening the fortification at Crown Point, in opening

CHAP. III.

roads of communication between Ticonderoga, and the provinces of New-Hampshire and Massachusetts bay, and in making dispositions for wintering his troops, so as to afford an adequate protection to the back colonies.

During these operations, which had employed the greatest part of the summer, the fate of the young hero, who had marched against Quebec, was wholly unknown, and the public anxiety was in the utmost suspense for the fate of an expedition carried on at such a distance, in the centre of the French power, and where either victory or defeat, must in their consequences have been decisive.

His communication remained open with gen. Prideaux, and by him he was informed of the defeat of the French army by general Johnson in sight of Niagara, and the consequent surrender of that important fortress. But notwithstanding this success, his progress was opposed by numurous and formidable difficulties; and it required all his gallant and adventurous courage, together with his skill and address, to sustain the part allotted him, in a plan so vast that the distinct parts could scarcely co-operate effectually with each other.

The fleet destined for this expedition, sailed from England in the middle of February, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes, who had both given evident proofs of their conduct and courage in the service of their country. By the 21st of April they were in sight of the island of Cape Breton; but the harbour of Louisburg was blockaded up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From hence rear admiral Durell was sent with a small squadron up the river St. Laurence, as far as the Isle de Coudres,

in order to intercept any supplies that might be sent from France to Quebec. He took three small ships, besides some small craft, laden with flour and other provisions; but had the mortification to find, that the frigates, and the transports, loaded with provisions, had already reached that city; and having taken possession of the island de Caudres, proceeded to the Isle of Orleans. Meanwhile, admiral Saunders arrived at Louisburg; and the troops being embarked, which did not exceed seven thousand men, regulars and provincials, though the original plan intended nine thousand for this expedition, exclusive of those under general Amherst, (whose assistance on the occasion was taken for granted) proceeded up the river St. Laurence without further delay. The land-forces were commanded by major-general Wolfe, whose military abilities had shone with such superior lustre at the siege of Louisburg; and under him were the brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray.

The whole embarkation arrived in the latter end of June at the Isle of Orleans, about two leagues below Quebec, a large fertile island, about twenty miles in length, and between seven and eight in breadth, well cultivated, producing plenty of grain, and populous, without any accident whatever, notwithstanding the reports of the dangerous navigation of the river St. Laurence, probably spread for political purposes. This island extends almost quite up to the bason of Quebec, its most westerly point advancing towards an high point of land on the continent, called Point Levi. These two points shut up the view of the northern and southern channels, which environ the Isle of Orleans; so that the harbour of Quebec appears to be a bason land locked upon all sides. The possession of both these points was there-

CHAP. III.

fore absolutely necessary, as they might be employed either with great advantage against the town, or much to the annoyance of the besiegers; for whilst the enemy continued masters of those, it was impossible for a ship to lie with safety in the harbour of Quebec. General Wolfe no sooner landed on this island than he distributed a manifesto among the inhabitants imparting, that the king his master, justly exasperated against France, had set on foot a considerable armament by land and sea, to humble the pride of that crown, and was determined to reduce the most considerable French settlements in America. He declared, it was not against the industrious peasants and their families, nor against the ministers of religion, that he designed to make war: on the contrary, he lamented the misfortunes to which they must be exposed by the quarrel, offered them his protection, and promised to maintain them in their temporal possessions, as well as in the free exercise of their religion, provided they would remain quiet, and take no part in the difference between the two crowns, directly or indirectly. He observed, that the English being now masters of the river St. Laurence, all succours from Europe must be intercepted; and that they had besides, a powerful army on the continent, under the command of general Amherst. He affirmed, that the resolution the Canadians ought to take was neither difficult nor doubtful; as the utmost exertion of their valour would be useless, and only serve to deprive them of the advantages which they might reap from their neutrality. He reminded them, that the cruelties exercised by the French on the subjects of Great-Britain in America, would excuse the most severe reprisals; but Englishmen were too generous to follow such barbarous examples. He again offered them the

sweets of peace, amidst the horrors of war, and left it to themselves to determine their own fate. But whatever resolution they might take, he flattered himself the world would do justice to his conduct, which should be regulated by the strictest rules of justice. He concluded with laying before them, the strength and power as well as generosity of England, which thus humanely stretched out her hand to them; a hand ready to assist them on all occasions, even when France, by her weakness, incapable of assisting, abandoned them in the most critical moment.

THIS humane manifesto produced no effect; the Canadians thought they could place no dependance on the promises and sincerity of a nation, whom their priests had industriously represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed with these notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to abandon their habitations, and expose themselves, and their families, to certain ruin, by provoking the English with the most cruel hostilities, rather than remain quiet, and confide on the general's promise of protection. Instead of such a prudent conduct, the Canadians joined the scalping parties of Indians, who skulked among the woods, and falling on the English stragglers by surprize, murdered them with the most inhuman barbarity; so that Wolfe, whose generous nature revolted against such wanton and perfidious cruelty, after having in vain expostulated on this head with the French general, was obliged to connive at some retaliations, in order to intimidate the enemy, and effect by punishment, what the lenient hand of kindness had attempted in vain.

THE conduct of Montcalm, the French commander in chief, did honour to his judgment;

CHAP. III.

though his army was greatly superior to that of the English, he carefully avoided an engagement and prudently resolved to depend on the natural strength of the country, which seemed almost unsurmountable. The city of Quebec was strongly fortified, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition. The troops of the colony were reinforced with five regular battalions, formed of the principal inhabitants; all the Canadians in the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of Indians, were completely disciplined; and with this army Montcalm took the field, and incamped in a very advantageous situation, along the shore of Beaufort, between the river St. Charles, and a bank of sand of great extent, which prevents any considerable vessel from approaching the shore, in his front, and thick impenetrable woods on his rear. There never was a stronger post; it was impossible to attack him in it, and whilst he remained there it was in his power to throw succours into the city whenever he pleased.

WOLFE saw all the difficulties that must attend his undertaking the siege of Quebec, almost inaccessible by its situation, and defended by a superior army; but he knew at the same time, that he should always have it in his power to retreat, while the English squadron maintained its station in the river; nor was he without hopes of being joined by general Amherst. Receiving advice, that a detachment of the enemy, with a train of artillery, was posted at Point Levi, on the south shore, opposite the city of Quebec he determined to dislodge them before they had intrenched themselves. Accordingly he detached brigadier Monckton with four battalions, who passed the river in the night; and next morning, after a slight skirmish with some of the enemy's irregu-

lars, obliged them to quit that post, which was immediately occupied by the English*. At the same time colonel Carleton, with another detachment, took possession of the western point of the isle of Orleans, and both posts were directly fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, as has been already observed, if they had kept possession of either, might have rendered it impossible for ships to lie at anchor within two miles of the city. Besides, Point Levi was within cannon-shot of the city; a battery of cannon and mortars was of course immediately erected there. Montcalm, foreseeing the effect of this battery detached a body of sixteen hundred men across the river, to attack and destroy the works before they were compleated: but the attempt miscarried. The battery being finished without further interruption, a continual fire was kept up against the city with such success, that in a little time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower town reduced to an heap of rubbish. In the mean while the fleet, one division of which, under admiral Saunders, was stationed

* Mons. Montcalm foresaw the great advantages that would result to us over their capital, from being possessed of Point Levi; and proposed, before the English armament came up the river, that four thousand men should be strongly entrenched here, with some cannon, and that other works should also be constructed higher up the country, at certain distances, for the troops to retire to, in case their lines should be carried at the Point. But Mons. Vaudreuil over-ruled this proposal in a council of war, and insisted, that though we might demolish a few insignificant houses with shells, yet we could not bring cannon to bear upon Quebec across the river; and was firmly of opinion, that it was their duty to stand upon the defensive, with their whole army on the north side of the bason, and not divide their force on any account whatsoever.

CHAP. III.

below in the north channel of the Isle of Orleans, opposite to Montmorenci; the other under admiral Holmes, above the town, at once to divert the enemy's attention, and to prevent any attempts against the batteries that played against Quebec, suffered great damage from a storm, which blew with such violence, that many of the transports ran foul of one another and were driven on shore, a number of small craft and boats foundered, several of the flat-bottomed boats were rendered unfit for farther service, and divers large ships lost their anchors. The enemy, in order to take advantage of the confusion which they supposed this disaster must have occasioned, at midnight, sent down five fire ships and two rafts to destroy the fleet. The scheme, though well contrived, was happily defeated by the prudence of the English admiral, and the resolution and alertness of the sailors, who resolutely towed the fire ships and rafts fast aground, where they lay burning to the water's edge, without doing the least damage to the English squadron. A second attempt of this kind was made on the very same day of the succeeding month, which proving equally ineffectual, the French general thought proper to lay aside his design.

As soon as the works for securing the hospital and stores were finished, the English forces crossed the river St. Laurence in boats, and landing under the cover of two sloops, encamped on the side of the river Montmorenci with a view of passing that river, and bringing the enemy to an engagement. The next morning a party of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some fascine makers, were attacked by the French Indians, and defeated; but the nearest troops advancing, the enemy were in their turn repulsed with considerable loss. The reasons that induced general Wolfe to choose

this situation by the falls of Montmorenci, in which he was separated from Quebec by this and another river named St. Charles, were, that the ground which he had chosen was high, and in some measure commanded the opposite side where the enemy was posted: that there was a ford below the falls passable every tide for some hours at the latter part of the ebb and beginning of the flood; and he was in hopes that means might be found to pass the river higher up, so as to fight Mons. Montcalm on less disadvantageous terms than directly attacking his intrenchments. Accordingly, on reconnoitering the river Montmorenci, a ford was discovered about three miles above; but the opposite bank, which was naturally steep and covered with woods, was rendered so strong by intrenchments, as to be almost inaccessible. The escort was twice attacked by the French Indians, who were both times repulsed; these skirmishes cost the English about forty men killed and wounded, including officers. Wolfe therefore deferred his intended attack on the French army, till he had surveyed the river St. Laurence above Quebec, in hopes of discovering a place more favourable for a descent.

ACCORDINGLY, the admiral, at his request, on the 18th of July, sent two men of war, two sloops, and some transports, with troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebec, without sustaining the least damage. The general being himself on board this little armament, carefully observed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from the nature of the ground, and the works of the enemy. Though a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, general Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force, and procure intelligence, sent a detachment,

CHAP. III.

under colonel Carleton, to land higher up at Point au Tremble, where he had been informed a good number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss, though the colonel at landing met with some opposition from a body of Indians: several prisoners were brought off, but no magazine was discovered.

The general, thus disappointed in his expectations, returned to Montmorenci, where Brigadier Townshend had, by maintaining a superior fire across the river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the English camp; and now resolved to attack the French army, though posted to great advantage.

As the men of war, for want of a sufficient depth of water, could not come near enough to the enemy's entrenchments, to annoy them in the least, the admiral prepared two flat bottomed armed vessels, which might on occasion be run aground to favor a descent. With the assistance of these vessels, Wolfe proposed to make himself master of a detached redoubt near the water edge, situated, according to all appearance, out of musquet shot of the enemy's entrenchments on the hill. If the French supported this work it must necessarily bring on an engagement, a circumstance which he earnestly wished for; and if they tamely beheld its reduction, he would have it in his power to examine their situation at leisure, so as to be able to determine where they might be attacked with the greatest prospect of success. Preparations were accordingly made for the attack; on the last day of July, in the forenoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers, and part of Brigadier Monckton's brigade from Point Levi. The two brigades under Brigadiers

Townshend and Murray were drawn out, in order to be ready to pass the ford, when judged necessary. To facilitate their passage, the admiral stationed the Centurion, of fifty-four guns, in the channel, to check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford: a numerous train of artillery was placed upon the eminence, to enfilade the left of the enemy's entrenchments, and the two armed vessels prepared for this purpose were run aground near the redoubt, to favour the descent of the forces. The manifest confusion produced among the enemy by these previous measures, and the fire of the Centurion, which was well directed and sustained, determined the general to storm this intrenchment without further delay.

At a proper time of tide the signal was made; but in rowing towards the shore, many of the boats from Point Levi ran aground upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance from the shore; and this accident occasioned so much time to be lost in remedying the disorder, that Wolfe was obliged to stop the march of brigadier Townshend's corps, which he perceived to be in motion. In the mean time, the boats were floated and ranged in proper order, though exposed to a severe fire of shot and shells; and the general in person, assisted by several sea officers, sounding the shore, pointed out the place where the troops might land with the least difficulty. Thirteen companies of granadiers, and two hundred men of the second Royal American battalion, were the first on shore, and obliged the enemy to abandon the redoubt below the precipice. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, and begin the attack, supported by brigadier Monckton's corps, as soon as the other troops should have passed the ford, and be near enough

CHAP. III.

to contribute their assistance. But unfortunately the grenadiers, impatient to acquire glory, without waiting for any reinforcement, or forming themselves as directed, in great confusion ran up the hill, and made many efforts to gain the summit, which they found less practicable than had been expected: in this situation they received a general discharge of musquetry from the enemy's breast works, which was continued without any return; our brave soldiers reserving their fire, until they should reach the top of the precipice, which was inconceivably steep: to persevere any longer they now found was to little purpose, their ardour was checked by the repeated heavy fire of the enemy, which did such execution among them, that at length they were obliged to retire in disorder, and shelter themselves under the redoubt which the French had abandoned at their approach. The general seeing the situation of affairs, night drawing on, and the ammunition of the army damaged by a most dreadful storm, ordered them to retreat and form behind Monckton's brigade, which was by this time landed and drawn upon the beach, in good order. They accordingly retreated, leaving a considerable number lying on the field exposed to the barbarity of the Indians. The enemy did not attempt to pursue; so the whole repassed the river without molestation, and returned to their former camp at Montmorenci.

THE two armed vessels, which were aground, were burnt to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. The loss of our forces this day, killed, wounded, and missing, including all ranks, amounted to four hundred and forty-three, among whom were two captains and two lieutenants killed on the spot; colonel Burton of the forty-eighth

regiment, six captains, nineteen lieutenants, and three ensigns wounded.

The general, immediately after this mortifying check, detached brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men, in transports, above the town, to co-operate with admiral Holmes, whom admiral Saunders had sent up the river, to destroy the French ships if possible. The brigadier was also instructed to sieze every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments. In pursuance of these directions, he twice attempted to land on the north shore; but these attempts were unsuccessful: his third effort was more fortunate; he made a descent at Chambaud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, provisions, and ammunition. By the prisoners he learned that Fort Niagara had surrendered; and discovered by intercepted letters, that the enemy having abandoned Ticonderoga and Crown Point, were retired to Isle au Noix; and that gen. Amherst was making preparations to pass Lake Champlain, and attack the corps commanded by Mons. Bourlemaque. The enemy's ships being secured in such a manner as not to be approached, and nothing else occurring that required the brigadier's longer stay, he returned to the camp at Point Levi.

But this intelligence, otherwise so pleasing, brought no prospect of any assistance from that quarter. The season wasted apace. The general fell violently ill, from care, watching, and fatigue, too great to be supported by a delicate constitution, and a body unequal to the vigorous and enterprizing soul that it lodged. His own high notions, the public expectation, the success of other commanders, oppressed his spirits, and converted disappointment into disease. During his ill-

CHAP. III.

ness he desired the general officers to consult together for the public utility; and it was their opinion that any farther attempts at Montmorenci were to little purpose; and that the points Levi and Orleans being left in a proper state of defence, the rest of the troops should be conveyed up the river, and the future principal operations should be above the town, in order, if possible, to draw the enemy to an action. This measure, however, was not adopted until the general and admiral, assisted by the principal engineer, had reconnoitered the town of Quebec, with a view to a general assault. But after a careful survey, it was unanimously agreed that such an attack was impracticable: for though the men of war might have silenced the batteries of the lower town, they could not affect the upper works, from which they must have sustained considerable damage. The camp of Montmorenci was therefore broke up, and the troops encamped at Point Levi. The squadron under admiral Holmes made movements up the river for several days successively, in order to amuse the enemy posted on the north shore.

On the 5th and 6th of September, the general embarked the forces; but the transports being extremely crowded, and the weather bad, one half of the troops were landed for refreshment on the south shore. As soon as matters were ripe for action, he directed admiral Saunders to make a feint with his squadron, as if he proposed to attack the French in their entrenchments on the Beauport shore, below the town, and by his motions to give this feint all the appearance of reality possible. This disposition being made below the town, Wolfe embarked his forces about one in the morning, and admiral Holmes's division sailed three leagues further up the river than the

place where he intended to land, in order to conceal his real design. He then embarked the troops, and fell down silently with the tide; but by the rapidity of the current, and the darkness of the night, the boats were carried a little below the intended place of attack. The ships followed them, and arriving just at the time that had been concerted, to cover their landing, the troops were disembarked without loss, or indeed the knowledge of the enemy.

THIS remarkable success was, in some measure, owing to the following accident: two French deserters had been carried the evening before on board the English fleet, and from them the general learned, that the garrison expected that night to receive a convoy of provisions in boats, from the detachment above the town, commanded by Mons. Bougainville. The knowledge of this circumstance was of the utmost consequence, and tended to deceive the centinels posted along-shore to challenge boats and vessels, and give an alarm, if necessary. The first English boat being questioned accordingly, captain Donald M'Donald, of Fraser's Highland regiment, who was perfectly acquainted with the French language, answered without hesitation, to their challenging word, *Qui va la?* (Who is there) *La France.* When the centinel asked, *Au quel regiment?* (To what regiment do you belong?) The captain replied, *De la Reine,* (To the queen's) which he accidentally knew to be one of those that were under the command of Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted that this was the expected convoy, and allowed the boats to proceed, without further interruption. The other centries were deceived in the same manner; though one more wary than the rest, ran down to the water's edge, and called, *Pour quoi ne parlez vous plus haut?* (Why don't you

CHAP. III.

speak with an audible voice ?) To this question, which implied doubt, the captain answered with admirable presence of mind, in a low voice, *Tais tois, nous serons entendues*, (Hush ! we shall be overheard, and discovered). Thus cautioned, the centinel retired without further altercation.

As the troops could not be landed at the place intended, when they gained the shore, an high precipice appeared before them, extremely steep, and almost perpendicular. A little path winded up this ascent, so narrow that two persons could not go a-breast; and even this path, by which alone the forces could possibly reach the summit, was strongly intrenched, and defended by a captain's guard. Such great difficulties did not abate the hopes of the general, or the ardour of the troops. Colonel Howe's light infantry, laying hold of stumps and boughs of trees, pulled themselves up, dislodged the enemy, and cleared the path ; then gained the top of the hill, without further interruption, and as fast as they ascended formed themselves ; so that the whole army was in order of battle by day-break.

Montcalm, when the news was brought him, could scarcely credit the report; but still believed it to be a feint, to induce him to abandon that strong post, which had been the object of all the real attempts that had been made since the beginning of the siege. But no sooner was he undeceived, and found that the English army had really gained the Heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town of Quebec on its weakest part, than he determined to risk a battle ; and accordingly quitted his intrenched camp, and having collected his whole force from the side of Beauport, marched towards the English army, without delay.

General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line, which consisted of six battalions and the Louisbourg grenadiers; the right commanded by brigadier Monckton, and the left by brigadier Murray. Colonel Howe, who was just returned with his light infantry from taking a four-gun battery, was posted in the rear of the left. M. de Montcalm advancing in such a manner as shewed his intention was to flank the left of the English, brigadier Townshend was ordered thither with Amherst's regiment, which he formed *en potence*, presenting a double front to the enemy: he was afterwards reinforced with two battalions, and the reserve, consisting of one regiment, formed in eight sub-divisions, with large intervals, was posted behind the right. The right wing of the enemy was composed of half their colony troops, two battalions of regulars, and a body of Canadians and savages: their center consisted of a column formed by two other regular battalions; and their left of one battalion, with the rest of the colony troops: the bushes and corn-fields in their front were lined with fifteen hundred of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus singled out for destruction. This fire was indeed in some measure checked by the advanced posts of the English line, who picqueered with the enemy for some hours before the battle began. Both armies were almost entirely destitute of artillery; the French having only two pieces, and the English two six-pounders, which the seamen had with great difficulty drawn up from the landing-place; but these were extremely well served, and galled their column severely, obliging them to alter their disposition.

CHAP. III.

About ten in the morning the enemy advanced briskly to the charge in three columns, two of them inclining towards the left of our army, and the third to our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty yards, until they came within forty yards, which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, reserving their fire. This uncommon steadiness, together with the havock which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made amongst them, threw them into some disorder. The English, who had been ordered to load with double ball, now poured in a terrible discharge, and continued their fire with such deliberation and spirit, that the enemy immediately gave way, and fled with precipitation. General Wolfe himself was stationed on the right, at the head of Bragg's regiment and the Louisbourg grenadiers, where the attack was warmest, and standing conspicuous, in the very front of the line, had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen, and at last received a shot in the wrist, which did not oblige him, however, to quit the field. Having wrapped an handkerchief round his arm, he continued giving orders without the least emotion, and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero*, just as the enemy gave way,

* When the general was carried off wounded to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down; being asked if he would have a surgeon? he replied, "It is needless, it is all over with me." An officer present cried out, "They run, see how they run." "Who run?" demanded our hero, with great earnestness, like a person roused from sleep! The officer answered, "The enemy, Sir, egad, they give way every where." Whereupon the

and victory was crowning all his labours with success. General Monckton, the next in command, fell immediately after, and was conveyed out of the line. While the right and center of the front line pressed on with their bayonets, the Highlanders with their broad-swords, supported by the 58th regiment, fell on the enemy with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them with great slaughter into the town, and the works they had raised at the bridge, over the river St. Charles. The action was less violent on the left and rear of the English. Some of the light-infantry had thrown themselves into houses, where being attacked, they defended themselves with great courage and resolution, being supported by colonel Howe, who taking post with two companies behind a small copse, and frequently sallying out on the flanks of the enemy during their attack, often drove them into heaps, while brigadier Townshend advanced platoons against their front; so that the right wing of the French was totally prevented from executing their first intention. The brigadier himself remained with Amherst's regiment, to support this disposition, and overawe a body of Indians posted opposite the light-infantry, waiting for an opportunity to fall on the rear of the English army.

General Wolfe being slain, and general Monckton dangerously wounded, the command of course devolved on general Townshend, who,

---

general rejoined, "What do the cowards run already? Go one of you, my lads, to colonel Burton—tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed, down to Charles River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge." Then turning on his side, he added, "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace;" and thus expired.

CHAP. III.

upon this information, hastened to the center, and formed the troops again, that were somewhat disordered in the pursuit, with all possible expedition. He had scarce performed this necessary duty, before Mons. Bougainville, with a body of two thousand fresh men, appeared in the rear of the English army. He had marched from Cape Rouge the moment he received advice that the English troops had gained the Heights of Abraham; but did not arrive time enough to have any share in the action.

General Townshend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer; but he retired among the woods and swamps, the general prudently declined pursuing. He had already gained a complete victory, taken a great number of French officers, and was in possession of a very advantageous situation, which it would have been highly imprudent to hazard for the sake of defeating Bougainville's detachment. Mons. de Montcalm was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed to a convent of Augustine nuns, about a mile from Quebec; from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to general Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that generous humanity which distinguishes the British nation. Mons. de Senefergue, and Mons. de St. Ours, the two next in command, were also slain. About a thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers; and about eight hundred were killed in the action. The shattered remains of their army, after having reinforced the garrison of Quebec, retired to Point au Tremble, from whence they continued their retreat to Jacques Quartier, where they remained intrenched till the severity of the weather forced them to make the best of their way to Trois Rivieres and Montreal.

CHAP. III.

THIS important victory, though gained at the expence of only sixty-one men killed, including nine officers; and of five hundred and ninety eight wounded, was dearly bought. The death of general Wolf was a national loss, and universally lamented: soldiers may be raised, officers will be formed by experience, but the loss of a genius in war is not easily repaired. By nature formed for military greatness, his memory was retentive, his judgment deep, and his comprehension surprisingly quick, clear, and extensive; his constitutional courage not only uniform and daring, perhaps to an extreme, but he possessed also that higher species of it, a strength, steadiness and activity of mind, which no difficulties or dangers could deter. Generous, gentle, friendly, affable, and humane, he was the pattern of the officer, and the darling of the soldier; his sublime genius soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent, by opportunities and action, and his judgment been fully ripened by age and experience, he would have rivalled the most celebrated heroes of antiquity.

IN every other quarter the war was equally successful. Altho' the great commoner had resigned in disgust, he left behind him his vast projects for the humiliation of the house of Bourbon. They were every where in operation, both on the land and the water, and notwithstanding the great projector was out of the way, they proceeded for a time on the momentum which he had communicated. Spain had been added to the list of her enemies, but a series of disasters evinced the inadequacy of the united Bourbons, to cope with the genius and fortune of Britain, and preliminaries were at length signed and interchanged at Fontainbleau, in the beginning of November, 1762, be-

CHAP. III

tween the ministers of Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal.

THUS ended a war, whose successes raised the British nation to the very pinnacle of human greatness. The cession of Canada, with all that part of Louisiana, which is situated to the east of the great river Mississippi; together with Cape Breton and the other islands in the gulph and river of St. Laurence; of Grenada and the Grenadines in the West Indies, together with the neutral islands, Dominique, Vincents, and Tobago; Senegal guaranteed to Britain in Africa; the renunciation by France of all her acquisitions on the coast of Coromandel, and her stipulation, not to erect fortifications in any part of the kingdom of Bengal in Europe; the restoraion of Minorca by the same power, and her consent to the demolition of the harbor and fortifications of Dunkirk; The cession by Spain, and guarantee in full right of East and West Florida, and all her other possessions to the East and South east of the Mississippi; her relinquishment of right to fish on the banks of New Foundland, and her admission of the English claim to cut logwood on the coast of Honduras, present a croud of brilliant and useful trophies, which have rarely if ever been exceeded.—Justice alone was wanting to secure those great advantages. Happy for Britain—too happy had it been, if the fruits of so many victories had been used with a moderation equal to the valor and wisdom by which they had been atchieved. Her subsequent conduct exhibits another melancholy fact in support of the opinion that states and empires like individuals, have their points of elevation and depression, and that having attained their zenith, they

are fated to measure back their way to the nadir of feebleness and decrepitude.*

* The military operations in Canada have been taken verbatim from Wynne. The portion of narrative thus borrowed is small; I have ventured on it, notwithstanding, with uneasiness and reluctance. It is certainly matter not necessarily connected with the History of Virginia: but for good sense and conciseness it is not easy to find an authority superior to Wynne.

CHAPTER IV.

State of America after the peace—opinions entertained of the powers of the British parliament—external and internal taxes. Mr. Grenville's resolutions respecting additional duties—his famous declaratory resolution. Its reception in Britain—it excites the utmost alarm in the colonies—spirited resolutions of the American provinces—Mr. Grenville's celebrated stamp tax—arguments of the minority on it—it excites the highest indignation and most determined opposition in the colonies—spirited resolution of Patrick Henry in the Virginia Assembly—Governor dissolves the Assembly—members re-elected almost unanimously—Several other colonies adopt similar resolutions—Massachusetts assembly recommend a general congress—spirit and ability of news-paper discussions—stamp officers compelled to resign—col. Mercer, his disinterested behaviour—congress at N. York—their declaration of rights and grievances—their petition to the king and memorials to the two houses of parliament—congress recommend the appointment of special agents—Riots in the towns—Administration changed—New ministry favorable to the American claims—Circular letter of General Conway to the American Governors—Proceedings in the British Parliament—Stamp act repealed—Joy in America, produced by this event—Chas. Townsend's boast of raising an American revenue—This revenue

to be appropriated to the payment of the officers of government—This act is opposed in America —Several able political tracts, discuss its constitutionality—Proceedings of the Massachusetts Assembly—Their circular letter to the other colonies--Virginia proceedings--Assembly's letter to Massachusetts--Letter of Hillsborough--Answer of the Massachusetts Legislature to the Earl of Hillsborough---Assembly dissolved---Seizure of the sloop Liberty--Riot in Boston--Revenue officers take refuge on board the Romney--Town meeting--Death of governor Fauquier--His character—John Blair, President of council—He unites with the council and House of Burgess--In their petition to the King--In their memorial to the house of Lords and their remonstrance to the house of Commons--Lord Botetourt Governor---His patriotic conduct---His assurances to Virginia—Finds himself deceived by the court--Demands his recall--His death and character--High testimony of the regrets of the Colony at this event, and their sense of his faithful administration--Wm. Nelson, President--Warm supporter of American liberty--Lord Dunmore arrives--Assembly—Their remonstrance against fees—His Lordship's mild and conciliatory answer—Inroads of the Indians—Their confederacy and defeat at Point Pleasant.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAP. IV.

State of America after the peace.

THE last æra exhibited the dawn of genius. We are now approaching its meridian. That æra was the cradle of the American Hercules: this exhibits him in his might and his beauty, rending the chains of the oppressed and crushing the sceptre of the oppressor. Henceforth every thing that is glorious in action; that is sublime in morals, will be familiar. Justness of design, correct conception, elevation of sentiment, honor, virtue, courage, genius, and often the concurrence of them all: Such are the properties of this splendid æra. What can be more august, more an object of admiration, than the spectacle of virtuous exiles driven from the haunts of civilized life into the howling wilderness, by the hand of oppression; starting all at once into manhood by a sort of preternatural agency: although divided by a thousand local interests and prejudices, uniting like chemical affinities for their mutual defence. What can be more extraordinary than to see those children of yesterday reading lessons of wisdom to the wisdom of the earth; unfolding the representative system in the midst of the waste; confounding the malice and the power of their enemy by their wisdom and courage, and raising up alliances amongst the kings and nations of the earth; producing orators, poets, heroes, statesmen, philosophers, and realizing by their manners and actions the history of antient sages.

CHAP. III.

In the preceding æras we saw the colonies fighting without a concert, and struggling separately against their savage neighbours, assisted by the power of France. We saw them driven into an union by a sense of common danger and interest, and contending bravely and successfully in conjunction with the fleets and armies of the mother country. But still the union was incomplete, and after the subjugation of their rival they would in a short time relapse into their former jealousy and separation; and the policy of the mother country would encourage their repugnance to union, as the means of concealing from them the alarming secret of their strength.

In fact so early as 1753, as has been already shewn, a plan of union was drafted with the view to an effectual co-operation of the colonies in matters of mutual defence, and that, notwithstanding the alarming power with which the executive magistrate of this general government was clothed, it was rejected by Great-Britain. It was rejected by the colonies at the same time, for the better reason, that it had a tendency by its concentration of authority in the president general to diminish the power of the legislatures. But notwithstanding these jealousies, the attachment of the colonies to the mother country was universal.

In place of this instrument of government, it was proposed by the minister that the colonial governors with one or two members of the councils of the respective provinces, should assemble to consult and resolve on measures necessary for the common defence, and should draw on the British treasury for the sums to be expended, which sums were to be afterwards raised by a general tax, to be imposed by parliament on the colonies. But this would have been an union of the creatures of government; and the project of taxation by a par-

CHAP. IV.

liament, where the colonies were not represented, was in direct opposition to all the long established habits and feelings of the colonists.

In this state the question slept, it having been deemed impolitic to shock the prejudices of the colonies by any discussions supposed to affect their rights in the midst of a war, which shook to its center the British power in N. America.—The colonies were left to their own judgment and liberality in adjusting the quantum of their supplies; and their conduct on this occasion afforded complete evidence that they might have been safely trusted with the power. Even the mother country bore testimony to the noble ardor and generous profusion of her children, and refunded to them from the royal treasury large sums admitted to have been advanced by their legislatures at various times, exceeding their means and beyond their proportion.*

It was owing to this generous zeal on one side, and this apparent regard to justice and equity on

* In the month of February 1756, the sum of 115,000*l.* was voted by parliament as a free gift and reward to the colonies of New-England, New-York, and New-Jersey, for their past services, and as an encouragement to continue to exert themselves with vigor. May 1757, 50,000*l.* was in like manner to the Carolinians, and in 1758, 41,000*l.* to Massachusetts and Connecticut, April 1759, 200,000*l.* was voted to the respective colonies in N. America; March 1760, 200,000*l.* 1761, 200,000*l.* 1762, 133,000*l.* 1763, 133,000*l.* in all one million seventy two thousand pounds; exclusive however of these indemnifications, and of the extraordinary supplies granted in the different colonial assemblies, a debt of above two millions and a half had been incurred by America during the war, and this debt was far from being as yet liquidated, but it might be inferred from the conduct of the present ministry, that the most trivial revenue *extorted* from America was deemed preferable to the largest sums freely and voluntarily granted.

the other, that the ties of affection were drawn closer between the parent state and her colonies; and that they were enabled at the close of the æra, which had gone by, to exterminate the formidable power of France in America.

The recollection of the sufferings they bore together, and the glories they mutually shared in these encounters, still farther cemented the bonds of nativity and affection.

But more especially in the minds of the colonists, this sentiment was without alloy or adulteration. They looked back with a mingled pride and admiration on the land of their ancestors, the seat of the arts, the sanctuary of liberty, terror of tyrants, like the Roman senate, the hope, the refuge, the consolation of the distressed. —They had seen her on the land and on the waters, in both hemispheres contending for liberty and empire with the combined powers of the house of Bourbon, and smite them in the midst of their power—directed by the counsels of that great man, the suggestions of whose mind looked like the working of prophecies, whose decision seemed like the fiat of a divinity, they had seen the reputation of British justice and valour and eloquence, spread to the remotest nations, and the whole world filled with admiration by the adventurous deeds of a people, whose aim was liberty, whose scope was justice, and who, whilst they defended their own rights, were fighting the battles of the world.

In contemplating more nearly their own situation, as it stood relatively to the government of the parent state—they found little to abate the ardour of their attachment. Since the dethronement of the Stuarts, the administration of government had been mild in the provinces; and the

CHAP. IV.

laws and constitution regulated by a rule of certainty, left the people no apprehensions for their property and liberty. The restraints laid on commerce by the British parliament, although the object of complaint and remonstrance, more especially in Virginia, were at length silently acquiesced in; and intelligent men every where began to regard them as necessary evils incident to our condition as men, but not in themselves of sufficient magnitude to lessen the gratitude of the people for the great and positive blessings they enjoyed under their free forms of government.—The navigation act, although it partially affected the trade of the colonists; although it formerly had disappointed their hopes and excited their disgust, began to be universally regarded as the foundation of the great naval and commercial superiority of Britain, and a full share of this prosperity, it was believed, would be reflected on her offspring.

But the people in the midst of this zeal and attachment, had invariably denied the right of parliament by any laws of that body, to raise any revenue within the colonies, and insisted that the design and aim of the commercial provisions of the navigation act, were solely for the regulation of trade; so that the productions of those colonies should center in the mother country, and foreigners be excluded from all benefits of trade or intercourse with them: And even this preference was supposed to be founded on the great labour and expence incurred by the mother country, in founding and establishing the colonies.—We find that the legislature of Virginia, so early as the year 1624, asserted it was their undoubted right alone, "to lay taxes and impositions, and none other." We see them again refusing to admit any members of council to assist them in determin-

ing the sum of the public levy, notwithstanding the solicitation of their great idol sir W. Berkeley.

THE matter is put beyond all doubt, by the arguments of the colony's agents and those of the crown in 1676, when they solicited a charter. They there positively assert their sole dependance on the king and the crown of England, that they are not to be charged or taxed but by their own consent. "*They state that neither his majesty nor any of his ancestors or predecessors, have ever offered to impose any tax upon this plantation, without the consent of his subjects there*, nor" they add "upon any other plantation, however, so much less deserving or considerable to his crown. New England, Maryland, Barbadoes, &c. are not taxed, but by their own consent." When the agents of the crown object that this form of government *will look like a parliament*, they reply that it had been the course for fifty years, and had been productive of great prosperity and happiness; that they had been established and incorporated by royal charter, without any agency of parliament; that for a long time they had been governed by the king's instructions alone, and had always considered themselves as dependent on the crown of England; that the king's power of negativing their laws was an evidence of the absolute independence of the colonial legislatures on the British parliament, and of their consequent dependence on the crown.

THIS correspondence abounds with assertions of right equally strong and explicit. It contains one declaration, however, which so far as it respects this opinion will decide the question for ever. They demand that no manner of impositions or taxes shall be laid or imposed on the inhabitants or proprietors there, but by the common consent of the governor, council and burgesses, as hath

CHAP. IV.

heretofore been used; " provided that this concession be no bar to any imposition that may be laid by *act of parliament, on the commodities which may come from that country.*" Here at one single point is a view of the whole ground, and volumes could not make it clearer. Here is the plain distinction between internal and external taxation, about which so much has been said, and I will venture to affirm that it is the earliest, strongest, and most explicit assertion and explanation of this right, to be found in the records of the colonies.* What is the more extraordinary, the king approved the report of the agents, and directed the attorney general " to prepare a bill for his majesty's signature, in order to the passing of letters patent for the grand settlement and confirmation of all things according to the direction of said report," &c.

It is manifest from the language of this report, that the colony had in view the navigation act, which had been in operation several years, and that by admitting the right of the British parliament to tax the commodities of the colonies in England, they excluded them from all other right or authority whatsoever, and this not by inference, but by the plainest and most absolute denial.

There are certainly some facts that would seem to defeat this opinion. The judges of Massachusetts had determined that the colonies were bound by acts of parliament, which concerned them, and the general court in a short time after gave an

* Mr. Marshall mentions a declaration of the assembly of Massachusetts, and one of the New-York assembly in the year 1692, as uncommon proofs of the firmness and intelligence of those states. He little dreamed that his native state had near twenty years before, advanced the same doctrine in language more strong and impressive.

express sanction to this doctrine. The British parliament too in the assertion of its authority against the pretensions of the Massachusetts and N. York legislatures, declared "that all laws, bye laws, usages and customs, which shall be in practice in any of the plantations repugnant to any law made or to be made in this kingdom relative to the said plantations, shall be void and of none effect." Three years afterwards, they passed an act still stronger, and more absurd for the trial of pirates in America. In this a forfeiture of the charters is denounced as the penalty of the governor or other officers refusing obedience to its provisions. But an acquiescence under the claims of the British parliament to general legislation, was thought of little consequence, after having effectually secured the great principle of taxation against all external interference. Their charters had expressly declared that the colonial laws "must not be repugnant to the laws of England;" the parliament were the organs of English laws; it seemed to follow therefore with the absolute truth of a regular syllogysm, that all the laws enacted by this body must be binding on them, save such as went to the assessment and levying of taxes, and these were excepted only by special provision.

It was thought no exception to this rule, that a general post-office was established in 1710; it was looked on as an useful establishment, which by facilitating the intercourse between the colonies and the mother country, would conduce to a greater dispatch and order in commercial proceedings. The monies paid were regarded as a compensation for services rendered, and its use was entirely voluntary. Even the act of the 6th George the 2d, imposing duties on foreign rum, molasses, &c. had given no uneasiness, because there was no apparent design of rais-

CHAP. IV.

ing a revenue, and no mention of any appropriation of its produce.

The project of Keith in conjunction with some merchants of Philadelphia, for raising a revenue within the colonies, has already been spoken of: but that measure which was considered too hazardous to be touched and too profligate to be attempted even by the corrupt Walpole, the most distant idea of which had never suggested itself during a regular succession of tyrants, and a complication of national burdens and distress, was embraced, at the close of a war, which, guided by the genius of Chatham, had on every ocean and on every climate, raised imperishable trophies to British valor.

But that excentric orb, whose ray shed happiness and glory on England, and disgrace and disasters on her enemies, had suffered a partial eclipse. The false glitter of royal honours, had been artfully thrown over it for the purpose of shrouding its glories, and obscuring its brightness; whilst the foul birds of corruption flitted in its twilight, and their funeral screams boded disasters and death.*

The situation of England at this time would seem to justify the melancholy observation, that nations like individuals have their periods of sanity and vigor; of decay and dissolution. She had reached her acme. She had shone out among nations like a sun amidst the lesser stars: But now by an overruling and inevitable destiny, she appeared to be ready to tumble from the dazzling height to which she had been elevated by the combinations of genius; a fall not slow and gradual like her ascent, but with the portentous rapidity of a falling

* He had been artfully pensioned by Lord Bute, and the honors of nobility were entailed on his descendants.

sphere forcibly propelled and dragged to its centre of gravity.

At the conclusion of every war, in which for the last century, Britain had been engaged, a reduction of the revenue particularly, the land tax, had been always regarded as a politic and necessary sacrifice to the avarice of the landed interest. It mattered not through how many regions rapacity had extended its vulture eye and iron beak, provided these children of the earth were secured in their feudal immunities. It might traffic in the blood of the sun burnt children of Africa; it might scatter plague, war, pestilence, and famine on the banks of the Ganges, and drench its verdant fields with the innocent blood of Rajahs and Bramins; groans might issue from the forge and the loom, from the workshop and the counting room, from the hospital and the highway, where naked and shivering famine arraigns providence for the misfortunes arising from the ambition of ministers and kings. The short and simple annals of the poor exhibit nothing worthy the sympathy of courtiers.

In that stupendous fabric of human invention, the management of parliament is the primary object of ministerial attention. The members of boroughs are with few exceptions returned by the lords, and form a close and mercenary phalanx, ready armed at all points, save the head, to fight the battles of the minister. The representatives of towns are variously disposed according to the ignorance or sagacity or interests of commerce. The country gentlemen form the only natural rampart against the encroachments of power; but this body had rarely ever any fixed principles of action or opinion; alternately, whigs and tories, always high churchmen; advocates of high handed measures in church and state, entertaining a lofty opinion of themselves, and a silly contempt for

CHAP. IV.

the rest of the world; agreeing in no point of the compass, with the nation, but a willingness to grant the money of all other classes of society and a repugnance to contribute a shilling of their own: They exhibit a motley group of inconsistencies, not enlivened or relieved by a single good quality, save their blunt unceremonious sincerity, and their generous and profuse hospitality.

The reductions which had already taken place in the national imposts were far below the standard of the peace establishment at the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle: and the immense interest of an increased national debt, demanded larger supplies to meet the ordinary expenditure. Every source of revenue had already been exhausted, and neither the ingenuity of government, nor the patience of the people, could admit any new additions to the accumulated n ass of national burdens.

In this exigence the minister threw his eye over the map of British empire, and North Ame rica presented her rich plains and her successful industry, as yet unexhausted by the venality of courtiers, copious sources for future corruption.

The obscurity in which the rights of the British colonies and authority of the parent state, had been hitherto involved, was favorable to the advancement of the present pretensions. Their exact limits had never been ascertained, and no crisis had ever occurred in the anals of the empire where the public exigency more urgently demanded the aid and contributions of all classes of subjects.

The late war had shaken the world to its centre, and victorious Britain in the midst of her successes, found herself, by her enormous expenditures and the losses and embarrassments incident to war, on the brink of bankruptcy. The

war, too, originated in a paternal regard for the colonies, whose territories had been invaded, and their very existence menaced by a powerful and ambitious nation. To enforce the just rights of her children, the fleets and armies of Britain, animated and confirmed by her magnanimous minister, carried the British thunder across the Atlantic, and into the heart of the wilderness, and in conjunction with provincial troops, had prostrated the colossal power and ambition of France in that vast country. America was not insensible to these glorious services: She had often acknowledged them with grateful affection, and she could not and would not object to contribute to the relief of the venerable parent who had watched over her infancy, and who had shielded her adolescence with the ægis of valour and wisdom.

Such were the arguments by which plans of pillage and schemes of confiscation were sanctified, and whilst the imaginations of the mad projectors brooded over the hoards of gold to be collected by collectors and tax gatherers from the plunder of cities and provinces, constitutional law, as well as natural right, were forgotten.

It should be recollected that the boasted defence of North-America by Britain, was the defence of her own trade, wealth, revenues, and sovereignty, and it seemed no extraordinary effort of generosity, to fight for objects so essential to her own interest. Beside; the colonists had gallantly seconded her efforts, and their treasures and their best blood had been prodigally wasted in the common cause. The immense profits of their adventurous commerce were divided amongst court favourites and minions, who "toil not, neither do they spin, and

CHAP. IV.

yet are greater than Solomon in all his glory." They had often, too, by their valour saved the regular troops from extermination, and averted those fatal consequences, which were to be apprehended from the incapacity of the cabinet and the blind presumption of the officers they had appointed to execute their rash and ill-advised projects.

But these considerations, however solid, had no weight. Resolute in their plans, they looked only to one side of the subject, and regarded as a pernicious and wicked heresy any attempt to deny their right, or even to doubt their authority.

Commercial restraints.

Pursuant to this opinion, several resolutions passed in the commons at the instance of the minister, imposing new duties on foreign goods imported into the British colonies in America. These acts, although of a tendency to wound the interest of the colonies, being regarded as matters of mere regulation, attracted no particular attention in parliament. But it soon appeared that these acts were intended to cover designs of a more fatal and formidable import. In introducing this project, even the minister paused, as if appalled by a presentiment of the calamities with which it was fraught. His resolution was merely declaratory, "that it would be proper to impose certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations, for the purpose of raising an American revenue, payable into the British exchequer."

1764. March 10.

Declaratory act.

The execution of this project, by reason of its declared importance, was adjourned until the ensuing year; and time was thus afforded to the good genius of the country to step in and arrest its fatal and destructive progress.

Effect of these pro-

Far different was its reception in that country which was the immediate object of this operation. The declaratory resolution was a phænomenon

that immediately attracted every eye and filled every bosom with apprehension; animated by the collision of opinion, discussion walked abroad with the port and stature of eloquence, and the feature and countenance of conviction. Nor was the public attention exclusively confined to the declaratory resolution: It passed by a natural transition to the additional duties, which from the matter of the regulations, as well as the obnoxious mode adopted for their enforcement and execution, was regarded as a severe and intolerable hardship.

A LUCRATIVE traffic had been carried on, particularly by the northern colonies, with the French and Spanish colonies, the duties on which having been justly regarded as inimical to the true interests of commerce, had been winked at by the government. It was known that a considerable portion of the current specie of the colonies was procured from these sources, and that the greatest part of it would ultimately find its way into Britain in discharge of their mercantile engagements. Of this trade, so necessary to the credit of the colonies, so profitable to the mother country, the additional duties would amount to an absolute prohibition; and if as heretofore, they attempted to evade the payment of duties so justly obnoxious, it was necessary to encounter the rigorous scrutiny of a swarm of revenue officers, whose interest was intimately connected with their vigilance and severity, and to pass through a variety of forms so complex and distressing as to render this trade, formerly so lucrative, an object of indifference.

BUT the declaratory resolution was justly considered as the main object of public attention. In it, was involved the constitutional question, and as the decision would equally affect the royal

CHAP. IV.

and proprietary governments, the barriers which local prejudices and commercial competition had erected, instantly tumbled down, and the American people entered at once into one vast arena for the purpose of mutual defence and national concert.

From this moment the history of one province is the history of all, unless the historian chooses to become the frigid annalist of partial events, when he is surrounded by the most brilliant phænomena, and walks in the midst of actions which shake the world to its centre.

Several of the provincial legislatures transmitted petitions to the king, and memorials to both houses of parliament, couched in respectful but animated terms, against the projected statute. The assembly of Massachusetts instructed their agent in London not only to protest against the passage of the stamp act, or any other act of a similar nature, but to solicit the repeal of the obnoxious duties, on the ground of their being eminently prejudicial to the true interests of the colonies and the mother country. Private associations were formed at the same time in various places, with the view of diminishing the use of British and encouraging that of American manufactures.

The administration having unexpectedly encountered this alarming opposition, attempted to gain the object by means less calculated to excite offence and alarm, but which should be equally decisive of the principle contended for, and which might afterwards be brought into a precedent. With this view the agents of the colonies in London were informed that they were at liberty of adopting any other mode more agreeable for raising the sum demanded.* It was also pro-

* 100,000*l.*

posed that they would be permitted to plead at the bar of the house by counsel, contrary to the usual parliamentary practice, against the tax in behalf of their respective colonies; but these pretended concessions were spurned at by the agents as derogatory to the rights and honour of the colonies, who would not on this occasion petition but protest. It was urged by them that the claim of England was not only "absolutely novel, but diametrically opposite to the spirit and letter of the English constitution, which has established as a fundamental axiom, that taxation is inseparably attached to representation; that as the colonies were not, and from local and political obstacles could not, be represented in the British parliament, it would be of the very essence of tyranny to attempt to exercise an authority over them, which from its very nature must lead to gross and inevitable abuse. For when Great Britain was in full possession of the power now contended for, could it possibly be imagined, when a sum of money for the supply of the exigencies of government was wanting, that the British parliament would not rather choose to vote that it should be paid by the colonists than by themselves and their constituents?

"In reply to the argument which stated as highly reasonable, that America should contribute her proportion to the general expense of the empire, it was said, "that America had never been deficient in contributing, at the constitutional requisition of the crown, in her own assemblies, to the utmost of her ability, towards the expenses of the wars in which conjointly with England she had been involved; that, in the course of the last memorable contest, large sums had been repeatedly voted by parliament, as an indemnification to the colonies for exertions

CHAP. IV.

which were allowed to be disproportionate to their means and resources; that the proper compensation to Britain for the expense of rearing and protecting her colonies was the monopoly of this trade, the absolute direction and regulation of which was universally acknowledged to be inherent in the British legislature." It was, however, clearly intimated that a specific sum, in lieu of all other claims, might be obtained from the colonies, if accepted as a voluntary offering, not as a revenue extorted by tyrannical and lawless force, which left them no merit in giving, and which might ultimately leave them nothing to give.

The argument or pretext which appeared to excite most indignation in the breast of the Americans and of their advocates, was that which affected to deem them *already represented;* and as being, if not actually, yet virtually included in the general system of representation, in the same manner as that very large proportion of the inhabitants of the British island who have no votes in the election of members or representatives in the British parliament. "The very essence of representation,* said America, "consists in this, that the representative is himself placed in a situation analagous to those whom he represents, so that he shall be himself bound by the laws which he is entrusted to enact, and liable to the taxes which he is authorised to impose. This is precisely the case with regard to the national representation of Britain. Those who do, and those who do not elect, together with the elected body themselves, are, in respect to this grand and indispensable requisite,

* *Belsham.*

upon a perfect equality; that the laws made and the taxes imposed extend alike to all. Where then in this case is the danger of oppression, or where the inducement to oppress? But in the case of American taxation, these *mock representatives* actually relieve themselves in the very same proportion that they burden those whom they falsely and ridiculously pretend to represent. Where then in this case is the security against oppression? or where is the man so weak and prejudiced as not to see the irresistible tendency of this system to oppression, however honest and upright candour would represent the intentions of those by whom it should be originally established?"

Arguments of colonists against the act.

But these arguments, clear and convincing as they must appear at this day, produced not the slightest change in the determination of ministers; and the parliament, which had been convened at the usual period of the ensuing winter, having first unanimously concurred in refusing to hear any memorials from the colonies that questioned their jurisdiction, passed into a law the famous stamp act by large majorities, and it immediately after received the royal assent.

1765.

This act, although carried by triumphant majorities, was assailed by an ardour and eloquence uncommonly resplendent and animated. The right indeed was questioned but in a single instance; the virtuous name of Conway, however, rendered this simple protest respectable. Its injustice and inexpedience became the themes of more elevated and copious declamation.

Colonel Barre, a speaker of distinguished eminence, in reply to the observation of Charles Townshend on the ingratitude of the Americans, where he calls them children planted by our care and nourished by our indulgence, broke out into

CHAP. IV.

the following lofty strain of indignant eloquence: "*Children planted by your care!* No! your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others, to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country, a people the most subtle, and, I will take upon me to say, the most terrible that ever inhabited any part of God's earth. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from those who should have been their friends. "*They nourished by your indulgence!*" "No! they grew by your neglect. When you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, who were the deputies of some deputy sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them: Men, whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them: Men promoted to the highest seats of justice, some of whom were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of justice in their own. "*They protected by your arms!*" "They have nobly taken up arms in your defence; have exerted their valour, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, the interiour of which, while its frontiers were drenched in blood, has yielded all its little savings to your enlargement. *Believe me—remember, I this day told you so; the same spirit which actuated that people at first, still continues with them:* But prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows, I do not at this time speak from party heat. However superior to me in ge-

neral knowledge and experience any one here may be, I claim to know more of America, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should be violated: But the subject is delicate—I will say no more."

In America this opposition to the statute was of a more perilous and awful nature. Roused by the declared intention of parliament to tax the colonies, the people passed rapidly from apprehension to resentment; from resentment to rage and indignation. A hope, however, generally prevailed that the obnoxious declaration would not be able to stand its ground against the unanimous protest of the American people. In this state of gloomy suspense, public sentiment rested like a cloud highly charged with electric matter, and from whose sides the slightest agitation would elicit the thunder and forked lightening.

The passage of this hateful statute burst at once the dark and portentous cloud which for some time had been collecting there, into the most violent expressions of rage and indignation. The vessels in the harbour of Boston hung out their colours half mast high as an emblem of the public distress, and the most gloomy determination. It was the emblem of death and spoke more forcibly than words, the most fearful desperation. Muffled bells, by their hollow sounds and tedious pauses, tended still farther to keep alive these funereal associations. Sensations like these rendered the soul familiar with images of death, and insensibly raised it into the region of terror and sublimity. Every object that met the senses nourished those impressions. Their wives

CHAP. IV.

and children and parents were threatened with unmerited injuries; with slavery, ten thousand times worse than death.

The act itself, the hated instrument of so many calamities, was seized on the first moment of its appearance, and burnt by the populace with the effigies of its most active supporters. "The masters of those vessels which had conveyed the stamps to America were compelled to deliver up their execrated cargoes to an enraged multitude, who treated them with the same ignominy which the act itself had experienced. Those who had accepted commissions to act as distributors of stamps, were forced by public oath to renounce all concern in them at this or any future juncture; and in some instances the houses of those who were most obnoxious were demolished, and their effects plundered or destroyed. The justices of the peace in many parts gave public notice, that they would never by acting in that capacity, be instrumental to the subversion of their country's liberties; the gentlemen also of the law, fired by the same patriotic enthusiasm, universally renounced, in the exercise of their profession, the use of the British stamps. But the most alarming opposition was made by the merchants, who entered into solemn engagements not to import any more goods from Great Britain till the stamp act was repealed. By the first of November, (1765), the day on which the act was to take place, not a sheet of stamped paper was to be found throughout the colonies; so that all business which could not be legally carried on without stamps was entirely at a stand. Every where the courts of justice were shut, and the ports closed."*

* *Belsham.*

DURING these tumults not the slightest exertion was made by the colonial governments to repress or allay the public ferment; nor did the least apprehension of any such interference exist among the people. They were in their estimation sanctioned by God and the constitution of their country; the bands that had heretofore upheld the edifice of government, were all at once snapt by the brutal violence of their oppressors, and it would have been equally stupid and wicked in them to have waited until the yoke had been fastened on their necks: They had the approbation of their own consciences, and of every thing that was dear and venerable in their country.

THE assembly of Virginia was in session when the passage of the stamp act was announced, and their proceedings exhibited a noble proof of their steady adherence to the maxims of their ancestors, and their ardour in the cause of American liberty.

IT appears that notwithstanding the prevalence of correct opinions on politics in Virginia, a strong minority, styling themselves the friends of government, continued to keep their ground in the legislature. This party, composed in general of the great landed proprietors, by acting in concert were always able to embarrass and sometimes to defeat the measures of the patriots. Disgusted by the studied delays and insidious sophistry of this class during the preceding session, Johnson declared his intention of bringing into the assembly Patrick Henry, a young lawyer distinguished alike for an eloquence copious and overbearing, and an opposition to the claims of the British parliament bordering on sedition. Conformably with this declaration, the seat of Mr. Johnson was purposely vacated, and young Henry, by the influence of his friend, became a

CHAP. IV.

member for the county of Louisa in the assembly of 1765.

So many of the succeeding events are connected with the life of this extraordinary man, that it will not be thought unseasonable to notice some of the steps by which he rose from obscurity to public estimation and consequence. They will throw light on some events, which have been but slightly touched, or wholly omitted; and will perhaps illustrate a series of political transactions, which would otherwise be with difficulty understood.

Patrick Henry.

PATRICK HENRY, the son of a Scotch gentleman of the same name, was born in the county of Hanover. His mother was a Virginian of the respectable family of the Winstones, whose standing in society, added to the learning of his father, had the effect of securing our patriot from those vulgar propensities which, owing to the vice of aristocratic institutions, are but too often entailed on the offspring of poverty.

HE soon became a tolerable proficient in the Latin language, and in the elements of geography: But his favourite studies were the history and antiquities of his native state; and so strong was the determination of his mind to objects at this time little known or attended to, that at an early age he was minutely acquainted with the various grants and charters, which compose the foundation and edifice of the rights and pretensions of Virginia.

OWING to the security arising from long and uninterrupted possession, and the apprehensions excited by foreign hostility, these rights were but imperfectly understood, and to his superiour knowledge in topics gradually becoming more interesting, should be ascribed in a great measure the high and deserved reputation he afterwards

acquired. In the prosecution of these studies he had, however, to encounter long and habitual fits of indolence. Whilst these lasted he was wont to solace himself with the charms of music, to which he was passionately devoted, and in which he was no mean proficient. But the dread of dependence and the spur of ambition, at length recalled him from this lethargy, and he was established by the advice and aid of his family in a small store* in his native county.

It will be readily imagined that propensities and attainments such as have been described, were not well calculated to secure commercial eminence to their possessor. Young Henry was unfortunate, and acting now on his own lessons of a short but useful experience, and set on by the workings of an active and ardent ambition, he turned his eye towards the profession of the law, as presenting the shortest and safest road to honour and emolument. He found the less difficulty in gaining the approbation of his friends to this project, who had marked for some in common with his acquaintance, the extraordinary prematurity of his genius; and after a single month's study, during which time he read with attention Coke upon Littleton and an abridgement of the law of Virginia, he obtained a license.

His first essay realized the partial expectation of his friends. On every occasion where acuteness of thought, a grasp and originality of judgment and fancy were called for, he displayed powers before unknown in Virginia, and established beyond dispute his great superiority over all his competitors. In close and compact reasoning; in laborious research; in scientific at-

* Shop, officina.

CHAP. IV.

tainments, he had many equals, and some superiors; but in the forms and manner of eloquence he was superior to them all.

HITHERTO his talents had been exerted only in cases originating in private litigation. He had never measured his strength with any great public question, where the soul of the orator communicating its fire to its hearers exhibits the splendid phænomena of popular eloquence. An occasion like this was wanting for his display of constitutional law, where lay his principal strength. To this his wishes were constantly directed, until they were at length gratified in a manner most flattering to his fame and fortune.

THE Assembly of Virginia had fixed the salary of her ministers of religion at 16,000 weight of tobacco. Owing to the arts of an extravagant speculator of the name of Dickenson, this commodity rose on a sudden from 16*s.* and 8*d.* per cwt. to 50*s.* and a law was immediately enacted that the parishioners might pay their dues to their ministers at 2*d.* per pound, thereby authorising them to save themselves the difference between 16*s.* and 8*d.* and 50*s.*

THIS act, styled by its enemies in derision the two-penny-act, was contested by the clergy with all the violence which has invariably distinguished their defence of their own privileges. Camm, a professor of William and Mary, had written a pamphlet against it, and he, with several other ministers had instituted suits against their respective vestries for the recovery of those dues, of which they alledged they had been defrauded contrary to law. With the great body of the people the act was popular, and from this we should perhaps infer that independent of any advantage they might derive from curtailing their revenues, they were secretly pleased with an oc-

casion of mortifying a class of men, who unfortunately in all countries, have been distinguished less for piety and forbearance than for arrogance and ambition.

Amongst the rest, Mr. Henry, the uncle of our orator, had brought suit against his parish, and had retained the ablest counsel in Virginia. The nephew was engaged by the vestry, and the court was crouded at an early hour to witness the discussion of a cause that had produced so deep an interest and so wide an agitation. Previous to the trial, Mr. Henry suggested to his nephew the indecorum and gracelessness of his appearance against the brother of his father. It was coolly answered by the young advocate, that he was without fortune or patronage, and was compelled to rely wholly on himself for advancement and consideration; that it was the duty of his father's brother to have sought occasions to draw him into notice, instead of which he had confided his cause to strangers to the obvious disparagement and slight of the talents of his nephew; that neglected thus by his nearest relations, he had been taken up by the people, and that no consideration should induce him to abandon a cause to which he was bound equally by his judgment and inclination. He at the same time emphatically advised his uncle to go home, "for, said he, you will hear disagreeble things. I think I am acquainted with this cause, and with the blessing of God I will enforce this day the rights of the people, and expose the avarice and ambition of the priests: I know them, said he; they shall have justice done this day *upon them.*" Struck with his manner, Mr. Henry took the advice of his nephew, and the cause, after a wonderful display of constitutional learning, according to his prediction, was adjudged in favour of the vestry.

CHAP. IV.

His next exhibition was before the committee of privileges and elections, in the disputed election between col. Syme, his half brother, and col. Richard Littlepage. The great right of suffrage was a theme still better suited to his genius and studies; a theme, however, at this day little talked of, and less understood. In the hands of any other man in Virginia this subject would have excited little curiosity, and have probably passed off with the cold formalities usual on such occasions; but the name of Henry was insensibly growing into celebrity, and the members crouded from all quarters to witness the phænomenon of a youth in a plain unfashionable dress, unassisted by fortune or patronage and education, defining with accuracy the rights of the people, and setting bounds to the authority of government; giving interest to subjects heretofore supposed unsusceptible of embellishment; whilst a firm but modest consciousness of his own worth, diffused over his whole deportment, inspired his auditors with respect alike for his principles and talents.

Much of the secret of Henry's eloquence lay in his capacity, more perhaps in his *manner*:— Without any other knowledge of scenic representations, save what was derived from books, his manner was strikingly dramatic. His eye was piercing and expressive; his voice sonorous and flexible; his gesture bold even to extravagance; his manner, which may be likened to the *actio* of the antients, gave to the whole a harmony, whose effect was irresistible.

But the time was approaching when he would not be tied down to the drudgery of judicial authorities, and when his genius would enjoy ample scope to exert its powers to the very extent of his ambition. The stamp act afforded a theme

equally grand and popular: It interested every being in the country; but to the great mass of the people it was matter rather of feeling than reflection. The historical facts on which rested the national rights, were known but to a few. It was the good fortune of Mr. Henry to be the first to enter into an abstract exposition of this great question, and to render familiar by his perspicuous manner, subjects heretofore buried deep beneath the rubbish of antiquity.

When Henry first appeared in the assembly of Virginia, his name was familiar, though his person was almost wholly unknown. The court party failed not to remark, with some appearance of exultation, his supposed defect in ease and good breeding; and by titterings and whispers attempted to embarrass and depress him. The plainness of his dress and the awkwardness of his figure furnished new food for ridicule, and the whole of their court graces were ostentatiously played off for the purpose of rendering the contrast between polish and rusticity more striking and decisive: But their triumph was short lived. Soon as the great faculties of his mind began to enlarge and expand their volumes before them, their feelings were instantly converted into apprehension and astonishment. Expectation being now at its height, Mr. Henry rose, and having called the attention of the house to the alarming pretensions of the English government, and their late encroachments on the just rights and liberties of British America, as exemplified in the late passage of that obnoxious statute, the stamp act, he offered to the speaker the following resolutions:

"Whereas the honourable house of commons in England have of late drawn into ques-

CHAP. IV.

tion, how far the general assembly of this colony hath power to enact laws for laying taxes and imposing duties, payable by the people of this, his majesty's most ancient colony; for settling and ascertaining the same to all future times, the house of burgesses of this present general assembly have come to the several following resolutions:

"Resolved, that the first adventurers and settlers of this his majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his majesty's subjects since inhabiting in this his majesty's colony, all the privileges and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, that by the two royal charters granted by king James I. the colonies aforesaid are declared entitled to all the privileges of faithful liege and natural born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding and born within the realm of England.

"Resolved, that his majesty's most liege people of this his most ancient colony, have enjoyed the right of being thus governed by their own assembly, in the article of taxes and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited, nor any other way yielded up, but have been constantly recognised by the king and people of Great Britain.

"Resolved, therefore, that the general assembly of this colony, together with his majesty, or his substitute, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the general assembly aforesaid, is illegal, unconstitutional and unjust, and has a manifest

tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.

"Resolved, that his majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any taxation whatsoever upon them, other than the laws and ordinances of the general assembly aforesaid.

"Resolved, that any person who shall, by speaking or writing, maintain that any other person or persons, other than the general assembly of this colony, have any right or power to lay any taxation whatsoever on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to this his majesty's colony."

The speaker having objected to the style of the resolutions, as too strong and inflammatory, George Johnson of Alexandria, an eminent lawyer, undertook to support him, and Henry, roused by opposition, entered at once into an elaborate investigation of the subject, in the course of which he displayed so much rare and profound constitutional learning, such resources of ingenuity; a declamation so clear, rapid and impressive, embellished with a fancy occasionally playful and lofty, as for a moment astonished and confounded opposition. His arragement of his discourse was clear; his division of his subject eminently simple. "The rights of British America," said he, "are three fold; chartered, constitutional and natural. The first arose out of our condition as colonists, and are guaranteed to us by repeated charters granted by our English monarchs. They are every where recognised in all our public instruments, in the acts of our assemblies, in the minutes of our councils, in our judicial proceedings, in our habits, our principles, in every page and letter of our history, and

CHAP. IV.

until, unfortunately for the British empire, the present ministers came into power, no man was daring enough to call them into question. Our constitutional rights we inherit as subjects of Britain. Our fathers brought them along with them across the Atlantic, and in the midst of their own unparallelled distresses they cherished the sacred deposit, and transmitted it unimpaired a noble bequest to their descendants. These rights, instead of impairing our chartered rights, go to their absolute confirmation. At the time of our emigration we were entitled to all the benefits of English subjects; our charters secured to us in America the benefits we were compelled to relinquish in Europe. Instead of parliaments now too remote, the wisdom of our ancestors devised the simple but majestic plan of colonial assemblies chosen by the people and vested with the sole power of levying and granting the public money. Since the year 1619 this right has been exercised here, and I believe, in every other American colony, to the great benefit and content of the people. But the claim now arrogantly set up by ministers would go to the utter annihilation of both the one and the other. We are to have no rights of any kind, either as Englishmen or Americans, under the British constitution or American charters.

"But there is a still higher right," said he, "of which it is attempted to bereave us; which, although all other rights should be taken away, no one ought to be found so poor of soul as tamely to surrender. These are our natural rights, which we derive from the God of nature. By these we are taught that the fruits of our labour belong exclusively to ourselves, and may not be taken from us but by our own free will and consent: That man hath a right, and is under an ori-

ginal necessity to seek his own happiness; that with this view their fathers had emigrated to America, and at a vast expense of blood and treasure had reclaimed the horrid wilderness to arts and civilization, and had thereby added incalculably to the wealth and power of the parent state.

"THESE facts," said the animated orator, "are well known to the king of Great Britain and his parliaments; but they have notwithstanding persisted, and it becomes the solemn duty of North-America, and more especially of this ancient colony, ever conspicuous for her devotion to liberty, to restore them to their senses."

HERE he entered into an historical enumeration of those examples of successful resistance to oppression which rendered glorious the annals of Rome and England, and concluded with this dreadful warning, which connected with its subsequent fulfilment, seemed like the inspiration of prophecy. "Cæsar," said he, "had his Brutus, Charles his Cromwell and (pausing) George the third, (here a cry of treason, treason was heard, supposed to issue from the chair, but with admirable presence of mind he proceeded) may profit by their examples. Sir, if this be treason," continued he, "make the most of it."

THIS speech, of which only a sketch is given, was frequently interrupted with the cry of hear, hear, and the resolutions were passed by a large majority, forty only having voted against them.

A CIRCUMSTANCE occurred, however, which had well nigh defeated their intentions. Secure of the victory they had already gained, many of the patriots had procured leave of absence for the purpose of visiting their families, and the opposition emboldened by so considerable a defection, moved that the resolutions should be rescinded from the journals. This mean and un-

CHAP. IV.

worthy artifice was reprobated by Mr. Henry in the most unqualified language of contempt and indignation. He concluded by calling upon the friends of liberty to secede, and leave to those men the whole responsibility of a measure calculated so vitally to affect the interest and character of Virginia.

THIS motion effectually brought them to their senses. They alledged that their opposition proceeded solely from a wish to effect a restoration of harmony, rather from the justice than the fears of the mother country, and that in their judgment the effect of those resolutions would rather be to irritate than persuade: They promised, however, to withdraw all farther opposition, provided the two last resolutions were withdrawn. Mr. Henry rightly judging that the sacrifice of two resolutions, whose meaning was substantially preserved in those which would remain, was of no value compared with unanimity, the terms were accepted.

STRUCK with the alarming tendency of these proceedings, the governor suddenly dissolved the assembly, and writs were immediately issued for a new election: But the resolutions of the assembly were the sentiments of the people, and in almost every instance those who had voted for their adoption were re-elected, whilst their opponents were with as little exception excluded.

THE spirited behaviour of the assembly of Virginia had a wonderful effect in animating and confirming the zeal of the other colonies, and public testimonies were not wanting of the exalted opinion entertained by them of her courage and wisdom. Similar resolutions to those of Virginia were generally adopted. Those of Massachusetts were enforced by a recommendation of an American congress of deputies, to be appoint-

ed by the colonial legislatures, and which should meet at New York in October, "for the purpose of consulting together on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of the acts of parliament for levying taxes."

THIS recommendation, notwithstanding the shortness of the notice, was received with all the respect and attention usually paid to the acts of established authority. The deputies of nine states met at the appointed time, and a ballot having taken place, Timothy Rutgles of Massachusetts, was appointed president. The time of this body being too valuable, and their business too important to be employed in idle debate and impertinent formalities, with one consent they entered immediately on the subject for whose deliberation they had been appointed. The first act of this body after their organization was a solemn declaration of rights, which was ordered to be inserted in their minutes.

First American congress.

"THE members of this congress," say they, "sincerely devoted, with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty to his majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present establishment of the protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed with a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British colonies on this continent; having considered as maturely as time will permit, the circumstances of said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declarations of our humble opinion respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievances under which they labour, by reason of several late acts of parliament.

"I. THAT his majesty's subjects in these colonies, owe the same allegiance to the crown of

CHAP. IV.

Great Britain, that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body the parliament of G. Britain.

"II. THAT his majesty's liege subjects in these colonies, are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects, within the kingdom of Great Britain.

"III. THAT it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally or by their representatives.

"IV. THAT the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the house of commons in Great Britain.

"V. THAT the only representatives of the people of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them but by their own respective legislatures.

"VI. THAT all supplies to the crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution, for the people of Great Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the colonists.

"VII. THAT trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies.

"VIII. THAT the late act of parliament, entitled "An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, &c." by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these colonies, and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest ten-

dency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.

"IX. THAT the duties imposed by several late acts of parliament, from the peculiar circumstances of these colonies, will be extremely burthensome and grievous, and from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable.

"X. THAT as the profits of the trade of these colonies ultimately center in Great Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted there to the crown.

"XI. THAT the restrictions imposed by several late acts of parliament on the trade of these colonies, will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain.

"XII. THAT the increase, prosperity and happiness of these colonies depend on the full and free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and an intercourse with Great Britain mutually affectionate and advantageous.

"XIII. THAT it is the right of the British subjects in these colonies to petition the king, or either house of parliament.

"LASTLY, that it is the indispensable duty of these colonies, to the best of sovereigns, to the mother country, and to themselves, to endeavour by a loyal and dutiful address to his majesty, and humble applications to both houses of parliament, to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of parliament, whereby the jurisdiction of the admiralty is extended as aforesaid, and of the other late acts for the restriction of American commerce.

CHAP. IV.

COMMITTEES were immediately appointed for the purpose of drafting petitions to the king and commons, and a memorial to the house of lords. These papers, having been reported to the house, were unanimously adopted. Indeed, nothing could have been more entirely unexceptionable than the style and matter of these papers. It was the language of complaint, not rude and boisterous; but tender, respectful and affectionate: They speak, indeed, of invaded rights and violated compacts; but nothing resentful or vindictive is uttered, and the conduct of the parent state is ascribed rather to mistaken policy than to any deliberate design to enslave or depress them. But whilst they proceed in this temperate strain, nothing is omitted which can shew their absolute conviction of the justice of their claims, and their firm resolution to support them. Happy had it been for Britain, if, touched by the tender reproof contained in them, and influenced by their good sense, she had abandonded at once and for ever her selfish and unfounded pretensions. To the king they say, "The continuation of these liberties to the inhabitants of America we ardently implore, as absolutely necessary to unite the several parts of your wide extended dominions, in that harmony so essential to the preservation and happiness of the whole. Protected in these liberties, the emoluments Great Britain receives from us, however great at present, are inconsiderable, compared with those she has the fairest prospect of acquiring. By this protection she will forever secure to herself the advantage of conveying to all Europe, the merchandises which America furnishes, and of supplying through the same channel whatever is wanted from thence. Here opens a boundless source of wealth and naval strength; yet these immense advantages, by the

abridgement of those invaluable rights and liberties, by which our growth has been nourished, are in danger of being forever lost; and our subordinate legislatures, in effect, rendered useless by the late acts of parliament imposing taxes on these colonies, and extending the jurisdiction of the court of admiralty here, beyond its ancient limits; statutes by which your majesty's commons in Britain undertake absolutely to dispose of the property of their fellow subjects in America, without their consent, and for the enforcing whereof, they are subjected to the determination of a single judge in a court unrestrained by the wise rules of the common law, the birthright of Englishmen, and the safeguard of their persons and properties.

"THE invaluable rights of taxing ourselves, and trial by our peers, of which we implore your majesty's protection, are not, we most humbly conceive, unconstitutional; but confirmed by the great charter of English liberty. On the first of these rights, the honourable the house of commons found their practice of originating money bills, a right enjoyed by the kingdom of Ireland, by the clergy of England, until relinquished by themselves, a right, in fine, which all other your majesty's English subjects, both within and without the realm, have hitherto enjoyed.

"WITH hearts, therefore, impressed with the most indelible character of gratitude to your majesty, and to the memory of the kings of your illustrious house, whose reigns have been signally distinguished by their auspicious influence on the prosperity of the British dominions, and convinced by the most affecting proofs of your majesty's paternal love to all your people, however distant, and your unceasing and benevolent desires to promote their happiness, we most hum-

CHAP. IV.

bly beseech your majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to take into your royal consideration the distresses of your faithful subjects on this continent, and to lay the same before your majesty's parliament, and to afford them such relief, as in your royal wisdom their unhappy circumstances shall be judged to require."

THEIR petition to the commons embraces a wider range, and dwells with greater force and minuteness upon the several grounds of dispute. It states, "That the several late acts of parliament, imposing divers duties and taxes on the colonies, and laying the trade and commerce thereof under very burthensome restrictions, but above all the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, &c. in America, have filled them with the deepest concern and surprise; and they humbly conceive the execution of them will be attended with consequences very injurious to the commercial interest of Great Britain and her colonies, and must terminate in the eventual ruin of the latter.

"WE most sincerely recognise," said they, "our allegiance to the crown, and acknowledge all due subordination to the parliament of Great Britain, and shall always retain the most grateful sense of their assistance and protection. It is from and under the English constitution we derive all our civil and religious rights and liberties; we glory in being subjects of the best of kings, and having been born under the most perfect form of government; but it is with most ineffable and humiliating sorrow, that we find ourselves, of late, deprived of the right of granting our own property for his majesty's service, to which our lives and fortunes are entirely devoted, and to which, on his royal requisitions, we have ever been ready to contribute to the utmost of our abilities.

"We have also the misfortune to find that all the penalties and forfeitures mentioned in the stamp act, and in divers late acts of trade extending to the plantations, are, at the election of the informer, recoverable in any court of admiralty in America. This, as the newly erected court of admiralty, has a general jurisdiction over all British America, renders his majesty's subjects in these colonies, liable to be carried, at an immense expense, from one end of the continent to the other.

"It gives us also great pain to see a manifest distinction made therein, between the subjects of our mother country and those in the colonies, in that the like penalties and forfeitures recoverable there only in his majesty court of record, are made cognizable here by a court of admiralty; by these means we seem to be, in effect, unhappily deprived of two privileges essential to freedom, and which all Englishmen have ever considered as their best birthrights, that of being free from all taxes but such as they have consented to in person, or by their representatives, and of trial by their peers.

"Your petitioners further shew, that the remote situation, and other circumstances of the colonies, render it impracticable that they should be represented but in their respective subordinate legislatures; and they humbly conceive that the parliament, adhering strictly to the principles of the constitution, have never hitherto taxed any but those who were actually therein represented; for this reason, we humbly apprehend, they never have taxed Ireland, or any of the subjects without the realm.

"But were it ever so clear, that the colonies might in law be reasonably deemed to be represented in the honourable house of commons, yet

CHAP. IV.

we conceive that very good reasons, from inconvenience, from the principles of true policy, and from the spirit of the British constitution, may be adduced to shew, that it would be for the real interest of Great Britain, as well as her colonies, that the late regulations should be rescinded, and the several acts of parliament imposing duties and taxes on the colonies, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty here, beyond their ancient limits, should be repealed.

"We shall not attempt a minute detail of all the reasons which the wisdom of the honourable house may suggest, on this occasion, but would humbly submit the following particulars to their consideration.

"That money is already become very scarce in these colonies, and is still decreasing by the necessary exportation of specie from the continent, for the discharge of our debts to British merchants.

"That an immensely heavy debt is yet due from the colonies for British manufactures, and that they are still heavily burthened with taxes to discharge the arrearages due for aids granted by them in the late war.

"That the balance of trade will ever be much against the colonies, and in favour of Great Britain, whilst we consume her manufactures, the demand for which must ever increase in proportion to the number of inhabitants settled here, with the means of purchasing them. We therefore humbly conceive it to be the interest of Great Britain to increase, rather than diminish, those means, as the profits of all the trade of the colonies ultimately center there to pay for her manufactures, as we are not allowed to purchase elsewhere; and by the consumption of which, at the advanced prices the British taxes oblige the

makers and venders to set on them, we eventually contribute very largely to the revenue of the crown.

"THAT from the nature of American business, the multiplicity of suits and papers used in matters of small value in a country where freeholds are so minutely divided, and property so frequently transferred, a stamp duty must ever be very burthensome and unequal.

"THAT it is extremely improbable that the honourable house of commons should, at all times, be thoroughly acquainted with our condition, and all facts requisite to a just and equal taxation of the colonies.

"IT is also humbly submitted, whether there be not a material distinction in reason and sound policy, at least, between the necessary exercise of parliamentary jurisdiction in general acts, for the amendment of the common law, and the regulation of trade and commerce through the whole empire, and the exercise of that jurisdiction, by imposing taxes on the colonies.

"THAT the several subordinate provincial legislatures have been moulded into forms, as nearly resembling that of their mother country, as by his majesty's royal predecessors was thought convenient; and their legislatures seem to have been wisely and graciously established, that the subjects in the colonies might, under the due administration thereof, enjoy the happy fruits of the British government, which in their present circumstances they cannot be so fully and clearly availed of, any other way under these forms of government we and our ancestors have been born or settled, and have had our lives, liberties and properties protected. The people here, as every where else, retain a great fondness for their old customs and usages, and we trust that his ma-

CHAP. IV.

jesty's service, and the interest of the nation, so far from being obstructed, have been vasty promoted by the provincial legislatures.

"THAT we esteem our connections with, and dependance on Great Britain, as one of our greatest blessings, and apprehend that the latter will appear to be sufficiently secure, when it is considered that the inhabitants in the colonies have the most unbounded affection for his majesty's person, family and government, as well as for the mother country, and that their subordination to the parliament is universally acknowledged.

"WE therefore most humbly entreat, that the honourable house would be pleased to hear our counsel in support of this petition, and take our distressed and deplorable case into their serious consideration, and that the acts and clauses of acts, so grievously restraining our trade and commerce, imposing duties and taxes on our property, and extending the jurisdiction of the court of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, may be repealed; or that the honourable house would otherwise relieve your petitioners, as in your great wisdom and goodness shall seem meet."

THE deputies of six only, out of the nine colonies represented at this congress, signed the proceeedings. This circumstance, calculated at first sight to convey a suspicion of distrust and division, is thus satisfactorily explained in their letter to the principal agent in London:

"THE lieutenant governor of New York prorogued their assembly from time to time, so that their house had not an apportunity of appointing members with full powers to join, and sign the address, &c. Yet the assembly of New York having, at their last meeting, appointed five of their members as a committee, not only to correspond with their agent at home, but also

during the recess of the house to write to and correspond with the several assemblies or committees of assemblies on this continent, on the subject matter of the several late acts of parliament, so grievous and dangerous to their colonies, it was thought proper to admit this committee to join in the conferences, and they agreed to what was done, and promised to use their endeavours with their assembly to concur also whenever they should be permitted to meet.

"The South Carolina assembly, not rightly viewing the proposal (which originally came from the assembly of the government of the Massachusetts Bay) as it was intended that the several committees, when met, should frame and sign an address to his majesty, and memorial and petition to the parliament, to be immediately dispatched by the congress, instructed their members (Messrs. Lynch, Rutledge and Gadsden) to return their proceedings to them for approbation. The Connecticut assembly made the same restrictions in their instructions. The assembly also of New Hampshire wrote that they had resolved, that notwithstanding they were sensible such a representation ought to be made, and approved of the proposed method for obtaining thereof, yet the present situation of their governmental affairs would not permit them to appoint a committee to attend such meeting, but should be ready to join in any address to his majesty and the parliament they might be honoured with the knowledge of, probable to answer the proposed end; and the speaker of the assembly of Georgia wrote, that a majority of their members had applied to the governor to call their assembly, and he did not think it expedient, which was the reason they did not send a committee as proposed, but

CHAP. IV.

requested us to transmit a copy of our proceedings to them, (which will be done) and that their assembly would meet about this time, and he did not doubt but they should so act as to convince the sister colonies of their inviolable attachment to the common cause. We also understood the North Carolina, and we know the Virginia assembly was prorogued, whereby they could not have the opportunity of joining us; so that we doubt not but the colonies who have not signed, will very speedily transmit similar addresses, if their assemblies should not be hindered from meeting; and to this purpose, we hope you will soon hear from the assembly of South Carolina."*

---

* The following estimates of the receipts and expenditures of this virtuous body may furnish a hint to the advocates of taxes, of a national debt and splendid establishments. Justly has it been said, that the trappings of monarchy are more than sufficient to set up a republic.

An account of the disposition of the 500*l. granted by ordinance, and received of the treasurer by William Murdock, Edward Tilghman, and Thomas Ringgold.*

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
To cash paid the whole expenses of the committee to N. York, there and back again,	138	14	1
To cash paid expres to N. York, to give notice of our coming, - -		15	
To cash paid for express, to send a copy of our proceedings to the speaker of Virginia, - - -		1	10
To cash paid for bill of exchange,			

By cash received of the treasurer in gold, 500*l.* at 5*s.* 6*d.* per dwt. as follows:	*L.*	*s.*	*d.*
409 Spanish pistoles, at 27*s.*	532	3	0
5 Half johannes, at 57*s*6. -	14	7	6
4 French pistoles, at 26*s.* and 6*d.* - -	5	6	0
1 Moidore, - -	2	3	6
1 Half do. - -	1	1	9

CHAP. IV.

MEANWHILE a change of ministry had unexpectedly taken place in England, and hopes were entertained, not without reason, that American grievances would experience at least an unprejudiced if not favourable hearing. It was known with certainty, that a majority of the new administration was composed of whigs, who could not, it was thought, consistently with their own principles, give their sanction to measures affecting the security of their fellow subjects. Before judges such as these, reasoning from analogies, the claims of America would be listened to with admiration and sympathy, and their wrongs redressed with effect and decision. It was known, however, that particular members were avowedly hostile to the plan of American taxation in any shape.

Meeting of parliament.

IN England the parliamentary debut of the new ministers was watched with scarcely less solicitude. It was every where regarded as the opening of a drama, whose plot had excited universal expectation, and whose denouement would operate either prosperity or disaster on the nation. Under these circumstances of anxiety and hope, of assurance and apprehension, the session was opened by a speech from the throne, from whose mild and conciliatory spirit much

---

to remit to Chs. Garth, esq. with the address and petitions, 150*l.* sterling, at 65 per cent, exchg. 247 10

Cash remaining in hand 127 pistoles and 18*s.* and 8*d.* 172 7 8

575 1 9 | 575 1 9

CHAP. IV.

good was expected, both in Europe and America. It evinced a wish to recede, on the part of the administration, provided it could be effected without any derogation of the authority of parliament, or any express surrender of the rights contended for. But by the friends and partisans of the last administration, the papers relating to the disturbances in America, were represented as deliberate and concerted efforts to throw off all allegiance to the mother country, and the various remonstrances from towns, cities and corporations in that country, as the effects of ministerial artifice, to prepare the public mind for the repeal of this salutary statute. Whist the house wavered between these conflicting opinions, Mr. Pitt rose, and after some general observations, delivered his sentiments on the merits of this famous statute.

"He pronounced every capital measure taken by the late ministers to have been entirely wrong. As to the present ministers, though he acknowledged them to be men of fair characters, and such as he was happy to see engaged in his majesty's service, he professed that he could not give them his confidence. "Confidence," said he, "is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom;—youth is the season of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence. I have had the honour to serve the crown; and could I have submitted to *influence*, I might still have continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments. It is indifferent to me, whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I countenanced and protected merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast, that I was the first minister who

sought for it in the mountains of the north—I called it forth, and drew into your service an hardy and intrepid race of men, who were once dreaded as the inveterate enemies of the state. When I ceased to serve his majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved, but the man of that country held principles incompatible with freedom. It is a long time, Mr. Speaker, since I have attended in parliament; when the resolution was taken in this house to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. It is my opinion, that this kingdom has *no right* to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power; the taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. The concurrence of the peers and of the crown is necessary only as a form of law. This house represents the commons of Great Britain. When in this house we give and grant, therefore, we give grant what is our own; but can we give and grant the property of the commons of America? It is an absurdity in terms. There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom? The idea of virtual representation is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of a man; it does not deserve a serious refutation. The commons in America, represented in their several assemblies, have invariably exercised this constitutional right of giving and granting their

CHAP. IV.

own money; they would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this kingdom has ever possessed the power of legislative and commercial controul. The colonies acknowledge your authority in all things, with the sole exception that you shall not take their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here would I draw the line—*quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*" After some minutes of profound silence, Mr. Grenville stood up, and with all the systematic obstinacy of a sincere but cloudy and narrow mind entangled in the web of its own sophistry, entered into a laboured vindication of the measures of his administration. He asserted, that the tumult in America bordered on open rebellion; and if the doctrine promulgated that day were confirmed, he feared they would lose this name to take that of revolution. He affirmed taxation to be a branch of the sovereign power, and that it had been frequently exercised over those who were never represented; it was exercised over the East India and other chartered companies, and over the proprietors of stock, and many great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the palatinate of Chester and the Bishopbric of Durham, before they sent representatives to parliament. He appealed for proofs to the preamble of the act which gave them representatives, and which by his desire was read to the house. He said, that when he proposed to tax America, the *right* was by no one called in question. Protection and obedience were reciprocal; Great Britain protects America; America is therefore bound to yield obedience. "If not, tell me," said he, "when were the Americans emancipated? The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. We were told we trode on tender ground; we

were bid to expect disobedience; what was this but telling America to stand out against the law? to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence? Ungrateful people of America! The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; bounties have been extended to them; in their favour the Act of Navigation, that palladium of British commerce, has been relaxed; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion."

"Mr. Pitt, fired with disdain and resentment, immediately rose to reply, but was called to order by lord Strange, as having already spoken; the privilege of speaking a second time being allowed only in a committee. But the house resounding with the cry of *go on*, he proceeded with an animation and enthusiasm which no art or study can imitate, spontaneously flowing from the consciousness of great talents engaged in a just and noble cause. "Sir," said he, addressing the speaker, "a charge is brought against gentlemen sitting in this house, for giving birth to sedition in America. The freedom with which they have spoken their sentiments against this unhappy act, is imputed to them as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty which I hope no gentleman will be afraid to exercise; it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have *desisted from his project*. We are told America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, I *rejoice* that America has resisted; three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been

CHAP. IV.

fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I came not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute-book doubled down *in dogs ears*, to defend the cause of liberty; but for the defence of liberty upon a general, constitutional principle—it is a ground on which I dare meet any man. I will not debate points of law; but what after all do the cases of Chester and Durham prove, but that under the most arbitrary reigns, parliament were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives? A higher and better example might have been taken from Wales; that principality was never taxed by parliament till it was incorporated with England. We are told of many classes of persons in this kingdom not represented in parliament; but are they not all virtually represented as Englishmen resident within the realm? Have they not the option, many of them at least, of becoming themselves electors? Every inhabitant of this kingdom is necessarily included in the general system of representation. It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented. The honourable gentleman boasts of his bounties to America. Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America—I maintain that parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. The honourable gentleman tells us, he understands not the difference between internal and external taxation; but surely there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of commerce. 'When,' said the honourable gentleman, 'were the colonies emancipated?' At

what time, say I in answer, were they made slaves? I speak from accurate knowledge when I say, that the profit to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions per annum. This is the fund, which carried you triumphant through the last war; this is the price America pays you for her protection; and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a pepper corn into the exchequer at the loss of millions to the nation? I know the valour of your troops—I know the skill of your officers—I know the force of this country; but in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like a strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the contitution with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheathe the sword in the scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No: Let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper; I will pledge myself for the colonies, that, on their part, animosity and resentment will cease. Let affection be the only bond of coercion. The system of policy I would earnesly exhort Great Britain to adopt, in relation to America, is happily expressed in the words of a favourite poet:

"Be to her faults a little blind,
"Be to her virtues very kind;
"Let all her ways be unconfined,
"And clap your padlock on her mind."

PRIOR.

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house in a few words what is really my opinion. It is,

CHAP. IV.

That the Stamp Act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and immediately."

"In a short time a bill was brought in by the new ministers for this purpose, which, after very vehement opposition, passed both houses by considerable majorities, and received the royal assent; accompanied at the same time with a declaratory act, asserting the power and right of Great Britain to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever."*

Joy produced in America by repeal of stamp-act.

NOTHING could exceed the joy of America at this seasonable act of justice and good policy. Those ill humours which had been long collecting, and lowered like a dark cloud over the political horizon, was dissipated in a moment, and was succeeded by a clear and cheering sun-shine. Public rejoicings took place in all the principal towns and sea ports, in which taste and expense vied with each in expressing the public gratitude and exultation: The whole country exhibited the appearance of a national triumph; general illuminations and popular processions, statues and monuments, with appropriate devices, executed by able artists, in a style of simple grandeur; patriotic songs and toasts, severally contributed to animate the public joy, and render it correct and lasting. But in the midst of the general enthusiasm, the public gratitude was nicely discriminative, and a just distinction was plainly drawn between the active virtues of their supporters in the British parliament, and those men who had yielded to the justice of their claims only through fear and necessity: Chatham and Camden, Burk and Barre, were familiar to every ear. Nor did they forget the generous exertions

* *Belsham.*

of their own worthies, whose steady wisdom and dauntless intrepidity in their assemblies, had commenced the assault, and bore the brunt of the battle.

In the midst of these rejoicings, it did not escape the sagacity of the people that the declaratory resolution with which the repeal was accompanied, was suggested with a view to future encroachment: But it was attended with the beneficial effect of rendering them more jealous and vigilant, and would prevent them from relapsing into the langour of a false and fatal security. Perhaps, too, it might have been only a salvo to the wounded and mortified pride of authority; and the main object having been attained, it was regarded as an unreasonable jealousy to create uneasiness, by anticipating the possibility of future aggression.

The assembly of Virginia received the account of this important measure with a joy proportioned to their wise and brilliant exertions. In the first effusions of their gratitude, a resolution was adopted for erecting an obelisk to those distinguished patriots who effected the repeal of the stamp act. An address of thanks was immediately voted to the king and parliament, in which all their former assurances of loyalty and attachment were repeated. They had previously in their answer to the governor's communication, expressed their satisfaction that no riots or popular excesses had stained the reputation of Virginia, during the late unfortunate suspension of her constitution; "a circumstance," say they, "which should be ascribed to a conviction that the triumph of the oppressor would be short, and that justice would be done to the loyalty and rights of Virginia."

CHAP. IV.

FROM these consolatory topics, their attention was all at once directed to the discovery of a most alarming defalcation in her treasury. The suspicions of several individuals had for some time fallen on the treasurer, owing to certain usurious contracts with which his name had been connected. This man had been a servile instrument of government, and it was not improbable that the peculation might have been employed in debauching the integrity of members of assembly, as well as forwarding schemes of personal aggrandizement. By the spirited exertions of Richard Henry Lee, Peter Lyon and Edmund Pendleton, an inquiry was immediately instituted, and the result was of a nature to astonish and confound the assembly.

April 12, 1766.

ACCORDING to a report made on this subject, it appeared that this man, in whose person were united the important offices of speaker and treasurer, had made free with more than one hundred thousand pounds of the public money; and this loss was aggravated by the melancholy consideration that the treasury was empty.

To recover this money, the measures of the house were prompt and decisive, and the committee was directed to proceed against the delinquent, whose estate was considerable, and to continue their investigation with the view to the discovery of sums loaned by him. This was a shock too powerful for the sensibility of Mr. Robinson, and he sank under the load of general obloquy, rendered more insupportable by the acute sting of his own reflection. On this event the committee of assembly administerod on his estate, and by skilful management, sufficient was eventually collected to cover the dilapidation.

THE detection of this peculation directed their attention to the glaring impropriety of concen-

trating in a single person, powers so extensive and incompatible as those of speaker and treasurer; and an animated protest was entered up against their future union. This was not a time to oppose a measure so obviously founded on reason and good policy; and the house having made choice of Peyton Randolph for their speaker, Robert Carter Nicholas was appointed treasurer with the concurrent approbation of the different branches of government and the people at large, to whom they were endeared by their public and private virtues.

1767. THERE was a session of assembly in this year: But it was distinguished by no measures of importance, owing, it is supposed, to the illness of the governor, whose health was hourly declining. The committee of inquiry made a second report of their proceedings respecting the late treasurer: The amount of the deficit was better defined, and the prospect of recovering the public money rendered brighter and more distinct. The house appeared to be wholly directed to effecting order and arrangement in the finances.

ABOUT this time died Francis Fauquier, lieutenant governor, at the age of 65 years, ten of which had been passed in Virginia.

Character of Fauquier

WITH some allowance, he was every thing that could have been wished for by Virginia under a royal government. Generous, liberal, elegant in his manners and acquirements; his example left an impression of taste, refinement and erudition on the character of the colony, which eminently contributed to its present high reputation in the arts. It is stated on evidence sufficiently authentic, that on the return of Anson, from his circumnavigation of the earth, he accidentally fell in with Fauquier, from whom in a single night's play, he won at cards the whole of

CHAP. IV.

his patrimony; that afterwards being captivated by the striking graces of this gentleman's person and conversation, he procured for him the government of Virginia. Unreclaimed by the former subversion of his fortune, he introduced the same fatal propensity to gaming into Virginia; and the example of so many virtues and accomplishments alloyed but by a single vice, was but too successful in extending the influence of this pernicious and ruinous practice. He found amongst the people of his new government, a character compounded of the same elements as his own; and he found little difficulty in rendering fashionable a practice, which had before his arrival already prevailed to an alarming extent. During the recess of the courts of judicature and assemblies, he visited the most distinguished landholders in the colonies, and the rage of playing deep, reckless of time, health, or money, spread like a contagion amongst a class proverbial for their hospitality, their politeness and fondness for expence. In every thing beside, Fauquier was the ornament and the delight of Virginia.

Blair, president.

His death devolved the duties of government on John Blair, president of council; and the late governor having by proclamation summoned the assembly to meet previous to the time to which they had been adjourned, the president by proclamation directed that they should convene at the time appointed, stating that the causes for this extraordinary meeting still existed. These causes were briefly explained in his communication. He had received dispatches from general Gage and sir William Johnson, that considerable agitation existed among the Indians by reason of encroachments on their lands at Redstone Creek

March 31, 1768.

and Cheat River by the whites, which, if not timely prevented and punished, might lead to another war.

THIS was a case avowedly important, and measures were instantly adopted for removing so far as it depended on Virginia, every cause of uneasiness to this people.

THE attention of the house was attracted to other objects of far greater importance. The repeal of the stamp act had been extorted rather from the fears than the justice of government, and it left behind a wound that rankled deep in their bosoms. The declaratory clause had been attached to it for the purpose of assuaging the wounds of authority: But more potent remedies were sought for in plans of vengeance and malignity, which only waited an occasion when with some prospect of success they might be brought to bear upon America. Whilst these projects were in agitation, Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, "in one of his vain and capricious moods, boasted in the house of commons, that he knew how to raise a revenue from the colonies without giving them any offence."* He was instantly and eagerly urged by Mr. Grenville to pledge himself to the execution of this project, which, after being sufficiently matured, was submitted to and gained the approbation of a majority of the cabinet. The absence of lord Chatham accelerated its adoption, and in the ensuing session of parliament a bill passed for the imposition of certain duties on glass, tea, paper and painter's colours. It was presumed that as the main objection had lain against internal taxation, these taxes being indisputably external,

* *Belsham.*

CHAP. IV.

would experience no opposition. This was indeed taking the colonists on their own admissions; and the vain projectors hugged themselves in the assurance that they had woven a net so perplexed and mazy, that it was utterly impossible for them to extricate themselves by any efforts of ingenuity. But the sagacity of Americans, grown every day more quick-sighted by discussion and observation, penetrated in a moment this flimsy disguise, and their indignation and contempt every where rose against the weak and wicked projectors.

It was of little consequence, they affirmed, whether a revenue was raised within the colonies by an act of the British parliament, operating immediately, or by duties on articles imported, which went avowedly to the same object. In either case, a revenue would be raised without, and contrary to the consent of the people and their representatives. If carried into a precedent, these acts would confound all just principles of legislation, and the colonial assemblies, to every substantial purpose, would become absolute nullities in the constitution. It was every where regarded as the entering wedge, whose admission would prepare the way for greater encroachments, and an unanimous resolution was every where adopted to oppose it.

To these duties, so justly regarded as obnoxious and illegal, the assembly of Virginia, with their usual zeal and sagacity, directed their attention, and they received every facility from the mild and patriot virtues of their chief magistrate. A few days pevious to the opening of their session, the speaker received the circular letter of Massachusetts, giving an account of their opposition to the parliamentary duties, and soliciting the concurrence of Virginia to her plan of

constitutional resistance. A communication like this would naturally confirm the zeal of Virginia, if incentives had been wanting. Their resolution, however, was already formed, and the proceedings of her legislature are thus rapidly but impressively detailed in their answer through the medium of their speaker. After paying a just tribute of applause to the legislature of Massachusetts for their attention to American liberty, they tell them that, "After the most deliberate consultation, they thought it their duty to represent to the parliament of Great Britain, that they are truly sensible of the happiness and security they derive from their connections with, and dependence on Great Britain, and are under the greatest concern that any unlucky incident should interrupt that salutary harmony, which they wish ever to subsist. They lament that the remoteness of their situation often exposes them to such misrepresentations as are apt to involve them in censures of disloyalty to their sovereign, and the want of a proper respect to the British parliament; whereas they have indulged themselves in the agreeable persuasion, that they ought to be considered as inferior to none of their fellow subjects in loyalty and affection.

"That they do not affect an independency of their parent kingdom, the prosperity of which they are bound to the utmost of their abilities to promote, but cheerfully acquiesce in the authority of parliament to make laws for preserving a necessary dependence, and for regulating the trade of the colonies. Yet they cannot conceive, and humbly insist, it is not essential to support a proper relation between a mother country and colonies transplanted from her, that she should have a right to raise money from them without

CHAP. IV.

their consent, and presume they do not aspire to more than the natural rights of British subjects, when they assert, that no power on earth has a right to impose taxes on the people, or take the smallest portion of their property without their consent, given by their representatives in parliament. This has ever been considered as the chief pillar of the constitution; without this support no man can be said to have the least shadow of liberty, since they can have no property in that, which another can by right take from them when he pleases, without their consent.

"THAT their ancestors brought over with them entire, and transmitted to their descendants, the natural and constitutional rights they had enjoyed in their native country; and the first principles of the British constitution were early engrafted into the constitution of the colonies. Hence a legislative authority, ever essential in all free states, was derived, and assimilated as nearly as might be to that in England; the executive power, and the right of assenting or dissenting to all laws reserved to the crown, and the privilege of choosing their own representatives continued to the people, and was confirmed to them by repeated and express stipulations. The government thus established, they enjoyed the fruits of their own labour with a serenity, which liberty only can impart. Upon pressing occasions they applied to his majesty for relief, and gratefully acknowledge they have frequently received it from their mother country; whenever their assistance was necessary, requisitions have constantly been made from the crown to the representatives of the people, who have complied with them to the utmost extent of their abilities. The ample provision made for the support of the civil government, in the reign of king Charles the second,

and at his request, and the large supplies voted during the last war, upon requisitions from his majesty and his royal grandfather, afford early and late instances of the dispositions of the assemblies of this colony, and are sufficient proofs that the parliament of Great Britain did not, till lately, assume a power of imposing taxes on the people, for the purpose of raising a revenue.

"To say that the commons of Great Britain have a right to impose internal taxes on the inhabitants of this continent, who are not, and cannot be represented, is in effect to bid them prepare for a state of slavery. What must be their situation should such a right be established? The colonies having no constitutional check on their liberality in giving away their money, cannot have an opportunity of explaining their grievances, or of pointing out the easiest method of taxation, for their doom will generally be determined before they are acquainted that the subject has been agitated in parliament, and the commons bear no proportion of the taxes they lay upon them. The notion of a virtual representation, which would render all our rights merely ideal, has been so often, and so clearly refuted, that nothing need be said on that head.

"The oppressive stamp-act confessedly imposed internal taxes, and the late acts of parliament, giving and granting certain duties in the British colonies, plainly tend to the same point. Duties have been imposed to restrain the commerce of one part of the empire that was likely to prove injurious to another, and by this means the welfare of the whole promoted; but duties imposed on such of the British exports as are necessaries of life, to be paid by the colonists on importation, without any view to the interests of commerce, but merely to raise a revenue, or in

CHAP. IV

other words, to compel the colonists to part with their money against their inclinations, they conceive to be a tax internal to all intents and purposes. And can it be thought just or reasonable, restricted as they are in their trade, confined as they are in their exports, obliged to purchase their very necessaries at the British market, that they should now be told they shall not have them without paying a duty for them?

"THE act suspending the legislative power of New York, they consider as still more alarming to the colonies, though it has that single province in view. If the parliament can compel them to furnish a single article to the troops sent over, they may by the same rule oblige them to furnish cloaths, arms and every other necessary, even the pay of the officers and soldiers, a doctrine replete with every mischief, and utterly subversive of all that is dear and valuable: For what advantage can the people of the colonies derive from their right of choosing their own representatives, if those representatives, when chosen, not permitted to exercise their own judgments, were under a necessity (on pain of being deprived of their legislative authority) of enforcing the mandates of a British parliament?

"THIS, sir, is a sketch of their sentiments, as they are expressed in a petition to his majesty, a memorial to the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal, and in a remonstrance to the knights, citizens and burgesses of Great Britain in parliament assembled. In all those proceedings the council of the colony have concurred, and have directed their agent, James Abercrombie, esq. to join Edward Montague, esq. their agent for this colony, in applying for redress of the grievances they so justly complain of.—Copies were delivered to the president of the

council, now commander in chief, who is desired to transmit them to the secretary of state appointed by his majesty to manage the affairs of North America, and Mr. Montague is enjoined to consult the agents of the other colonies, and to co operate with them in every measure that shall be thought necessary to be taken on this critical point.

"They trust they have expressed themselves with a firmness that becomes freemen pleading for essential rights, and with a decency that will take off every imputation of faction or disloyalty. They repose entire confidence in his majesty, who is ever attentive to the complaints of his subjects, and is ever ready to relieve their distress; and they are not without hopes that the colonies, united in a decent and regular opposition, may prevail on a new house of commons to put a stop to measures so directly repugnant to the interests both of the mother country and her colonies."

The discontent at this time arising from governmental oppressions, was not confined to America: It extended to every quarter of the empire; but its focus was the capital, where its violence sometimes became so great as to endanger even the existence of civil government.

Meanwhile lord Bottetourt arrived, as governor in chief of the colony of Virginia, and by advice of council, a dissolution took place of the assembly. This was the usual procedure on the arrival of a new governor, in order that the representatives of the people should meet their chief magistrate with minds as little as possible infected by old prejudices, coming as they did immediately from the fountain head of authority.

Lord Bottetourt arrives.

CHAP. IV.

Assembly. May 11, 1769.

In the early part of the following year the new assembly convened, agreeably to notice, and were addressed by the governor in a speech calculated by its affectionate and conciliatory temper to soothe every irritation of feeling. Amongst other things, it contained an assurance that the chief governor, by his majesty's instruction, would in future reside within the colony. The reply of the burgesses was respectful and complimentary, but marked by a character of caution and reserve. The governor, notwithstanding the favourable sentiments entertained of his honour and humanity, had given offence by the gaudy parade and pompous pageant exhibited during the first day of the session. He was drawn upon that occasion by eight milk white horses, in a state coach presented him for that purpose by the king; and the same formalities were observed as when the British sovereign goes in state to open the parliament. A pageant so opposite to the becoming simplicity of past times, could not fail to strike a body so enlightened, and it was designed, they imagined by this unmeaning glitter, to impress with reverence and abasement the senses of the people.

The governor having proposed no specific objects for their consideration, the house proceeded without delay to a spirited inquiry into the nature and tendency of the late parliamentary duties, which they scrupled not to ascribe to a deliberate intention of subverting the ancient rights and constitution of the colony. In the investigation of this important subject, they were no longer embarrassed by the sophistry of opposition, one unanimous sentiment having absorbed all the shades and distinctions of opinion. In this spirit the following resolutions were submitted and adopted.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the sole right of imposing taxes on the inhabitants of this his majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia is now, and ever has been, legally and constitutionally vested in the house of burgesses, lawfully convened, according to the ancient and established practice, with the consent of the council, and of his majesty the king of Britain, or his governor for the time being.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That it is the undoubted privilege of the inhabitants of this colony to petition their sovereign for redress of grievances, and that it is lawful and expedient to procure the concurrence of his majesty's other colonies, in dutiful addresses, praying the royal interposition in favour of the violated rights of America.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That all trials for treason, misprision of treason, or for any felony or crime whatsoever, committed or done in this his majesty's said colony and dominion, by any person or persons residing therein, ought of right to be had and conducted in and before his majesty's courts held within his said colony, according to the fixed and known course of proceeding; and that the seizing any person or persons residing in this colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever committed therein, and sending such person or persons to places beyond the sea to be tried, is highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects, as thereby the inestimable privilege of being tried by a jury from their vicinage, as well as the liberty of summoning and producing witnesses in such trial, will be taken away from the party accused.

"Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That an humble, dutiful and loyal address, be presented

CHAP. IV.

to his majesty, to assure him of our inviolable attachment to his sacred person and government, and to beseech his royal interposition, as the father of all his people, however remote from the seat of his empire, to quiet the minds of his loyal subjects of this colony, and to avert from them those dangers and miseries which will ensue from the seizing and carrying beyond sea any person residing in America, suspected of any crime whatsoever, to be tried in any other manner than by the ancient and long established course of proceeding."

It was then "Ordered, that the speaker of this house do transmit, without delay, to the speakers of the several houses of assembly on this continent, a copy of the resolutions now agreed to by this house, requesting their concurrence therein."

On the following day, as if no longer hoping for redress, or disdaining to solicit it from the corruption and arrogance of parliament, an address to the king alone was agreed to, accompanied by an order that the speaker should transmit it to the agent of the colony, "with directions to cause the same to be presented to his most excellent majesty, and afterwards to be printed and published in the English papers."

But the governor had now taken the alarm, and at 12 o'clock on the following day, having proceeded to the capital, he sent a message by his secretary, Mr. Walthoe, to the speaker and house of burgesses, to meet him in the council chamber: The summons being instantly obeyed. He addressed to them the ominous and alarming sentence.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses, CHAP. IV.

"I have heard of your resolves, and augur ill of their effects. You have made it my duty to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

But the time was past when the mere breath of authority could extinguish the light of justice and reason. With one consent the representatives repaired to a private house in the city, and having appointed their speaker moderator, a non-importation agreement was immediately entered into, which having been unanimously signed by all the members present, was by order sent for signatures through the country.*

---

* *Copy of the Association.*

We, his majesty's most dutiful subjects, the late representatives of all the freeholders of the colony of Virginia, avowing our inviolable and unshaken fidelity and loyalty to our most gracious sovereign, our affection for all our fellow subjects of Great Britain, protesting against every act or thing which may have the most distant tendency to interrupt or in anywise disturb his majesty's peace and the good order of his government in this colony, which we are resolved at the risk of our lives and fortunes to maintain and defend, but at the same time being deeply affected with the grievances and distresses with which his majesty's American subjects are oppressed, and dreading the evils which threaten the ruin of ourselves and our posterity, by reducing us from a free and happy people to a wretched and miserable state of slavery, and having taken into our most serious consideration the present state of the trade of this colony and of the American commerce in general, observe, with anxiety, that the debt due to Great Britain for goods imported from thence is very great, and that the means of paying this debt, in the present situation of affairs, are likely to become more and more precarious; that the difficulties under which we now labour are owing to the restrictions,

CHAP. IV.

THESE spirited proceedings had the beneficial effect of confirming the opposition of the other colonies, more especially of Massachusetts, against which the vindictive policy of administration had

---

prohibitions, and ill advised regulations, in several late acts of parliament of Great Britain, in particular that the late unconstitutional act imposing duties on tea, paper, glass, &c. for the sole purpose of raising a revenue in America, is injurious to property and destructive to liberty, hath a necessary tendency to prevent the payment of the debt due from this colony to Great Britain, and is of consequence ruinous to trade; that notwithstanding the many earnest applications already made, there is little reason to expect a redress of those grievances: Therefore, in justice to ourselves and our posterity, as well as to the traders of Great Britain concerned in the American commerce, we, the subscribers, have voluntarily and unanimously entered into the following resolutions, in hopes that our example will induce the good people of this colony to be frugal in the use and consumption of British manufactures, and that the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain may, from motives of interest, friendship and justice, be engaged to exert themselves to obtain for us a redress of those grievances under which the trade and inhabitants of America at present labour. We do therefore most earnestly recommend this our association to the serious attention of all gentlemen merchants, traders, and other inhabitants of this colony, in hopes that they will very readily and cordially accede thereto.

First, It is unanimously agreed on and resolved, this 18th day of May, 1769, that the subscribers, as well by their own example as all other legal ways and means in their power, will promote and encourage industry and frugality, and discourage all manner of luxury and extravagance.

Secondly, That they will not at any time hereafter, directly or indirectly, import, or cause to be imported, any manner of goods, merchandise or manufactures, which are, or shall hereafter be taxed by act of parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, (except paper not exceeding eight shillings sterling per ream, and except such articles only as orders have been already sent for) nor purchase any such after the first day of September next, of any person whatsoever, but that they will always consider

been particularly directed. Virginia and her courage, intelligence and patriotism, became throughout America themes of grateful panegyric. Nor were the effects of her gallant resistance confined

---

such taxation in every respect, as an absolute prohibition, and in all future orders direct their correspondents to ship them no goods whatever taxed as aforesaid, except as is above excepted.

Thirdly, That the subscribers will not hereafter, directly or indirectly, import, or cause to be imported, from Great Britain, or any part of Europe, (except such articles of the produce or manufacture of Ireland as may be immediately and legally brought from thence, and except also such goods as orders have been already sent for) any of the goods hereinafter enumerated, viz. spirits, wine, cider, perry, beer, ale, malt, barley, pease, beef, pork, fish, butter, cheese, tallow, candles, oil, fruit, sugar, pickles, confectionary, pewter, hoes, axes, watches, clocks, tables, chairs, looking-glasses, carriages, joiners and cabinet work of all sorts, upholstery of all sorts, trinkets and jewellery, plate and gold, and silversmiths' work of all sorts, ribband and millinery of all sorts, lace of all sorts, India goods of all sorts, (except spices) silks of all sorts (except sewing silk) cambric, lawn, muslin, guaze, (except bolting cloths) calico or cotton stuffs of more than two shillings per yard, linen of more than two shillings per yard, woolens, worsted stuffs of all sorts of more than one shilling and sixpence per yard, broadcloths of all kinds at more than eight shillings per yard, narrow cloths of all kinds at more than three shillings per yard, hats, stockings, (plaid and Irish hose excepted), shoes, and boots, saddles, and all manufactures of leather and skins of all kinds, until the late acts of parliament imposing duties on tea, paper, glass, &c. for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, are repealed; and that they will not, after the first of September next, purchase any of the above enumerated goods, of any person whatsoever, unless the above mentioned acts of parliament are repealed.

Fourthly, That in all orders which any of the subsribers may hereafter send to Great Britain, they shall and will expressly direct their correspondents not to ship them any of the before enumerated goods until the before mentioned acts of parliaments are repealed; and if any goods are shipped to them, contrary to the tenour of this agreement, they

CHAP. IV.

to the colonies: It had made a deep impression on the British government, which began at length reluctantly to discern that the conduct hitherto adopted towards America was in the highest de-

---

will refuse to take the same, or make themselves chargeable therewith.

Fifthly, That they will not import any slaves, or purchase any imported, after the first day of November next, until the said acts are repealed.

Sixthly, That they will not import any wines of any kind whatever, or purchase the same from any person whatever, after the first day of September next, except such wines as are already ordered, until the acts of parliament imposing duties thereon of parliament are repealed.

Seventhly, For the better preservation of the breed of sheep, that they will not kill, or suffer to be killed, any lambs that shall be yeaned before the first day of May, in any year, nor dispose of such to any butcher, or other person whom they may have reason to suspect intends to kill the same.

Eightly and lastly, That these resolves shall be binding on all and each of the subscribers, who do hereby each and every person for himself, upon his word and honour, agree that he will strictly and firmly adhere to and abide by every article in this agreement, from the time of his signing the same, for and during the continuance of the before mentioned acts of parliament, or until a general meeting of the subscribers, after one month's public notice shall determine otherwise, the second article of this agreement still and for ever continuing in full power and force.

Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Archibald Cary, Richard Henry Lee, Charles Carter, George Washington, Carter Braxton, Severn Eyre, Richard Randolph, Patrick Henry, junr. Peter Johnston, Henry Lee, Nathaniel Terry, Thomas Whiting, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Nelson, junr. James Walker, John Alexander, Champion Travis, George Ball, Thomas Harrison, Thomas Claiborne, John Blair, junr. Thomson Mason, Josias Payne, junr. Burwell Bassett, Richard Anderson, James Scott, junr. John Green, Wilson Miles Cary, Gabriel Jones, Willis Riddick, Thomas Glascock, John Woodson, Ben. Howard, Isaac Read, Foushee Tebbs, Edward Osborne, Francis Peyton, Abraham Hire, James Wood,

gree absurd and impracticable. A shock had been given to the feelings and habits of the colonists, which had only alarmed their jealousy and sharpened their sagacity and vigilance, when a small portion of address, it was imagined, might have atchieved the favourite projects of ministry without noise or suspicion. It was necessary to retrace their steps: Cunning must supply the place of violence and wisdom, the public agitation composed by insidious assurances, and suspicion lulled into the calm of security.

With this view the governors of the several colonies were instructed to inform the several assemblies, that it was at no time the intention of his majesty's ministers to raise an American revenue, and that the duties complained of would be certainly repealed. The governor of Virginia had by his honest and sensible representations to the ministry, eminently contributed to bring about this change. Humane, disinterested and honourable, he had declared his intention of resigning his government, unless complete justice was done to their loyalty and patriotism, which he avowed to be equal to those of any subjects in the empire. On

---

Richard Baker, Edwin Gray, Robert Munford, Henry Taylor, Joseph Cabell, Alex. Trent, John Mayo, David Mason, Wm. Macon, junr. Hugh Innes, Bolling Stark, Robert Bolling, Paul Carrington, Thos. Walker, Wm. Cabell, jun. Nathaniel Edwards, junr. Robert Rutherford, Thos. Barber, Charles Lynch, James Hamilton, John Wilson, Wm. Clayton, Robert Munford, Mecklenburg, Thomas Bailey, Thos. Scott, Lewis Burwell, John Harmanson, Thomas Parramore, John Donelson, Cornelius Thomas, Thomas Johnson, John Lewis, junr. Wm Rone, Wm. Acrrill, Hartwell Coke, John Talbot, Richard Lee, Joseph Hutchings, Edward Hack Mosely, junr. John Ackiss, James Bridger, David Mead, Southy Simpson, Peter Poythress, Philip Ludwell Grymes; Richard Starke, clerk to the association.

CHAP. IV.

Assembly.

the strength of those assurances, received from the secretary for American affairs, the assembly was convened.*

---

* *Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses.*

I think myself peculiarly fortunate to be able to inform you, that in a letter dated May the 13th, I have been assured by the earl of Hillsborough, that his majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament to lay any further taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a revenue, and that it is their intention to propose in the next session of parliament, to take off the duties upon glass, paper and colours, upon consideration of such duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of commerce.

It may possibly be objected, that as his majesty's present administration are not immortal, their successors may be inclined to attempt to undo what the present ministers shall have attempted to perform; and to that objection I can give but this answer, that it is my firm opinion that the plan I have stated to you will certainly take place, and that it will never be departed from, and so determined am I for ever to abide by it, that I will be content to be declared infamous if I do not to the last hour of my life, at all times, in all places, and upon all occasions, exert every power with which I either am or shall be legally invested, in order to obtain and maintain for the continent of America that satisfaction, which I have been authorised to promise this day, by the confidential servants of our gracious sovereign, who, to my certain knowledge, rates his honour so high, that he would rather part with his crown than preserve it by deceit.

To his excellency the right honourable Norbonne baron de Botetourt, his majesty's lieutenant and governor general of the colony and dominion of Virginia, and vice-admiral of the same.

The humble Address of the Council.

My Lord,

We, his majesty's dutiful subjects, the council of Virginia, now met in general assembly, return your excellency

CHAP. IV.

THE effect of these assurances was instantaneous: Every eye glistened with pleasure, and in the midst of their gratitude to heaven for their promised deliverance from bondage, they did not forget the benevolent spirit, whose coun-

---

our sincerest thanks for your kind speech at the opening of this session, and for the opportunity you have afforded us of dispatching the public business of this dominion. Your excellency may be assured that the several matters you have so earnestly recommended to the legislature at this time, will be attended to, and considered by the council with all the temper and moderation which the importance of them requires; and that we shall give a cheerful and ready compliance with all such measures as may best promote the honour of the crown, and the happiness of his majesty's subjects in Virginia. The information your excellency has been pleased to give us of the intention of his majesty's ministers, to propose in the next session of parliament to take off the duty upon paper, glass and colours, is extremely agreeable to us; as a repeal of the revenue act will be the most effectual method to heal the differences that have unhappily subsisted between Great Britain and her colonies, and to restore that harmony and mutual confidence which are so necessary for the welfare and prosperity of both. We acknowledge, with particular satisfaction, that our most sanguine expectations, upon your excellency's arrival in the colony, have been fully answered, by the experience we have already had of your prudent, wise and equitable administration; and we look upon it as a sure presage of happiness to this country.

To which his excellency was pleased to return the following answer.

Gentlemen of the Council,

I accept with the utmost thankfulness your very affectionate address, and am proud to acknowledge that I stand indebted to your able and friendly counsel for that degree of credit with which I have been honoured by this respectable dominion.

CHAP. IV.

sels had softened the hearts and convinced the judgment of their oppressors. The venerable image of Botetourt was enshrined in every breast; every tongue was wanton in his praise. Nor was

---

To his excellency the right houourable Norborne baron de Botetourt, his majesty's lieutenant and governor general of the colony and dominion of Virginia, and vice-admiral of the same.

The humble Address of the House of Burgesses.

My Lord,

We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the burgesses of Virginia, now met in general assembly, beg leave to return your excellency our sincere and unfeigned thanks for your very kind and affectionate speech at the opening of this session.

It gives us great pleasure, that we have again the honour of meeting your lordship in general assembly, as it affords us an opportunity of renewing to your excellency the strongest assurances of our uninterrupted and most inviolable attachment to the sacred person and government of our royal sovereign, and, at the same time, of discharging the important duties we owe to our constituents.

We should think ourselves extremely deficient in duty and affection to the best of kings, were we not deeply impressed with the warmest sentiments of gratitude by his majesty's most gracious purpose of recommending to his parliament a repeal of the act imposing duties upon glass, paper and colours; especially, as we cannot doubt but that the same wisdom and goodness, which have already induced his majesty favourably to regard the humble entreaties of his faithful subjects in America, will still farther incline the royal breast to an exertion of his majesty's gracious and benign influence, towards perfecting the happiness of all his people.

It adds greatly, my lord, to our satisfaction and comfort, to learn from your excellency that his majesty's present administration have at no time entertained a design to propose to parliament the laying any farther taxes upon America, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and we will not suffer our present hopes, arising from the pleasing

it only by his conduct that he had endeared himself to Virginia: His private virtues, displayed continually without effort or ostentation, enshrined him in the hearts of all men.

An address to the governor was agreed to, praying that he would use his best offices to procure for the colony a circulation of copper money; they at the same time expressed their wishes for a more extended western boundary, but declared their willingness to acquiesce, provided that could not be obtained, in the boundary proposed by their sovereign.* At length, by desire of

---

prospect your lordship hath so kindly opened and displayed to us, to be dashed by the bitter reflection that any future administration will entertain a wish to depart from that plan, which affords the surest and most permanent foundation of public tranquility and happiness: No, my lord, we are sure our most gracious sovereign, under whatever changes may happen in his confidential servants, will remain immutable in the ways of truth and justice, and that he is incapable of deceiving his faithful subjects; and we esteem your lordship's information not only as warranted, but even sanctified by the royal word.

To which his exellency was pleased to return the following answer.

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,

Your kind and affectionate address brightens my prospect, and fills me with the delightful expectation of completely answering the purposes of my royal master. May the Almighty secure to me that most desirable object, by directing your counsels for the advantage and prosperity of all his majesty's extensive dominions, and may you continue a loyal, free and happy people, till time shall be no more.

* Your memorialists beg leave to observe that the said line, if extended from the intersection of Holston's river, the

CHAP. IV.

Events in Massachusetts. 1769.

the governor, they adjourned themselves for the purpose of affording leisure for the session of the general court.

WHILST these things were passing in Virginia, events of a bolder character had rapidly suc-

---

point which would terminate the line dividing this colony from North Carolina, to the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, would be near two hundred miles in length, and must pass through a country abounding with high and ragged mountains extremely difficult and dangerous of access, and intersected by many water courses; that the present posture of Indian affairs would make a strong guard of armed men necessary for the protection of those who might be commissioned to run such a line, as it must necessarily pass thro' a country uninhabited, and through which those Indians who seem at present most inclined to hostilities, do frequently take their routes.

That by establishing such line, a great part of that most valuable country, lying on the Ohio, below the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, lately ceded to his majesty by the northern Indians, would be separated and divided from the British territory, on the upper part of Holston's river, the Great Kanhaway and the Ohio, which your memorialists humbly conceive must greatly impede, and may totally prevent the settlement of that fertile and extensive country, which, from its situation and many natural advantages would open the fairest prospect of a very beneficial commerce to our mother country, by securing to his majesty's subjects a new and extensive trade with the several tribes of western Indians, which has hitherto been almost engrossed by the subjects of France; and by this means many Indian nations heretofore living at enmity with our most gracious sovereign and his subjects, might be made friendly and useful in extending the trade and navigation with Great Britain.

That your memorialists have the greatest reason to fear that the said line, if confirmed, would constantly open to the Indians and others, enemies to his majesty, a free and easy ingress to the heart of the country, on the Ohio, Holston's river, and the Great Kanhaway, whereby the settlements which may be attempted in those quarters will in all probability be utterly destroyed, and that great extent of country, from the mouth of the Kanhaway to the

ceeded each other in the province of Massachusetts. After the circular letter to the other colonies, which has been already alluded to, governor Bernard laid before the house of representatives an extract of a letter from the earl of Hillsborough, declaring his majesty's concern, "that a house, at the end of a session, should have

---

mouth of the Cherokee river, extending eastward as far as the Lawrell Hills, so very lately ceded to his majesty, and to which no tribe of Indians at present sets up any pretensions, will be entirely abandoned to the Cherokees; in consequence of which claims totally destructive of the true interests of his majesty may at some future time arise, and acquisitions justly ranked amongst the most valuable of the late war, be altogether lost.

Your memorialists further beg leave to represent to your lordship, that lands which have been granted by patents regularly obtained, according to the known and fixed rules of this government, if the said line were to take place, would be entirely dismembered from this colony, allotted to the Indians, and entirely lost to the proprietors, who were authorised by law, and encouraged by the royal instruction of his late majesty to his governor, to explore and settle this new country at the risk of their lives, and at a great expense.

Your memorialists, from these weighty considerations, have been induced to extend their views, and do humbly offer, as their opinion, that a line beginning at the western termination of the North Carolina line, and running thence in a due west direction to the river Ohio, may be accomplished at a much less expense than the other line proposed; that the extension of such a line is necessary for the safety and advantage of his majesty's subjects, and that it would tend greatly to the increase of his majesty's revenue, and to the promotion of the trade and navigation of the western part of this dominion, if a purchase were made of the Cherokee Indians of all their lands, which such due western line would include; especially if his majesty would be graciously pleased in his royal wisdom to discourage all monopolies of those lands, and strengthen our barrier by granting them in small or moderate quantities, to such adventurers as might incline to seat and settle the same.

CHAP. IV.

presumed to revert to, and resolve upon, a measure of so inflammatory a nature as that of writing to the other colonies on the subject of their intended representations against some late acts of parliament, and signifying his majesty's pleasure, that the governor should require of the house of representatives, in his majesty's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter from the speaker, and to declare their disapprobotion of and dissent from that rash and hasty proceeding." The house having for some time endeavoured to evade this requisition, at length agreed to a reply to the letter of Hillsborough, by a majority of ninety-three to thirteen, in which they defended with masculine energy their circular, and by bold insinuation ascribe the resentment of their sovereign to the base misrepresentations and perfidious counsels of that desperate faction which had invariably sought to embroil the tranquility of society. The question for rescinding being then taken, it was decided in the negative by a majority of ninety-two to seventeen. The immediate consequence of these measures was as usual a dissolution of the assembly, a procedure in the present agitation of the public sentiment utterly inefficient.

An event meanwhile occurred which evinced the popular irritation more strongly than languge. The sloop Liberty, belonging to John Hancock, having been seized by the collector and comptroller of the customs, the populace assembled in great numbers, beat the officers and their assistants, took possession of the collector's boat, which they burnt in triumph, and patrolled the streets. The revenue officers, alarmed for their safety, fled first on board the Romney man of war, and afterwards to Castle William. The governor in vain moved the council

to devise some means for restoring its former vigour and firmness to government. That virtuous body replied, that "the disorders which happened were occasioned by the violent and unprecedented manner in which the sloop Liberty had been seized by the officers of the customs." The inhabitants of Boston, on the strength of several affidavits, affirmed that the haughty conduct of the commissions and their creatures, had been the sole cause of the late tumults. The popular irritation was still farther inflamed by the captain of the Romney man of war, who, having moored in close with the town, committed several outrages evincive of a determined hostility. A petition was presented to the governor for the removal of the Romney, and the streets were again patrolled by large bodies of people, breathing vengeance against the authors of the late arbitrary and unprecedented proceedings. A committee of both houses, however, thought proper to disapprove of the popular excesses, and for the sake of form, it was imagined, directed suits to be instituted against the authors and abettors of the late riots. It was signified, meanwhile, that a body of troops might be expected in Boston, and the popular suspicion being every minute excited by new and unusual appearances alternately of menace and reserve on the part of the government, the committee of Boston resolved, "that to levy money within that province by any other authority than that of the general court, was a violation of the royal charter, and of the undoubted natural right of British subjects.

"That the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston would, at the peril of their lives and fortunes, take all legal and constitutional measures to defend all and singular the

CHAP. IV.

rights, liberties, privileges, and immunities, granted in their royal charter.

"THAT, as there was an apprehension in the minds of many of an approaching war with France, those inhabitants who were not provided with arms, should be requested duly to observe the laws of the province, which required that every householder should furnish himself with a complete stand."

"THEY further resolved, "that as the governor did not think proper to call a general court for the redress of their grievances, the town would then make choice of a suitable number of persons to act for them as a committee in a convention, to be held at Faneuil hall in Boston, with such as might be sent to join them from the several towns in the province."

THE advice of the committee had all the effects of law, and the conventional deputies assembled at Faneuil Hall clothed with authority superior to all the trappings of kings; the love, the respect, the gratitude of a virtuous people. After disclaiming all other title save that of mere individuals, they petitioned the governor to assemble the general court, and having instructed their agent of their real character and the motives which induced their assemblage, they rose after recommending patience and moderation to the people.

THEIR session had scarcely closed when two regiments, commanded by colonel Dalrymple, marched into Boston with bayonets fixed and military music, and the select men having refused to furnish them with quarters, the state-house was by order of the governor prepared for their reception, and two pieces of cannon were posted in its front with the obvious and professed view of awing the townsmen. This insulting pageant was calculated to inflame the already ir-

ritated feelings of the people, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they were restrained by the magistrates from rushing on the guard, and precipitating every thing into confusion and hostility. The measure of suffering and insult was not yet full, and it was conceived more politic that the resistance of the people should be still farther justified by the last acts of military violence. This justification was not long wanting. Several affrays having taken place, arising wholly from the insolence of the soldiery and indignation of the people, at length captain Preston issued out from the state-house with the principal part of the main guard, and the scuffle having become more general and alarming, he ordered his men to fire, by which four of the townsmen were killed.

The alarm bells immediately rung; the drums beat to arms, and an immense multitude rushing together from all quarters, were restrained only by the extraordinary address and persuasions of the lieutenant governor and other influential characters from attacking the 29th regiment drawn up in order of battle in King street. They were at length prevailed on to disperse on the solemn assurance, that the laws should be enforced on the murderers, and after the 29th regiment had been marched to their barracks. But on the following day, as if not satisfied with these assurances, it was unanimously resolved, in an address by the people to the lieutenant governor, "that the inhabitants and soldiers can no longer live together in safety; that nothing can rationally be expected to restore the peace of the town and prevent farther blood and carnage, but the immediate removal of the troops; and they therefore most fervently pray his honour that his pow-

CHAP. IV.

er and influence might be exerted for their instant removal."

1770.

THE answer of the lieutenant governor, altho' it declared his abhorrence of the late outrage; although it promised the immediate removal of the 29th regiment, and that the 14th regiment should be so disposed of and laid under such restrictions, that all occasions of future disturbance should be removed," was resolved to be unsatisfactory, and the former vote having been submitted to the council by Mr. Hutchinson, the successor of the late governor, they were unanimously of opinion, " that it was absolutely necessary for his majesty's service, and the good order of the town, and the peace of the province, that the troops should be immediately removed out of the town of Boston."

THIS opinon having been made known to col. Dalrymple, he pledged his honour that preparations should immediately commence for their removal, and tranquility was restored. Captain Preston was soon after brought to trial and acquitted.

Virginia assembly.

MEANWHILE the representatives of the people had, during their adjournment, reflected more maturely on the late assurances of Hillsborough, communicated by the governor, and although they felt no abatement of their gratitude and attachment to this excellent man, they began to entertain serious doubts of the sincerity of the minister. Under these impressions a protest was solemnly entered on their journals, expressive of their conviction that partial remedies were incompetent to heal the present disorders.* The

* They voted as a protest manifesting their dissatisfaction with it, a petition to the king, asserting the rights they

humane Botetourt, who was himself imposed on by the insidious artifices of ministers, was hurt at what he regarded a suspicion and impeachment of his honour and veracity. But his exertions were notwithstanding unabated, to realize to the colonists the promised blessings. The assembly was prorogued to the 11th of November in the following year.

Death and character of Lord Botetourt.

THIS year died Norborne lord Botetourt, governor of Virginia, a man possessed of every public and private virtue which can adorn human nature. Employed by a corrupt minister on account of his splendid rank and engaging address, to awe, intimidate or seduce the integrity and patriotism of Virginia, he made his public entry as has been already noticed, with the pomp and splendour of majesty itself. He was told that the people of his government were disposed to mutiny and rebellion; that they were licentious and immoral, and spurned at the just authority of the parent state. As the difficulties he must encounter were obviously great, it was represented that great would be the glory of reclaiming them to order and government. He came; he looked around him; he judged for himself. Instead of mutiny, immorality and treason, he saw a people, devoted indeed to liberty, and ready to seal their attachment with their

---

had heretofore maintained; and as individuals, immediately signed an association, in which they were joined by several respectable merchants of the country then met at Williamsburg, by which they renewed their non-importation agreement, with respect to certain enumerated articles, not of absolute necessity, and engaged to continue it until the duty on tea should be repealed.

Life of Washington, page 139.

CHAP. IV.

blood; but at the same time loyal, just, humane, disposed to affection, and won even by trifling kindness. The result of these observations was in various shapes transmitted to his government, and various artifices were used by fallacious hopes and studied delays, to impose at once on the governor and people of Virginia. Disgusted at length with these hollow assurances, he indignantly demanded his recal, and the sense of his own violated honour added to his sorrow for the condition of the colony, preying on a delicate constitution and a keen sensibility, he was taken off by an acute disease after a few days illness, regretted by all as their friend, their benefactor, their father.*

---

* In 1768 lord Botetourt began his administration, as governor in chief; the first governor, I think, since lord Culpeper, who condescended to come to this colony: And he came with a sincere hope that he could heal the wounds which Virginia and the other colonies had received. He did his utmost to remove from the minds of the ministry their suspicion, that Virginia was disposed to throw off the government of Britain, affirming as he did, in letters which he gave open to Peyton Randolph and R. C. Nicholas, and which they read and then sealed with his seal, and sent to lord Hillsborough. I think that the king of Great Britain had not more loyal subjects in the whole extent of his dominions than the people of Virginia. And as soon as the oppressive nature of the several taxes laid by the British parliament on the colonies, was pointed out to him by those patriotic gentlemen, he never ceased to urge on the ministry the propriety of their repeal; and once had actually obtained such a promise as he thought he could rely on, and with the highest satisfaction announced it to the general assembly. But finding himself deceived by a perfidious government, he boldly demanded his recal, and declared that he would not be their tool, or attempt to oppress an innocent and virtuous people. He survived this manly exercise of his judgment, influenced by sentiments of honour and sound political justice, but a few months, as he died in

CHAP. IV.

By the death of the governor in chief, the government devolved on William Nelson, president of council, and the assembly having been previously prorogued, in order to afford time

---

the fall after, of a billious fever, which I thought was greatly aggravated by his chagrin and disappointment. He was a generous patron of the arts and sciences, giving out of his private purse valuable silver and gold medals as prizes to the students at college, and paid an incredible attention to the professors and students at William and Mary college. For these reasons, most deservedly the general assembly erected his statue, as a monument to his memory, in the area of their capitol, although the inscriptions express imperfectly what the members knew and felt.

He was easy of access, even to the poorest, whether they called on him through mere curiosity, as many did, or on business; in either case, such was his happy temper and disposition, that all left him satisfied. He expedited business in the supreme courts by his early and constant attendance; meeting the councillors on the bench nearly two hours sooner than they had ever been accustomed to meet, and detaining them there an hour or two longer than any other governor had done. And the business of the county court he expedited by leaving out of the commission of justices the names of those who neglected to attend without sufficient cause.

Botetourt began his administration with great parade; he met the assembly in a state coach which had been presented to him by the king, and in imitation of his sovereign this equipage was drawn by six white horses, which slowly drew him from the palace to the capitol. As well as I can recollect, his lordship laid aside this pompous ceremony when he found it produced none of the desired effects. There can be no doubt that he had been instructed to impress us generally with ideas of royal splendour and its attendant power, and to diffuse by this means into minds susceptible of it, a hope of being elevated to stations where some portion of this splendour might be enjoyed. In short, it cannot be doubted (notwithstanding his honest declaration to the British minister) that he would have coaxed us or bullied us into a submission to the will of his royal master if he could, when he first came amongst us. But

CHAP. IV.

for a more mature reflection on the affairs of the colony, assembled at length on the 18th of July, and proceeded without delay to the dispatch of business. Notwithstanding the great events which agitated Virginia in common with all America, the virtues of the late governor were not forgotten, and the regrets of the house of burgesses displayed themselves in a manner equally worthy of the deceased and the long established character of the colony.*

But in the midst of this generous sympathy for departed greatness, their attention was attracted to other objects. A project was in agitation amongst a few fanatics, at the head of whom was professor Camm, to introduce an American episcopate, with the professesed view

---

he had too much feeling not to feel for us when he saw our oppression; too much of a manly spirit to wish to have that crushed, which as a brave Englishman, he must have thought was glorious in the descendants of their loyal fellow subjects of Britain, and he had too high a sense of honour not to desist from the base attempt which he saw was made to deceive, oppress and enslave a virtuous people, and no small portion of his fellow subjects.

* Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That an elegant Statue of his late excellency, the right honourable Norborne baron de Botetourt, be erected in marble at the public expense, with proper inscriptions, expressing the grateful sense this house entertains of his lordship's prudent and wise administration, and their great solicitude to perpetuate, as far as they are able, the remembrance of those many public and social virtues which adorned his illustrious character. That the same be sent for to Great Britain, under the direction of the honourable William Nelson, Thomas Nelson, and Peyton Randolph, esquires, Robert Carter Nicholas, Lewis Burwell, and Dudley Diggs, esquires.

Resolved, that the treasurer pay for the statue to be erected to the memory of lord Botetourt out of the public money in the treasury.

of having religious discipline on the model of the English church, but with the real design of attaining personal aggrandizement, and procuring the co-operation of church and state for the furtherance of religious and political oppression.* The effects of this project had not escaped the penetration of the people, and it had been combated by several clergymen† and laymen by solid argument and successful ridicule. It became the duty of the representatives of the people to

---

* Speaking of Dr. Secker, he says, "A prelate of a life rigidly virtuous, completely versed in all the branches of ecclesiastical learning, but of a capacity by no means elevated, and whose zeal was at least as conspicuous as his candour and judgment. His ardent desire to establish episcopacy in America is well known; and if no fears and jealousies had been entertained that the new bishops would have been invested with some sort or degree of temporal jurisdiction, the plan would not have been opposed by the Americans, who declared, that they objected not to the introduction of bishops, but they were determined not to admit of *lord bishops*. Bishops on the primitive model, unconnected with the state, have been since the revolution introduced into the different provinces, even of New England itself, without exciting the slightest alarm or apprehension. In the character of Secker, though in many respects excellent, we may look in vain for the benignity, the liberality, the generous and enlarged views of his predecessor, archbishop Herring."
Belsham.

† Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That the thanks of this house be given to the rev. Mr. Henley, the rev. Mr. Gwatkin, the rev. Mr. Hewitt, and the rev. Mr. Bland, for the wise and well timed opposition they have made to the pernicious project of a few mistaken clergymen, for introducing an American bishop; a measure by which much disturbance, great anxiety and apprehension would certainly take place among his majesty's faithful American subjects; and that Mr. Richard Henry Lee and Mr. Bland do acquaint them therewith.

CHAP. IV.

speak their opinion of a measure so fraught with michief and extravagance; and in doing this they did not forget the exertions of those enlightened ministers, who had protested against it.*

---

* *The protest against the proceedings of the convention holden at William and Mary college, on the 4th day of June*, 1771.

Whereas the following resolution was agreed to by a majority of the clergy assembled at the said convention, "That a committee be appointed to draw up an address to the king for an American episcopate, and the committee shall apply for the hands of the majority of the clergy of this colony, in which, if they succeed, the bishop of London is to be humbly addressed for his concurrence, and requested to present their address to his majesty, but without a concurrence of a majority of the clergy the address not to be transmitted; and that the reverend Messrs. Camm, Wylie, Skyring and Fontaine, or any three of them, are appointed a committee to prepare the said addresses."

We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, and who did vote against the said resolution, do publickly declare our dissent, and protest against it.

First, Because as the number of the clergy in this colony is at least a hundred, we cannot conceive that twelve clergymen are a sufficient representation of so large a body.

Secondly, Because the said resolution contradicts a former resolution of the said convention, which puts a negative upon the question, "Whether the king should be addressed upon an American episcopate?" and that an assembly met upon so important an occasion, should rescind a resolution agreed to and entered down but a few minutes before, is, in our apprehension, contrary to all order and decorum.

Thirdly, Because the expression, *an American episcopate*, includes a jurisdiction over the other colonies, and the clergy of Virginia cannot with any propriety petition for a measure which, for aught that appears to the contrary, will materially affect the natural rights and fundamental laws of the said colonies, without their consent and approbation.

Fourthly, Because the establishment of an American episcopate, at this time, would tend greatly to weaken the connexion between the mother country and her colonies; to continue their present unhappy disputes, to infuse jealousies

A CONSIDERABLE sum* was voted for the relief of great numbers of people at Richmond CHAP. IV.

and fears into the minds of Protestant dissenters, and to give ill disposed persons occasion to raise such disturbances as may endanger the very existence of the British empire in America.

Fifthly, Because we cannot help considering it as extremely indecent for the clergy to make such an application without the concurrence of the president, council and representatives of this province; an usurpation directly repugnant to the rights of mankind.

Sixthly, Because the bishops of London have always hitherto exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction over this colony; and we are perfectly satisfied with the mild, just, and equitable government of our excellent diocesan, the present lord bishop of London, and do think a petition to the crown to strip his lordship of any part of his jurisdiction but an ill return for his past labours, and contrary to our oath of canonical obedience. We do farther conceive, as it had been unanimously determined by this very convention, that his lordship should be addressed for his opinion relative to this measure, the clergy ought to have waited for his lordship's paternal advice before they proceeded any farther in an affair of such vast importance.

Seventhly, Because we have particular objections to that part of the resolution by which the committee are directed to *apply*, as it is termed, *for the hands of the majority of the clergy in this colony*; a method of proceeding, in our opinion, contrary to the universal practice of the Christian church, it having been customary for the clergy to sign acts of an ecclesiastical nature in public convention, whereas the manner of procuring their concurrence now proposed is unworthy the decorum and dignity by which so venerable a body ought ever to be guided.

SAMUEL HENLEY, professor of moral philosophy in William and Mary college.

THOMAS GWATKIN, professor of mathematicks, and natural philosophy, in Wm. and Mary college.

We hear that there is another protest, signed by the rev. Richard Hewitt, rector of Hungar's parish, in Northampton, and the rev. William Bland, rector of James City parish, in James City county.

* 30,000*l.*

CHAP. IV.

and elsewhere, whose tobacco had been damaged in the public ware-houses, by an inundation caused by the overflowing of James river.

Lord Dunmore.

Lord Dunmore was removed from the government of New York to that of Virginia. From his conduct subsequent to this appointment, it would seem that this removal was not entirely agreeable to him. Instead of hastening to his new government, which longed to behold a man of whom fame had spoken in flattering terms, he lingered for several months amidst the pleasures and amusements of that gay and wealthy city, and prepared the minds of the Virginians for that jealousy and dislike, which afterwards were changed into the extremest disgust and abhorrence.

He arrived in 1772, having previously sent on his lady and family under the care of his private secretary, captain Foy. Foy had distinguished himself at the battle of Minden, and was one of the three captains, whom prince Ferdinand had praised for their gallantry on that day. In the present agitation of the public mind, when incidents otherwise trifling and apparently uninteresting, would become from their connection with government important, it was regarded as matter of speculation, that an officer of reputation should abandon his government of New Hampshire, to which he had been appointed, for the obscure situation of clerk in Virginia; and there were not wanting many, who asserted, that the military talents of Foy were to be employed in carrying into effect those measures of coercion devised by the British parliament. Other circumstances served to strengthen those suspicions. To render the situation of Foy more comfortable, new

fees* were created, unknown to the constitution of the colony, and a salary of 500l. per annum created without the cognizance of the assembly, and directly contrary to established laws and usages. The opinions of the favourite too, on the subject of colonial claims, were highly offensive; opinions which, notwithstanding his supposed station of private adviser to his lordship, and the obvious impolicy of the procedure, he used no pains to conceal.

SUCH was the situation of affairs when the governor thought proper to summon an assembly. The first proceedings of this body, after the customary formalities, evince their determined dislike and opposition. An attack was made on the governor, in the person of his secretary, and a list of the fees created for the benefit of clerks, demanded in words strong and explicit. In canvassing these measures, little ceremony was used; the conduct of the governor was pronounced illegal, and a committee was immediately appointed to lay before him the sense of the house,

---

* *List of fees.*

	L.	*s.*	*d.*
For county lieutenannt's commission, -	2	0	0
Colonels, - - - - - -	1	1	6
Lieutenant colonels, - -	1	1	6
Majors, - - - - -	1	1	6
Sheriffs, - - - - -	1	5	0
Principal inspectors, - - -		15	0
Assistant inspectors, - - -		10	0
Coroners, - - - - -		10	0
Mediterranean pass, - - -	1	15	0
Quarter masters, - - -	1	00	0
Presentation to a parish, - -	1	10	0
Escheat master, - - -	1	1	6
Commissary of stores, - -	1	1	6

CHAP. IV.

which on this occasion was almost unanimous. The governor's answer was mild and conciliatory. The fees complained of, he understood to have been established by his predecessors, and ought, he said, to be ascribed to his short residence in the country, which had not yet enabled him to acquire that knowledge of the laws and constitution so necessary for a just and able administration. He concluded by declaring, that the fees should be withdrawn.

But the haughty spirit of Dunmore struggled hard with his ideas of policy on this occasion. At any other time he would have set the legislature at defiance, and taken shelter under the undefinable shield of executive privilege: But it was judged prudent to preserve his small stock of popularity for trials of greater importance. The fees of his secretary were rightly regarded as of minor concern compared with the great question of colonial rights, which would in a short time be contested.

Won by this condescension and seeming moderation, the assembly expressed their gratitude in the warmest and most affectionate terms, and were prorogued to the 10th of June following. This was certainly an auspicious omen of future moderation and harmony; but the popular jealousy was not to be lulled by appearances, however specious, and the circumstances of the world seemed to justify the utmost vigilance and circumspection amongst the advocates of American liberty.

The proceedings of this body gave Dunmore a distaste to assemblies, and they were accordingly prorogued from time to time, on the usual plea set forth in the proclamations, that there was no present occasion for them; a forgery, however, to an alarming extent, having been detected

of the paper emission of the colony, the assembly was convened for the purpose of devising means of guarding against the imposture. The exertions of the governor himself had been prompt and decisive; but in the apprehension of the supposed offenders, he had been little attentive to those salutary bulwarks of private security, which form the essence of free government. The assembly of Virginia, true to their character, did not in their alarm for the safety of the treasury, forget those principles on which rest the pillars of social order, and in their reply to the governor's communication, they say, "But the proceedings in this case, my lord, though rendered necessary by the peculiar nature of it, are nevertheless different from the usual mode. The duty we owe our constituents, obliges us, my lord, to be as attentive to the safety of the innocent, as we are desirous of punishing the guilty, and we apprehend that a doubtful construction, and various execution of criminal law, does greatly endanger the safety of the innocent: They conclude by praying, "that the proceedings may not in future be drawn into consequence and example." The reply of the governor is strongly marked by mortification and resentment. "In apprehending," said he, "and bringing to justice the forgers of your paper currency, I little imagined, when I was endeavouring to punish the guilty, that my conduct could by any means be thought to endanger the safety of the innocent."

The representatives having attended to the purity of their civil proceedings, directed their scrutiny to the internal and external state of America at large, and with their usual sagacity and spirit, they adopted the following resolutions.

CHAP. IV.

"WHEREAS the minds of his majesty's faithful subjects in this colony have been much disturbed by various rumours and reports of proceedings, tending to deprive them of their ancient, legal and constitutional rights; and whereas the affairs of this colony are frequently connected with those of Great Britain, as well as of the neighbouring colonies, which renders a communication of sentiments necessary: In order, therefore, to remove the uneasinesses, and to quiet the minds of the people, as well as for the other good purposes above mentioned.

"*Be it resolved*, That a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry be appointed, to consist of eleven persons, to wit, the honourable Peyton Randolph, esquire, Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary, and Thomas Jefferson, esquires, any six of whom to be a committee, whose business it shall be to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of such acts and resolutions of the British parliament, or proceedings of administration, as may relate to or affect the British colonies in America; and to keep up and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister colonies, respecting these important considerations, and the result of such their proceedings, from time to time, to lay before the house.

"Resolved, That it be an instruction to the said committee, that they do, without delay, inform themselves particularly of the principle and authority on which was constituted a court of inquiry, said to have been lately held in Rhode Island, with powers to transport persons accused

of offences committed in America, to places beyond the seas to be tried.

"Resolved, That the speaker of this house do transmit to the speakers of the different assemblies of the British colonies on this continent, copies of the said resolutions, and desire that they will lay them before their respective assemblies, and request them to appoint some person or persons, of their respective bodies, to communicate from time to time with the said committee."

THIS generous attention of Virginia to the general interest of all the colonies, so distant from the selfish policy but too apt to influence rival states, produced every where at this time a sentiment of tender respect and just admiration, alike due to her conspicuous patriotism, and as being the most ancient American possession. The Massachusetts legislature, speaking of her late resolves, dwell on the wise and firm conduct of Virginia "at all times."

THE assembly of Rhode Island conclude one of their resolves by the words, "the glorious assembly of Virginia." To her was every where allowed the honourable praise of having originated every capital measure since the commencement of the disputes, and having supported them all with a constancy and wisdom nowise inferior to the ardour with which they had been adopted. Nor was this done with any parade or assumption of superiorty.

THE governor, meanwhile, proceeded on a party of pleasure to the back settlements. Attracted as it was then thought solely by curiosity, he remained sometime at Pittsburg, and observed with nice attention the nature of the country, the circumstances of the people, and the tribes of

CHAP. IV.

Indians contiguous to the frontiers. Every art of affability and condescension was played off, on this occasion, to conciliate the inhabitants, and frequent consultations of a private nature took place between him and a man of the name of Conolly, who about this time was made a magistrate, and invested as commissioner among the Indians with considerable powers. Conolly was possessed of much sagacity, and was known as the discoverer of the bones of the mammoth on the Big Bone Lick at the falls of the Ohio. Some taste, an intimate knowledge of Indan affairs, a considerable knowledge of the world, and a lax morality, pointed him out to Dunmore as a fit instrument for executing plans of division and blood, which unhappily for Britain had been decided on in their depraved and phrenetic councils.

THIS project was of no less extent than to engage Virginia and Pennsylvania in a civil war about their territorial boundary, and to rouse once more to arms the warlike tribes of savages, whose fury had so often deluged the western settlements with blood. Those states obliged to attend to their immediate safety, would withdraw their attention from the abstract usurpations of parliament, and the governor being at the head of the troops of the colony, might act either with indecision or vigour, according to the nature of circumstances. The plan being at length fully decided on, Dunmore retraced his steps to Williamsburg, and Conolly immediately commenced his part against Pennsylvania, by seducing several of its inhabitants from their allegiance, and forming settlements on parts of its territory under patents from the governor of Virginia. As part of this drama, an address from several hundred persons inhabiting the lands to

the westward of the Lawrel Hills was presented to the governor on the road, disclaiming all allegiance to Pennsylvania, and praying that they might be admitted as members of the colony. These measures were calculated to excite the resentment of Pennsylvania; Conolly was taken and held in confinement, and the settlers were secured and punished as vagrants and outlaws.

A FULL representation of these several circumstances, was made by the governor to the council on his arrival, and he laboured hard by alarming their pride as Virginians, and by inflaming their resentment by an exaggerated statement of Pennsylvanian violence, to procure a levy of troops for enforcing the rights of Virginia. But Dunmore was completely ignorant of the grounds and merits of the dispute respecting boundaries between the two colonies, whilst the council on the other hand were absolute masters of the question, and by their advice, but much to his dissatisfaction, a moderate but firm remonstrance was forwarded to Pennsylvania, demanding the release of her citizens, and submitting their disputes to his majesty. Dunmore had previously issued a proclamation, dictated in language of haughtiness and incivility which was repelled with decent but decided firmness.

THE arrival of lady Dunmore, with a numerous family of sons and daughters, from New York, afforded Virginia an occasion of manifesting that true politeness and decent respect for female worth which are inseparably connected with bravery and intelligence. Several respectful addresses were presented to his lady, congratulatory of her arrival, and replete with favourable wishes for her happiness and health. The assembly, which soon after convened, united in

CHAP. IV.

these wishes, and the governor himself was congratulated by the council and house of burgesses on an event so well calculated to augment his domestic happiness.

1774. AGREEABLY to the plan which had been for some time adopted, of enfeebling the energy of the colonies, by the introduction of aristocratic titles and distinctions, rules of precedency were drawn up under the special direction of the herald, determining the rank of the civil and military officers and their ladies, and were officially published a short time previous to the meeting of the assembly.

BUT in the present grand agitation of public sentiment, these impertinencies were held as utterly beneath public notice; for the Boston port bill and other severe disabilities, to which the virtuous inhabitants of Massachusetts were subjected by acts of the British parliament, had taken entire possession of every heart, and excluded every feeling beside sympathy for their sufferings and resentment of their wrongs.

LORD NORTH, in his insidious project, falsely termed conciliatory, had taken off the obnoxious duties, with the exception of three pence per pound on tea, which was reserved for the avowed object of legalizing and drawing into a precedent the pretensions of parliament. As an inducement to the East India Company, who had ten millions of pounds of this commodity lying in their stores, to embark in this trade directly in the teeth of the American association, a drawback was allowed equal to the amount of the duties at the custom-house, and the crisis at length approached when America must either submit to the unjust claims of her enemies, or by some bold and daring action intimidate or conquer their

oppressors. She did not for a moment hesitate which alternative to adopt, and a resolution was every where formed of sending back or destroying the tea at the hazard of every consequence. In Pennsylvania and South Carolina, the consignees were compelled to store the tea on the express condition that it should not be sold, and that it should be re-shipped the first opportunity. In most cases, the vessels containing the obnoxious article were not permitted to unload. In Boston, where every measure of coercion appeared to be carried to an extremity by parliament, the conduct of the people was still more decided. The governor having refused to give a clearance at the custom-house, although solicited by the consignees, to the ship conveying this commodity, a number of citizens, habited as Mohawk Indians, repaired on board and discharged 240 chests of this abhorred and parliamentary poison into the sea.

This bold measure drew down upon the town of Boston the whole weight of ministerial vengeance. Deprived of her commerce, beset with military violence, her citizens subjected to transportation to England or elsewhere for trial, she was at this moment threatened with famine, and suffering all those extremities resulting from martial law and lawless usurpation.

It was hoped by these proceedings to break the spirit of that province, and terrify the other colonies by her example. Lame and infatuated politicians, they were not acquainted with the American character.

The first intelligence of these flagrant oppressions produced throughout the American colonies one unanimous determination to make a common cause with their suffering sis-

CHAP. IV.

ter. The assembly of Virginia was in session when the rough draughts of the obnoxious bill were communicated in a letter from Massachusetts, and as if every other subject had been utterly unworthy their consideration at this crisis, they proceeded with one consent to an inquiry into this interesting subject. An animated protest was immediately entered on their journals against the late acts, which resulted, they affirmed, from a determined system to reduce the inhabitants of British America to slavery. Whilst engaged in these animated proceedings, they were suddenly summoned by the governor to the council chamber, who hastily addressed them in the following words:

Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses,

Assembly dissolved. 1774. May 27.

"I have in my hand a paper published by order of your house, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon his majesty and the parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary for me to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

On the following day the members met by agreement, at the long room in the Raleigh tavern, when the following agreement was unanimously entered into.

"We, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the late representatives of the good people of this country, having been deprived, by the sudden interposition of the executive part of this government, from giving our countrymen the advice we wished to convey to them in a legislative capacity, find ourselves under the hard necessity of adopting this, the only method we have left, of pointing out to our countrymen such mea-

sures as, in our opinion, are best fitted to secure our dearest rights and liberty from destruction, by the heavy hand of power now lifted against North America. With much grief we find that our dutiful applications to Great Britain for security of our just, ancient, and constitutional rights, have been not only disregarded, but that a determined system is formed and pressed for reducing the inhabitants of British America to slavery, by subjecting them to the payment of taxes, imposed without the consent of the people or their representatives; and that in pursuit of this system we find the act of the British parliament, lately passed, for stopping the harbour and commerce of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts Bay, until the people there submit to such unconstitutional taxes, and which act most violently and arbitrarily deprives them of their property, in wharves erected by private persons, at their own great and proper expense; which act is, in our opinion, a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all North America. It is farther our opinion, that as *tea*, on its importation to America, is charged with a duty, imposed by parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue, without the consent of the people, it ought not to be used by any person who wishes well to the constitutional rights and liberty of British America. And whereas the India Company have ungenerously attempted the ruin of America, by sending many ships loaded with tea into the colonies, thereby intending to fix a precedent in favour of arbitrary taxation, we deem it highly proper, and do accordingly recommend it strongly to our countrymen, nor to purchase or use any kind of East India commodity whatsoever, except salt-petre and spices, until the griev-

CHAP. IV.

ances of America are redressed. We are farther clearly of opinion, that an attack made on one of our sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack made on all British America, and threatens ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied. And for this purpose it is recommended to the committee of correspondence, that they communicate with their several corresponding committees on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies of British America, to meet in general congress, at such place annually as shall be thought most convenient; there to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require.

"A tender regard for the interests of our fellow subjects, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, prevents us from going farther at this time; most earnestly hoping that the unconstitutional principle of taxing the colonies without their consent, will not be persisted in, thereby to compel us, against our will, to avoid all commercial intercourse with Britain. Wishing them and our people free and happy, we are their affectionate friends, the late representatives of Virginia."

"THE above was immediately signed by the honourable the speaker and all the members of the late house of burgesses, as well as by a number of clergymen and other inhabitants of the colony, who, after having maturely considered the contents of the association, did most cordially approve and accede thereto."

MEANWHILE the plan of Dunmore began rapidly to unfold itself. Emboldened by the territorial disputes between Pennsylvania and Vir-

ginia, and those controversies of a still higher nature pending between the mother country and the colonies, alarmed too for their own safety and the security of their remaining possessions by the mysterious hints and artful discourses of Conolly, the tribes that inhabited the vast country at the back of the British settlements, commenced, as if by concert, a series of shocking enormities, the barbarous precursors of Indian warfare. Parties of the frontier militia in vain assembled to repel and avenge these incursions; they were swept away, whilst the defenceless inhabitants, consisting of the aged, the women, and the children, who were not able to retire with sufficient celerity before the inundation, were inhumanly butchered, or hurried away into a captivity worse than death.

But the great mass of the people were not as formerly benumbed and palsied by the sound of Indian war. The agitation universally excited by the alarming pretensions of the British parliament, had communicated an energy and vigilance, a resolution and concert amongst them become necessary for the arduous duties which they were every day liable to be called on to discharge; and on the first rumours they discovered the highest ardour and impatience to march out against the perpetrators of these shocking and brutual enormities.

Roused by the military ardour and indignation which spread like a blaze through the colony, the governor at length affected to catch the throb of military ardour, and to feel the glow of a virtuous resentment and indignation. The counties most contiguous to the enemy were summoned by proclamation to furnish their quotas of militia, and an army of three thousand men was formed with a celerity proportioned to the urgen-

CHAP. IV.

cy of the crisis, and honourable to the judgment and activity of the government.

But another object of even superior magnitude now engaged the attention of the people. Their late deputies, on their dissolution, recommended a convention to meet at Williamsburg on the first day of August, and town and country meetings every where took place for the purpose of nominating deputies to this body. Nothing could exceed the public unanimity on this occasion, nor the masculine expression of their eloquence;* and the deputies agreeably to appointment, convened.

The proceedings† of this body were few, but in the highest degree nervous and impressive.

---

* *Life and Liberty never shall be parted.*

This is the motto of the country, and we are unalterably determined never to part with our liberties, let the expense of defending them be what it may. We are told that the ministry of Britain talk of taking away our *Charter!* Enemies to God and man! do they they think that we will submit to tyranny in our land? The country which our fathers purchased with their blood, we will defend with our blood. A COUNTRYMAN.

† *At a very full meeting of delegates from the different counties in the colony and dominion of Virginia, begun in Williamsburg the first day of August, in the year of our Lord* 1774, *and continued by several adjournments to Saturday the sixth of the same month, the following Association was unanimously resolved upon and agreed to.*

We, his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the delegates of the freeholders of Virginia, deputed to represent them at a general meeting in the city of Williamsburg, avowing our inviolable and unshaken fidelity and attachment to our most gracious sovereign, our regard and affection for all our friends and fellow subjects in Great Britain and else-

They entered into a detailed view of their rights and grievances. Different modes of redress were suggested and adopted, and a determined resolution was announced, at all hazards never to abandon the sacred cause in which they had engaged.

---

where, protesting against every act or thing which may have the most distant tendency to interrupt, or in anywise disturb, his majesty's peace, and the good order of government within this his ancient colony, which we are resolved to maintain and defend at the risk of our lives and fortunes; but, at the same time, affected with the deepest anxiety, and most alarming apprehensions, of those grievances and distresses by which his majesty's American subjects are oppressed; and having taken under our most serious deliberation the state of the whole continent, find that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is chiefly occasioned by certain ill advised regulations, as well of our trade as internal polity, introduced by several unconstitutional acts of the British parliament, and at length attempted to be enforced by the hand of power. Solely influenced by these important considerations, we think it an indispensable duty which we owe to our country, ourselves, and latest posterity, to guard against such dangerous and extensive mischiefs by every just and proper means.

If, by the measures adopted, some unhappy consequences and inconveniences should be derived to our fellow subjects, whom we wish not to injure in the smallest degree, we hope and flatter ourselves that they will impute them to their real cause, the hard necessity to which they are driven.

That the good people of this colony may, on so trying an occasion, continue stedfastly directed to their most essential interests, in hopes that they will be influenced and stimulated by our example to the greatest industry, the strictest economy and frugality, and the exercise of every public virtue; persuaded that the merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of Great Britain, and above all, that the British parliament will be convinced how much the true interest of that kingdom must depend on the restoration and continuance of that mutual friendship and cordiality which so happily subsisted between us; we have unanimously and with one voice, entered into the following resolutions and

CHAP. IV.

DEPUTIES were appointed to the general congress appointed to meet at Philadelphia, and the people encouraged to pay particular attention to the breed of sheep and to domestic manufac-

---

association, which we do oblige ourselves by those sacred ties of honour and love to our country, strictly to observe; And farther declare, before God and the world, that we will religiously adhere to and to keep the same inviolate in every particular, until redress of all such American grievances as may be defined and settled at the general congress of delegates from the different colonies shall be fully obtained, or until this association shall be abrogated or altered by a general meeting of the deputies of this colony, to be convened as is herein after directed. And we do, with the greatest earnestness, recommend this our association to all gentlemen, merchants, traders, and other inhabitants of this colony, hoping that they will cheerfully and cordially accede thereto.

1st. We do hereby resolve and declare, that we will not either directly or indirectly, after the first day of November next, import from Great Britain any goods, wares, or merchandise whatever, medicines excepted; nor will we, after that day, import any British manufactures, either from the West Indies or any other place, nor any article whatever which we shall know, or have reason to believe, was brought into such countries from Great Britain; nor will we purchase any such articles so imported of any person or persons whatsoever, except such as are now in the country, or such as may arrive on or before the said 1st day of November, in consequence of orders already given, and which cannot now be countermanded in time.

2dly. We will neither ourselves import, nor purchase, any slave or slaves, imported by any person after the first day of November next, either from Africa, the West Indies, or any other place.

3dly. Considering the article of tea as the detestable instrument which laid the foundation of the present sufferings of our distressed friends in the town of Boston, we view it with horror; and therefore resolve, that we will not from this day, either import tea of any kind whatever, nor will we use, or suffer even such of it as is now on hand to be used, in any of our families.

tures. Instructions were at the same time drawn up for regulating the conduct of their members of congress, in all of which they exhibit a combination of zeal, sagacity and decision which have seldom been equalled.

4thly. If the inhabitants of the town of Boston, or any other colony, should by violence or dire necessity be compelled to pay the East India Company for destroying any tea, which they have lately by their agents unjustly attempted to force into the colonies, we will not directly or indirectly import or purchase any British India commodity whatever, till the company, or some other person on their behalf, shall refund and fully restore to the owners all such sum or sums of money as may be so extorted.

5thly. We do resolve, that unless American grievances are redressed before the 10th day of August, 1775, we will not, after that day, directly or indirectly, export tobacco, or any other article whatever, to Great Britain; nor will we sell any such articles as we think can be exported to Great Britain with a prospect of gain to any person or persons whatever, with a design of putting it into his or their power to export the same to Great Britain, either on our own, his, or their account. And that this resolution may be the more effectually carried into execution, we do hereby recommend it to the inhabitants of this colony to refrain from the cultivation of tobacco, as much as conveniently may be; and in lieu thereof that they will, as we resolve to do, apply their attention and industry to the cultivation of all such articles as may form a proper basis for manufactures of all sorts, which we will endeavour to encourage throughout this colony to the utmost of our abilities.

6thly. We will endeavour to improve our breed of sheep, and increase their number to the utmost extent, and to this end we will be as sparing as we conveniently can in killing of sheep, especially those of the most profitable kind; and if we should at any time be overstocked, or can conveniently spare any, we will dispose of them to our neigbours, especially the poorer sort of people, upon moderate terms.

7thly. Resolved, that the merchants, and other venders of goods and merchandises within this colony, ought not to

CHAP. IV.

EVERY movement announced the approach of a grand and eventful crisis. Throughout America resolutions were entered into by town and county meetings, expressing the national sympathy for the sufferings of Boston, and a solemn determi-

---

take advantage of the scarcity of goods that may be occasioned by this association; but that they ought to sell the same at the rates they have been accustomed to for twelve months last past; and if they shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall in any manner, or by any device whatever, violate or depart from this resolution, we will not, and are of opinion that no inhabitant of this colony ought, at any time thereafter to deal with any such persons, their factors or agents, for any commodity whatever. And it is recommended to the deputies of the several counties, that committees be chosen in each county, by such persons as accede to this association, to take effectual care that these resolves be properly observed, and for corresponding occasionally with the general committee of correspondence in the city of Williamsburg. Provided, that if exchange should rise, such advances may be made in the price of goods as shall be approved by the committee of each colony.

8thly. In order the better to distinguish such worthy merchants and traders who are well wishers to the colony from those who may attempt, through motives of self-interest, to to obstruct our views, we do hereby resolve, that we will not, after the first day of November next, deal with any merchant or trader who will not sign this association, nor until he hath obtained a certificate of his having done so from the county committee, or any three members thereof. And if any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandise after the first day of November, contrary to this association, we give it as our opinion that such goods and merchandise should be either forthwith reshipped or delivered up to the county committee, to be stored at the risk of the importer, unless such importer shall give a proper assurance to the said committe that such goods or merchandises shall not be sold within this colony during the continuance of this association; and if such importer shall refuse to comply with one or the other of these terms, upon application and due caution given to him, or her, by the said committee, or any three members thereof,

nation to resist the tyrannical measures of the British parliament. Contributions in money and provisions where every where voluntarily subscribed for the relief the inhabitants of Boston, whose cause was declared to be that of all British America, and the public attention directed

---

such committee is required to publish the truth of the case in the gazettes, and in the county where he or she resides, and we will thereafter consider such person or persons as inimical to this country, and break off every connection and all dealings with them.

9thly. Resolved, that if any person or persons shall export tobacco, or any other commodity, to Great Britain, after the 10th day of Aug. 1775, contrary to this association, we shall hold ourselves obliged to consider such person or persons as inimical to the community, *and as an approver of American grievances;* and give it as our opinion, that the public should be advertised of his conduct, as in the 8th article is desired.

10thly. Being fully persuaded that the united wisdom of the general congress may improve these endeavours to preserve the rights and liberties in British America, we decline enlarging at present; but do hereby resolve, that we will conform to and strictly observe, all such alterations or additions, assented to by the delegates for this colony, as they may judge necessary to adopt, after the same shall be published and made known to us.

11thly. Resolved, that we think ourselves called upon by every principle of humanity and brotherly affection, to extend the utmost and speediest relief to our distressed fellow subjects in the town of Boston; and therefore most earnestly recommend it to all the inhabitants of this colony to make such liberal contributions as they can afford, to be collected and remitted to Boston in such manner as may best answer a desirable purpose.

12thly, and lastly. Resolved, that the moderator of this meeting, and in case of his death, Robert Carter Nicholas, esq. be empowered on any future occasion that may in his opinion require, to convene the several delegates of this colony, at such time and place as he may judge proper; and in case of the death or absence of any delegate, it is recommended that another be chosen in his place.

CHAP. IV.

to the manufacture of arms and ammunition, and to military discipline. The usual games and sports of the people were evey suspended, and the human mind was prepared by a variety of judicious publications, and by the animated discourses of popular orators, for a great and approaching conflict: Faces characterized by ardour and determination were every where to be seen, and the sound of warlike preparation was heard throughout the land.

THE governor meanwhile appeared to be busy in preparing for an Indian war, an object to which from its imminent danger and its barbarous atrocities, the public attention was now strongly directed. The plans of the governor were not yet mature, but all the arguments in favour of a longer delay were exhausted, and the public impatience and indignation would no longer be controuled; under these circumstances the governor directed the immediate march of the troops, one part of which in order to take advantage of circumstances, he was resolved to command in person.

AN express arrived at this time from the governor, that he had made a treaty with the Six Nations and their cousins, the Delawares, who had disclaimed all share in the outrages perpetrated by the Shawanese and their confederates. The proceedings on this occasion were conducted as usual with Indian formalities; the hatchet was buried, belts of wampum interchanged and the chain of friendship, according to their figurative expression, cleared of rust and brightened: But the conduct of these tribes, notwithstanding these professions, was not entirely free from suspicion. It was believed that they had co-operated with their allies, and that their apparently pacific disposition proceeded either from

fear, or a wish to paralize the vigour of military operations, by holding out the shew of friendship.

American congress. Sept. 4. 1774.

MEANWHILE the representatives of the American congress convened agreeably to appointment at Philadelphia, and Peyton Randolph, late speaker of the Virginia assembly, was chosen speaker.

EERY thing was expected from the meeting of this celebrated body. To organize a government; to draw out the elements of moral science for the establishment of a system, which should unite the properties of strength and beauty; to steer clear of the storms of passion and the arts of faction; to give their constituents the example of their own lives; to aid the laws in stopping the growth of anarchy; to inspire a love of country and of glory; to rouse the genius of the nation, and direct its eagle flights to purposes of grandeur and utility; such were the sacred duties which were expected from this celebrated association. They had to deliberate too, seated on a volcano, and in the midst of arms; their bosoms would be alternately assailed by the mingled sensations of tenderness and sorrow, of terror and indignation; they would have to mark the horrors and waste of battle, the patient suffering and determined courage of the oppressed, and the temporary triumph of the oppressor; to mourn the death of the brave, to consecrate their memory by the balm of public gratitude, to blazon their exploits for the example of posterity. And nobly did they realize those expectations.

THEN for the first time were exhibited on the national theatre, the dignified figure of Washington, his mind strong in integrity; too proud to be corrupted; too stubborn for seduction; prepossessing every beholder with an involuntary

CHAP. IV.

sentiment of respect by the uncouth graces of his figure, and the unaffected dignity of his manners. The imagination of Henry, spreading like a blaze amongst his audience, and dramatizing every incident, which he touched, by the magic influence of his manner. The profound capacity of Pendleton, untaught in schools, yet seizing as it were by intuition, the mysteries of his subject. Then was admired the philosophic ardour of Jefferson, smitten with the elegancies of literature, and fired with the passion of making his country the rival of civilized Europe: The prompt and lively Lee, the courageous Hancock, the equally courageous, ardent and indefatigable Adams; the striking and singular peculiarities of Franklin, whose mind by a natural aptitude became familiar with every subject, by a sort of creative principle raised itself from nothing to the heights of science, and which, equally hostile to the mysteries of politics and electricity, snatched the lightning from the heavens and the sceptre from the gripe of tyrants. Then too, was admired the generous prodigality of Morris, sustaining by his own private resources the credit of his country; the sincere though courtly Randolph; the law knowledge of John Adams, wonderfully exerted to enforce the liberties of this country. But this assembly, great though it was, exhibited but a single constellation in the American heavens; every state had its group of stars. Eminent men in every department were starting up, who were before invisible. It appeared as if the breath of the Almighty had animated statues of clay or marble, for the purpose of accomplishing the decrees of his providence.

THE business of the meeting was opened by Patrick Henry, in a speech which left a deep and

indelible impression on his hearers. It was not a dissertation in detail of American wrongs: That subject had been exhausted by incessant repetition for the last ten years. Every man in the country was familiar with it. It was rather a solemn appeal to their feelings and judgment; an harangue in the manner of antiquity: Such as might have been spoken to the Roman senate when Pyrrhus or Hannibal had entered Italy. He was followed by R. H. Lee in a strain of corresponding sentiment. Nothing could exceed the solemnity of the scene, and when we associate the anxious attention of thirteen states, of Britain herself, and indeed of the civilized world, to their deliberations; when we take in their own personal feelings, their reflections on the novelty and boldness of their situation; their apprehensions of the result, mingled with their hopes and their ambition, perhaps it is not too much to say, that no single situation ever surpassed it in interest and sublimity. No levities had place here, no play of words, no light and sportive expressions; not a smile was to be seen; their language was suited to their feelings and situation, grand, solemn and sublime.

COMMITTEES were appointed to prepare a declaration of rights, and a statement of such as had been infringed by acts of parliament; also, a petition to the king and address to the people of Great Britain, to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec, and to the twelve colonies represented in congress. These performances, drawn up in a stile so masterly as to challenge competition with any of their kind in the old world, were adopted by the house. It was at the same time unanimously resolved, "that contributions from all the colonies, for supplying the necessities and alleviating the distresses of our brethren at

CHAP. IV.

Boston, ought to be continued, in such manner, and so long as their occasions may require;" and resolutions were entered into suspending the importation of goods from G. Britain and Ireland, or any of their dependencies, and of their manufactures from any place whatever, after the first day of the succeeding December, and against the purchase or use of such goods. It was also determined, that all exports to Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, should cease on the 10th of September, 1775, unless American grievances should be redressed before that time. Letters were also addressed to the colonies of St. John's, Nova Scotia, Georgia, and the Floridas, inviting them to unite in the common cause of British America. The business before them being completed, the house dissolved itself, having previously recommended another congress to meet on the 10th day of the succeeding May.

Battle of Point Pleasant.

MEANWHILE the army had marched in two divisions towards the Ohio. The greater part of this body was composed of prime riflemen, and all were considered as the most expert woodsmen in Virginia. They were drawn principally from the counties of Augusta, Botetourt, Bedford, and Fincastle, and from the inhabitants of the frontiers dispersed and ruined by Indian outrages. For reasons which could not be understood, this army, which if kept together, would have carried every thing before it, was formed into two detachments, and lord Dunmore having dispatched colonel Andrew Lewis with 1500 men towards the mouth of Great Kanhaway, proceeded at the head of another and more powerful body higher up the Ohio, with the view, as it is pretended, of getting in the rear of the enemy, and destroying their towns. The distance at which he

moved, no less than seventy-five miles from the other division, was considered as too great for any efficient co operation; and it was matter of serious regret to Lewis and the brave men under his command, that on approaching the centre of the enemy's power, they should be deprived of the assistance of more than half the army, by plans whose scope and object appeared to all utterly preposterous and incomprehensible. The division of Lewis had now reached Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kanhaway, when intelligence was brought in that a large party of Indians were approaching within less than one mile of the camp, and the account was instantly confirmed by the scouts, several of whom, although wounded, had escaped the fury of the enemy. There was no time to be lost. An advance of 300 men, under the command of colonels Lewis and Fleming, was orded to the attack, assisted by captains Dickenson, Harrison, Wilson, I. Lewis, Lockridge, Burford, Love, Shelvey, and Russell. Lewis commanding the first division, marched to the right at some distance from the Ohio; Fleming, with the second division, to the left on the banks of that river. The front of the right wing was attacked at sun rise, about an half a mile from the camp, by the united force of the Shawanese, Delawares, Mingoes, and Tawas, amounting to 1500 men. In this dreadful attack, conducted with all the subtlety and precision of Indian war; the firing was incessant and the slaughter prodigious. Almost in the very commencement of the action, Lewis was mortally wounded; several of the men were killed, and the whole of the division, unable to endure the heavy fire of the enemy, gave way. The firing was scarcely heard on the right, when

CHAP. IV.

the division of Fleming was attacked also in front, by another body of savages equally powerful, and the effect was almost the same. Fleming, after receiving two balls through his left wrist, continued to animate his men, and preserved the most admirable coolness and presence of mind. His advice, repeated often in a loud voice to his soldiers, was not to retire an inch, but continually advance and outflank the enemy, and if possible to get between them and the river. A short time after the commencement of the action, both parties were entirely covered, and the most astonsihing precision took place on both sides.

By the advice of Fleming, the Virginians were accustomed to hold their hats from behind the trees, which being mistaken by the enemies for their heads, were shot at: The hats were immediately dropped, and the Indian supposing that he had killed his man, ran up for the purpose of taking off his scalp, when he was instantly dispatched. The commander at length, whilst animating his men, received a third shot through the right lobe of his lungs; but his unconquerable spirit would not permit him to retire, and his division conforming to his advice, continued slowly to advance and outflank the enemy. They were themselves, however, in danger of being taken in flank by the body which had defeated the division of Lewis, when a reinforcement under colonel Field seasonably came up, and the contest along the whole line was renewed with the utmost fury. The Indians now began to give way; but every inch of ground was still contested, and by a fatality this day common to the commanders, colonel Field was killed whilst leading the pursuit. The Indians, about one o'clock, having reached a position extremely dif-

ficult of access, once more made a stand, from which it was at present thought unadvisable to attempt their dislodgement. The troops halted as they were then formed, and rested on their arms. The whole line extending about one mile and a quarter, had sustained a constant and equal weight of the action from wing to wing, and a scattering fire still continued on both sides until half an hour after sunset, when the enemy made good their retreat in safety and without being pursued.

The loss of men in this engagement, which lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, will be considered as trifling by those who are unacquainted with Indian warfare. It should be remembered that both parties were covered during the greater part of the day, and their astonished precision may be collected from the loss of officers. Of the three field officers two were killed on the spot, and a third wounded in three places. More than half the captains and subalterns were killed or wounded. The total of killed and wounded amounted only to one hundred and forty, fifty three of which were amongst the slain: Another evidence of the extraordinary precision is, that almost all the killed and wounded on both sides, were shot in the head and breast.

The evening after the battle, an express arrived from the governor, with instructions for colonel A. Lewis to join them in the neigbourhood of the Shawanese towns, a distance of nearly 80 miles, and where his route would lie through a country hostile, difficult of access, and swarming with Indians. As his lordship must have been ignorant of the late victory, these instructions were regarded as extraordinary, it having been previously determined that both detach-

CHAP. IV

ments should approach each other, for the purpose of inclosing the Indians, and intercepting their retreat; and a suspicion prevailed afterwards, confirmed by the disclosure of Conolly's agency, that the division under Lewis was devoted to destruction, for the purpose of breaking the the spirit of Virginia, and rendering the influence and reputation of the governor brighter and more efficient.

MEANWHILE colonel Lewis, anxious to avenge the death of his brother, and in obedience to the wishes of the army, all of whom were animated by the same spirit, proceeded to the destruction of the Shawanese villages; but on his way he was stopt by an express, informing him that the Indians had procured a peace from the governor, on condition that the lands on this side the river Ohio should be forever ceded to the whites; that their prisoners should be delivered up, and that four hostages should be immediately given for the faithful performance of these conditions.

WHILST engaged in adjusting the terms of the peace, it was perceived by lord Dunmore and his party, that Logan, a Mingo chief of great celebrity, did not make his appearance among the deputies, and apprehensions were entertained that the treaty would be insecure without the sanction of his name; or that he kept himself aloof, that he might be at liberty to engage in fresh hostilities. Logan was equally renowned for hospitality and courage, and previous to the late war, had been the steadfast friend of the whites, whose vast superiority in arts and invention, had been objects of admiration to his sagacious but untutored mind. As an orator and counsellor, he had been conspicuous in the councils of the Indians; but in the war, contrary to

his past habits and principles, his hostility against the Virginians had not been only steady and violent, but savage, pitiless and inexorable, and it appeared as if he wished to obliterate every vestige of ancient benefits, in the number, variety and savageness of his recent murders. Some attempts had been made to account for a change so extraordinary: It was variously rumoured that the family of Logan had been killed in cold blood by a party of Virginians, headed by captain Cresap, or a man of the name of Greathouse, and that the venerable chieftain, shocked at a treachery and cruelty attended by so many circumstances of aggravating baseness, had devoted himself to revenge. But this was only rumour, and amidst the hurry and tumult of war, no inquiry appears to have been made into the transaction. At length a man appeared in the assembly bearing in his hand a letter with the signature of Logan. He found it tied, he said, to a war club in a cabin at some distance from the lines. It was addressed to lord Dunmore, and was couched in the following words.

"I APPEAL to any white man to say, if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him not meat: if ever he came cold and naked, and he cloathed him not. During the course of the last long and bloody war Logan remained idle in his cabin, an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed as they passed, and said, 'Logan is the friend of white men.' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Colonel Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, not even sparing my women and children. There runs not a drop of my blood in the veins of any living creature. This called on me

CHAP. IV.

for revenge. I have sought it: I have killed many: I have fully glutted my vengeance: for my country I rejoice at the beams of peace. But do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan?—Not one."

NOTHING can be imagined more venerable than the strain of tender and lofty sentiment running through this short address. Parts of it rise into the highest order of moral sublimity: It reminds us of Ossian, "the last of his race;" of Fingal "in the last of his fields." Subsequent inquiries attest the veracity of Logan: But an elaborate statement of this interesting transaction will be found in "Jefferson's Notes on Virginia," a book with which it should be presumed every American is acquainted.

APPENDIX.

General Reflections.—Literature.—Manners.—Commerce—Revenues.

THE last fifty years, although for a considerable portion of that time deficient in interesting matter, contain several particulars which fully entitle them to attention. During the whole of the æra comprised between the project of Spotswood and its successful accomplishment, in 1763, the growth of Virginia was unusually rapid, and although the arts by no means kept pace with

commerce during this æra, they too gradually advanced, and their infant specimens gave a promise of maturity and glory.

Mr. Stith's history of Virginia has been already noticed; a work which, although its scope is much more narrow, and the affairs of which it treats of far less dignity, is little, if any thing, inferior in execution to lord Clarendon's history of the civil disputes in England.

The scheme of education had gradually become more liberal, and men of erudition attracted by the rising fame of the colony and the generous patronage held out by the legislature, abandoned their countries, and became professors in the university. They came recommended by the bishop of London, and were generally ministers of the gospel, from an idea prevalent in Europe, that the established religion should become a necessary part of public instruction, and that there was less to be apprehended from heresy and infidelity, when the principal stations were filled by the licensed champions of orthodoxy. Now and then, however, in spite of the jealous scrutiny of the metropolitan, some unbeliever would steal into the fold, and notwithstanding the decided preference to the church, superior genius would sometimes recommend a lay professor. This was the case particularly in the mathematical department, for which the divines were generally incompetent. It having long been the habit with that class to content themselves with the portion of academic information barely requisite for their degrees: Some Greek and Latin, and sometimes a smattering of Hebrew, with abundance of logic and theology.

During a considerable portion of this æra, this department was filled by Mr. Small, to the great benefit of Virginia. Almost all those emi-

CHAP. IV.

nent spirits who figured in this and the succeding era, were formed by this admirable man, and whatever may have been subsequently his principles of government, it cannot be a matter of indifference to this able philosopher, the friend and companion of the poetic and philosophic Darwin, that his pupils in America should have raised so high their own fame and the glory of their country.

About the same time were forming in Pennsylvania souls of corresponding vigour and capaty. The liberal and learned Logan; the humble Godfrey, fated like the inventor of the mariner's compass, to lose the fame as well as the rewards of his discovery; the self-taught Franklin; the self taught and modest Rittenhouse, who may be stiled the Newton of America.

In 1736 the first newspaper was published at Williamsburg, under the direction of a Mr. Purdie. The province was before indebted to the gazettes of Boston and Pennsylvania, and a few of the richer class were occasionally supplied with European journals. Soon as this focus presented itself, the genius of the country, which before, for the want of a repositary, either slept or wasted itself in trifles for the want of an adequate motive, was awakened from its long and death-like sleep: Rays of light from all parts of the circle were converging towards this common centre. They were at first faintly etched, but they soon became brighter and more defined, and promised at no distant period to lose their separate brightness in a blaze of continuous glory.

In the session of 1744 there is a manifest improvement in the stile of the communications between the several departments of government. In 1748 the advertisements of the booksellers prove a considerable expansion of intellect. They had

before this time, with very few exceptions, enumerated in their catalogues abundance of theology, and a few of the minor classics. The advertisements of this date contain some of the most approved writers in the arts and sciences, and the best editions of the ancient and modern classics.

THIS year the celebrated Mark Catesby died in London, leaving behind him two hundred copper plates of American birds and beasts, drawn, engraven and coloured from the life by himself.

THE permission of the president in 1752, to the New York company to build a theatre, may be taken as another evidence of the growing refinement of manners.

THE arrival of Fauquier gave a decided determination to the literature of Virginia. Elegant in his manners, correct and classical in his conversation and writing, the patron of learning and learned men, he was regarded by Virginia as a model of the scholar and fine gentleman, and his example was every where the object of humble imitation. Professor Small, whose mathematical skill has been already noticed, with many others of merit, felt the ray of his patronage and bounty. It had been well if the governor had in other respects exhibited himself as a model equally worthy of imitation. His rage for play introduced it more generally amongst the people than his more useful and estimable qualities, and this execrable vice appeared to be sanctioned by the example of the most amiable man, and most elegant gentleman in the country.

A RAGE for botanical knowledge, induced in a great measure by the successful and glorious example of Linnæus, had for some time made its way into Virginia, and in no part of the

CHAP. IV. Appendix.

world was it prosecuted with more industry or genius. The Flora Virginica of the celebrated Clayton was published at Leyden in 1762, under the direction of Gronovius. He lived in Gloucester county, and left behind him botanical manuscripts, which are thought to be more valuable than his printed work.

THE manners of a people have so intimate a connection with their literary advances, that a knowledge of the one almost induces an acquaintance with the other.

MADEIRA wine, in considerable quantities, was imported into Virginia during this period, and so early as 1741, almonds, Barcelona raisins, Zante currents, Lucca olives, candied lemon and orange peals, perfumed comfits, eningo root, anchovies and capers, were in use and request. The character of the people for hospitality and expense was now decided, and the wealth of the land proprietors, particularly on the banks of the rivers, enabled them to indulge their passions even to profusion and excess. Drinking parties were fashionable in which the strongest head or stomach gained the victory. The moments that could be spared from the bottle were devoted to cards. Cock-fighting was also fashionable. I find in 1747, a main of cocks advertised to be fought between Gloucester and James river. The cocks on one side were called *Bacon's Thunderbolts*, after the celebrated rebel of 1676.

The external revenues of Virginia, or those levied according to the regulations of trade, cannot be estimated with any precision, without the possession of documents which are at present unattainable by the author. In 1676, they were estimated by Giles Bland, collector of the upper district of James River, to be worth to the mo-

ther country 100,000l. communibus annis; but as the increase of commerce would furnish new items of taxation, the present revenues must greatly exceed that estimate. The revenue arising from a single commodity, may perhaps furnish some ground of conjecture; but this was so much more considerable than the rest united, that no certain estimate could be built on the exports of this article, which varied from 50 to 60 thousand hogsheads. An ingenious statist estimates the revenues of Virginia arising from the regulation of trade, at 400,000l. per annum. This I think, however, must be over-rated.

THE internal taxes levied for the administration of government, within the colony, were, with the exception of the governor's salary, continued on the same scale of economy by which they had ever been managed. Three pounds and a half of tobacco formed each man's part of the public levy. During the last seven years the tytheables, or those who contributed to the sum of the public levy, amounted to one hundred and ninety five thousand.

INNUMERABLE instances of courage, intelligence, genius, ardour and enterprize are found during the latter part of this era. In right of the treaty of 1763, a vast and horrid region denominated the wilderness was penetrated, and to the astonishment of the adventurers, the green verdure of an eternal spring burst at once upon their view. The political disquisitions of Lee, Bland, Dickenson, and Jefferson, whilst they disciplined the genius, confirmed the patriotism of the people. The stile of Franklin is a model in its way of perspicuous laconism, useful apoghthem and splendid epigram. Nor was science neglected. Franklin is a name too familiar to require notice in this place. Page, as an astronomer, en-

CHAP. IV.

Appendix.

joyed the respect even of the inspired Rittenhouse. The newspaper too an useful and familiar medium, had for some time become a vast and splendid focus, which was incessantly sending abroad rays of chearing warmth and temperate glory.

VARIOUS towns had been established during this era by act of assembly: But there appeared from the first settlement a fixed and unconquerable repugnance to this mode of cohabitation, and the few that existed advanced but slowly in wealth or population. The increase of population was nevertheless astonishing throughout America; that of Pennsylvania alone, amounting so early as 1755 to 220,000 souls.

CHAPTER V.

Preliminary observations. Lord Dunmore conveys the powder by night from the magazine.—People of Williamsburg are with difficulty restrained from attacking the palace.— Military assembly at Fredericksburg.—Patrick Henry marches to demand the restoration of the powder—Returns after receiving payment. Lady Dunmore retires on board the Fowey. Meeting and proceedings of council.—Marines sent by captain Montague for defence of the palace. Indignation of the people—Fright of Dunmore—agrees to summon assemlby.—Extraordinary appearance of this body.—Flight of Dunmore—Communication between him and the assembly.—Dunmore commences a predatory warfare, and enlists negroes.—Committee of safety.—Convention.—Battle of Great Bridge.—Affair in Princess Ann.—Norfolk is burnt.—British attack Hampton, and are beaten off. Guinn's Island. Lord Dunmore burns a part of his fleet outside of the Capes, and proceeds for water to the Potomac. Virginia declares herself independent. Proceedings in congress and the other states.—Military operations of 1776.

CHAPTER V.

CHAP. V.

Preliminary observations.

THE several causes of disgust, which since the year 1765 had been accumulating in North-America, had now attained their crisis, and it required the utmost delicacy and judgment to handle the machine of colonial government without effecting a suspension or even a total extinction of its powers. Its several parts had become so disordered, either through some original vice in its structure, or through a want of skill and attention in repairing its defects, that even to touch, was to endanger wholly its uses. The people, fatigued with reiterating their complaints and remonstrances against the injustice of their government, rested in gloomy silence, waiting impatiently some occasion which should justify their revolt. Lord Dunmore in his palace, preserved a cold and gloomy state, tenacious of the execution of his orders, yet fearful of attempting to enforce them in the present ferment of public opinion. A true account of the battle of Point Pleasant had gotten abroad, and the laurels with which he had vainly decked himself on account of that event, began to wither on his brow. Every post brought accounts of popular movements, strongly impressed by patriot ardour, and spontaneous eloquence; resolutions and addresses, in the true spirit of antiquity, poured in from every quarter, directing the public contempt and indignation

against those corrupt ministers who sought in the oppression of the American provinces to establish their wicked principles of government throughout the empire.

THE public journals too, faithful to the principles which can alone afford security to the press, generously seconded the popular impulse and gave body and spirit to the public will. Innumerable essays conceived and executed with judgment; the lively paragraph, the quick and pointed reply, the instructive anecdote and sparkling epigram, severally contributed their quotas in all the varieties in which the human capacity is capable when set free from the fetters of habit and the slavery of precedents.—The people of Virginia and her sister states may not inaptly be compared to a giant collected in his might, having all his powers immediately at his command and prepared to strike.

1775. April. Lord Dunmore conveys the powder from the magazine at Williamsburg.

THE effort on both sides was too painful to last longer, and Dunmore was relieved from his state of suspense and uncertainty by an order addressed at the same time to the governors of the provinces, to disarm the people by seizing on the several depots of arms and ammunition, and to adopt such other precautionary measure as in their judgments were best calculated to check the supposed disposition to rebellion. Immediately on receipt of these instructions, lord Dunmore secretly conveyed the powder from the magazine in Williamsburg on board the Magdalen man of war, and knowing that this measure would confirm the jealousies and inflame the resentment of the people, he immediately armed his servants, together with the Shawanese hostages, for the defence of his person, and prepared a considerable number of extra musquets, which lay on the palace floor ready loaded and primed for the occasion.

CHAP. V.

He was not content with these precautions, and the captains of the ships of war lying at York were instructed to have in readiness a picked body of marines and sailors to march at a moment's warning for the defence of the palace.

The people are with difficulty restrained from attacking the palace.

THE first intelligence of this event was attended with all the effects which had been foreseen. The volunteers of Williamsburg immediately flew to arms, and could with difficulty be restrained by the treasurer and speaker, from rushing to the palace, and seizing the person of the governor. The people of Williamsburg convened without any notice, and voted that a deputation should be sent to demand an immediate restitution of the powder.

THE mayor, aldermen and common council accordingly waited on the governor, and warmly remonstrated against the injustice of taking the colony's property, and the inhumanity of disarming the people at the moment when there was too much reason to apprehend an insurrection of their slaves. The governor's answer was couched in terms of politeness and apparent sincerity. He solemnly protested that the act complained of, arose from his attachment to the safety of the colony, and from his apprehension that in the event of an insurrection the magazine did not promise sufficient security against a surprise; that he removed it in the night to avoid alarming the inhabitants, and that it should be returned so soon as it should be decided that his caution was unnecessary.

THIS answer was every where considered as a mean and scandalous evasion. It was said that if an insurrection was apprehended, the arms and ammunition ought to be put in the hands of the people, and a guard placed at the magazine. His promise of restoring the powder was re-

garded as extorted by fear, and it was justly concluded that no reliance was to be placed on a man, the audacity of whose conduct was equalled only by the weakness and folly of his justification, and who had not even the courage to avow his proceedings.

THESE suspicions were justified by his subsequent conduct. Parties of negroes mounted guard every night at the palace, which was in some measure fortified. Lady Dunmore and her family were conveyed by night on board the Fowey. Threats were industriously propagated by his creatures, that the first tumult should be instantly punished by burning the town and massacring its inhabitants.

THE indignation of the people was wrought up to a pitch bordering on madness, and reports of those inhuman threats having gone abroad,*

* About the fourth or fifth day of the general court, which was a day or two before Easter, it was reported in Williamsburg, that lord Dunmore had taken the locks off from most of the guns in the magazine, and that he intended to remove the powder from thence on board the Fowey man of war. This report was said to have been made by one Miller, a Scotchman, an armourer employed by lord Dunmore to clean and repair the public arms. The people of the town were at first alarmed and provoked at the report, and the town volunteers kept a strict eye constantly over the magazine, and a pretty strong guard over it every night, and patrolled the streets till day break for several nights after Miller's report. But at length disbelieving it, they grew a little negligent, and on Thursday night, the 20th, discharged their guards and patrol so long before day, that captain Collins, of the Magdalen armed schooner, with the assistance of some marines and sailors of the Fowey, who had been concealed at the palace by lord Dunmore's order, suddenly carried off in his lordship's little waggon, all the powder it could conveniently carry, about sixteen and an half barrels, to Burwell's Ferry, where it was put on

CHAP. V.

the alarm ran like an electric shock through the other counties, and each successively caught and communicated the flame. The inhabitants of the upper country met at Williamsburg, to the number of fifteen hundred prepared to march down to the assistance of the capital; to seize the governor and crush at once the seeds of insurrection. With this view three citizens were deputed to repair to Fredericksburg, for the purpose of ascertaining the precise state of affairs, and to assure the people of that town, that they only waited their wish to march to their assistance. The deputies used such extraordinary exertions, that they reached Williamsburg on the same day. The citizens, however, after paying a just tribute to the affectionate zeal of their countrymen, thought proper to decline the proferred aid, alledging that they did not apprehend any danger, and that the governor had promised to restore the powder. This answer being reported to the Frederick meeting, it was decided that the people of Williams-

---

board the Magdalen or some other tender, and carried down to Norfolk to the Fowey, which received it, and sailed round to York with the Magdalen and a tender or two. The inhabitants of the city, as soon as they learned that lord Dunmore had endeavoured to disarm them, by removing the locks from the muskets, and the powder from the magazine, and that he had done this by bringing amongst them an armed force, from the man of war, were greatly alarmed and incensed, and much mortified that such an insult had been offered them, and that their enemies had shewn so much more vigilance than they had, and had performed an exploit which carried the air of a triumph, and seemed to mark them with the charge of negligence or cowardice. To wipe off this stain, they flew to arms, determined to seize on lord Dunmore and his advisers, and compel him to bring back the powder; but the speaker, treasurer, and other cool and moderate men, prevailed on the volunteers not to use any violence.

burg being under the influence of their fears, were not competent to decide on a question which equally interested the inhabitants of Virginia, and all America, and it was determined to march to their assistance.

THIS decision had scarcely been formed, when Peyton Randolph, the late speaker to the Virginia assembly, and one of the deputies to the general congress, arrived at the house of Edmund Pendleton, one of his colleagues, on his way to Philadelphia. It was at this time a prevailing opinion with all the leading patriots in America, that resistance should be justified in the eyes of God and the world, by the most perfect decorum and moderation on the part of the people, and the most flagrant and avowed violence on that of the government. Under this impression these gentlemen transmitted to the Fredericksburg meeting their solemn advice, to abstain somewhat longer, till the legislature of the union, which would be immediately in session, should decide on a plan of general and effective resistance.

To consider this opinion so imposing from the high reputation of those gentlemen, one hundred military deputies were chosen, and after a long and animated debate, the question was carried against immediate hostility by a majority of one only.

THE report of those proceedings had a fortunate tendency to confirm the hopes and courage of the friends of liberty throughout America, and in checking the pride and damping the expectations of the disaffected. The military association at Fredericksburg encamped in the fields, completely armed and equipt for service, and furnished with provisions for several days. Notwithstanding some heavy rains, they refused to be quartered in the town, and they submitted to the decisi-

CHAP. V.

on of their council with evident disappointment and regret. At the same moment thousands were arming in other parts of the country, and waited only for the Fredericksburg decision to begin their march.

Patrick Henry.

THE volunteers of Hanover county alone refused obedience to this decision, and were resolved to recover the powder or perish in the attempt. They had chosen for their leader Patrick Henry, the younger, a man every way qualified by the extreme ardor of his temper and his commanding eloquence. The magnanimous spirit which impelled him in 1765, to denounce the views of the British Cabinet, had strongly recommended him to the support and admiration of his country, and after having exhibited the same steady and animated resistance in several sessions of the Virginia Legislature, he had lately been appointed to support the interests of America in the legislature of the union. The late violence of Dunmore and his sanguinary threats against the persons and property of the inhabitants of Williamsburg, had roused him in common with his countrymen, and he determined to defer his attendance in congress until he had established the safety and repose of his native state.

HE proceeded from Hanover town with only his own company of volunteers, but on his march his number was continually swelled by reinforcements, and when he reached Doncastle ordinary, sixteen miles from Williamsburg, his force was estimated at 500 men.

THIS movement afforded the most serious alarm to the governor. Young Henry was an object that had long excited in his bosom the most deadly hatred and abhorrence. He had been regarded for a long time as an advocate, not merely of resistance on constitutional grounds; but of abso-

lute and unqualified independence, and every thing was apprehended from his determined spirit and the overbearing influence of his eloquence. The enflamed state too of the public mind, required only a single spark to raise it into open and general revolt, and it was apprehended that this incident notwithstanding the late fortunate composure of public irritation would light anew the half smothered fire of resentment and rebellion.

Governor calls a council.

In this exigence lord Dunmore condescended to solicit the advice of his council. This body which consisted at this time of president Nelson, commissary Camm, president of the College, Ralph Wormley, colonel G. Corbin, G. Corbin, junr. Wm. Byrd, and John Page, proceeded to the council chamber in the capitol; but the governor was unwilling to trust himself beyond the verge of his fortification, and requested their attendance at the palace. When they had seated themselves, he in the usual form addressed them on the state of public affairs, and detailed briefly the causes which had induced him to call them together. The affair of the powder, the immediate cause of the present ferment, he endeavored to excuse by stating his fears that the volunteer companies might have been tempted during their musters to seize the public magazine, a step which would infallibly call down on them the vengeance of insulted majesty; that owing to this salutary measure, which should have entitled him to the esteem and gratitude of the country, the present unhappy commotions had taken place, and that even his life had been exposed to daily and eminent danger. He concluded by recommending a proclamation calculated to quiet the minds of the people, and put a stop to those excesses, which if persisted in could not fail of exposing them to certain and inevitable destruction. After a

CHAP. V.

long pause, John Page, the youngest member, asked whether if the board should so advise, his lordship would consent to restoring the powder, adding at the same time, that this measure alone was wanting to restore the public tranquility. The wrath of the governor displayed itself in rude and indecent terms on this occasion, and no one having ventured to second Mr. Page, a silence took place of several minutes. The governor at length having resumed his politeness, rose up and retired for the purpose as he declared of leaving them to a free and unbiassed deliberation. A proclamation was at legth drafted by Ralph Wormley, calculated rather to enflame than sooth the present discontents: but a majority of the board although directly opposed to the claims of the people, declared themselves in favor of a milder and more conciliating language—and the harsh parts were therefore softened, and the whole was made to breathe a more gentle and benignant spirit.

In this form it was submitted to the governor, who appeared to feel unusual pleasure in its perusal, and it was proposed by R. Wormley that it should be subscribed by all the members present, with the view as he alledged of seeing his name handed down to posterity, as the strenuous opposer of a licentious multitude, in support of good order and government. The friends of liberty were unable to protest against this measure, and were obliged to content themselves with a solemn determination to abjure in all places any agency in this transaction.

Meanwhile the alarm increased; it was reported that Henry at the head of a considerable body, had arrived within a few miles of town—The mayor and common council met for the purpose of considering what was most expedient at this crisis, and it was proposed that the mayor

should endeavor to dissuade him from entering the city.* The treasurer and colonel Nelson with several other distinguished characters prepared at the same time to exert their utmost interest to induce him to return and to avoid every act which might render his country immediately the seat of war.

The house of colonel Corbin, the receiver general of the King's custom, was exactly in the route of Henry, and he halted at a short distance from it to receive the Deputies from Williamsburg. This pause gave room for the active interposition of moderate men; and the receiver general after long solicitation, having been prevailed on to give a bill for the value of the powder, Henry discharged the volunteers and proceeeded to Philadelphia.

In the midst of these events, intelligence arrived of the battle of Lexington, originating in an attempt of governor Gage, to destroy the arms and

* It may not be amiss to relate in this place a singular address of lord Dunmore, to the mayor, who waited on him with the decision of the common council. I will be damned, said he, if I were in your place, if I would not march out the town volunteers, and tell Henry's men, that as the other companies have been prevailed upon to stop, and as we are satisfied about the affair of the powder, you must not and shall not enter our town, which is now in peace and quietness; a short time before this, he swore in the presence of the council, that if Henry approached the town, he would march out and attack him, and that he would be damned if he would not treat him as a rebel. He swore that Henry was the cursed author of all the disturbances, and had long been labouring to overturn the constitution of this country, adding that he was a coward, or he would have gone on with the speaker and Pendleton, to Philadelphia; but that there was less danger in marching against him, who was alone. This was supposed to allude to the plan for seizing the deputies to congress, on their way to Philadelphia, planned by Dunmore.

CHAP. V.

ammunition of the provincials, in the neighborhood of Boston. A coincidence so striking, as such attempts almost at the same hour in the North and South, could not fail to open the eyes of the most incredulous advocates of moderation; and whilst the heroic valor of the northern patriots animated the hope and courage of the Virginians; they in their turn sent back the example of their magnanimous spirit, to cheer their sufferings and confirm their resolutions. If they had not like the people of New England, as yet encountered the enemy in the field, they gained their immediate object, by the terror excited by their determined courage, nor were they animated by any examples, save those, which were derived from the courage of their ancestors. No concert whatever existed between them and the other colonies, and the affair of the powder was decided before the battle of Lexington was ever talked of in Virginia.

MEANWHILE the governor, uncertain of the issue of the Williamsburg deputation, was haunted by fears for his personal safety. He saw himself surrounded by enemies, and he found no refuge in the honor and integrity of his intentions. In this exigence, he wrote privately to captain Montague, of the Fowey man of war, then lying at York, to send up at midnight a detachment of marines and sailors to his assistance. Some suspicions had been excited before the march of this detachment by the Magdalen, and another armed tender having approached the beach: it was apprehended they had taken this station for the purpose of covering a debarkation of troops. But notwithstanding the wakeful vigilance of the people of York, the detachment had been landed and commenced their march without suspicion of this event. The secret was at length disclosed by a

letter of captain Montague, addressed to president Nelson, in which he threatened to fire upon York if the least interruption was offered to the detachment. This determination was stated to have been taken in consequence of certain information, that the palace was threatened with an attack at day break. The president remonstrated in the strongest terms against this insolent threat, equally absurd and inhuman, inasmuch as the detachment had commenced its march previous to the receipt of his letter, and no opportunity was left of using his good offices to prevent the effusion of blood.

Marines march to the palace.

MEANWHILE the troops arrived at Porto Bello, a seat of the governor's on Queen's creek, before the people of Williamsburg had the slightest intimation of the project. The intelligence excited at once their surprize and indignation, and captain Innes, who at this time commanded the city volunteers, prepared to cut them off on their march. At this juncture captain Foy, the confidential secretary of Dunmore, went from house to house, conjuring every man he met to abstain from violence, assuring all in the most positive terms, that the detachment should not enter the town, but that they should be conducted by a back way through the park to the palace; that they came with no other view than to protect lord Dunmore from the assault with which he had been threatened, and that they should be removed the moment it appeared this apprehension was not well founded: Whilst the people wavered, the detachment took up their quarters in the palace.

THE news of this event, together with the sanguinary threat of captain Montague, were received throughout Virginia with feelings of the

CHAP. V

strongest indignation. Meetings took place in every county, and an unanimous resolution was adopted, to repel force by force, and to retaliate to the uttermost for any violence offered the towns of York and Williamsburg by the ships or troops of his majesty. The people of Gloucester in particular, who lay contiguous, assembled to the number of 300, and came to a resolution of attacking Dunmore in his palace, and even of boarding the ships if they dared to put the threat of Montague in execution. This situation of affairs, added to authentic accounts received from all quarters of the desperate valour of the people of New England, and the determined spirit breathed in addresses and resolutions from one end to the other of America, convinced lord Dunmore that a longer perseverance in the measures complained of would be attended with great personal danger to himself, and of an immediate dissolution of the royal government in the province. Yet his positive instructions would not permit him to relax, and his absurd pride induced him to support the supremacy of parliament, and discountenance by every means within his reach the bold but rational claims of America. Some plan, however, must be immediately adopted for appeasing the present discontents. The strength of the government was impotent; its arm without brawn and unnerved. He might rave in the council room and issue the brute thunder of proclamations, but unsupported by fleets and armies, his rage was regarded in no other light than the phrenzy of a chained and imprisoned man.

A council.

In this exigence a council was summoned, and colonel William Byrd, who had hitherto taken no decided part in the present dispute, ventured

to advise the governor to issue writs for calling together the representatives of the people as the only means of allaying the public discontent. The governor declared emphatically, "that was more than he dared to do." He could not at the same time help, he added, feeling the greatest astonishment at the inconsistency of those gentlemen who some time since advised a dissolution of the assembly, and who now press for its call. The counsellors, he said, from the very nature of their appointment, felt a natural dependence on the crown, and they had always supposed themselves to be bound by the king's instructions; that the power of calling assemblies together, of proroguing and dissolving them, was plainly a branch of the king's prerogative, which no one can rightfully deny him; that the exercise of this prerogative in the colonies was sometimes regulated by the king's instructions, and in ordinary cases was left to his deputy's discretion, assisted by the advice of council; that in the present instance, his majesty himself had spoken, and that the councillors were bound by every tie of honour, gratitude and duty, to give the greatest weight and effect to his intentions. John Page presumed to deny the governor's premises, and his conclusion. They had not advised the dissolution; but he contended that even the admission of this fact did not justly attach to the council the charge of inconsistency. Though bound by the king's instructions, it was their right and duty to interpose their advice to prevent the adoption of measures fatal to the crown and monarchy; that unless such right be supposed to exist in the council, their office was nugatory, and the formality of consulting them a mere form and impertinent ceremony, which could not too speedily be dispensed with. It was plain, he added,

CHAP. V.

from English history, that a denial to the people of a parliament for any considerable time, was attended with the most fatal consequences, and that to an ignorance or a denial of this principle, the unhappy Charles was indebted for the loss of his crown, the dispersion of his family, and his own fatal and untimely end upon the scaffold. At the mention of Charles the governor's face presented a mingled character of resentment and apprehension. Mr. Page concluded by stating, that if the people were deprived of a legal and constitutional representation, they would resort to convention, a measure which in itself threatened the subversion of all regular government.

The council at length unanimously concurred in support of colonel Byrd's opinion, and the governor reluctantly consented to issue writs for an election of burgesses, and what was of almost equal importance in quieting the public agitation, he agreed to send back the detachment of marines to the Fowey.

This measure operated like a charm on the angry spirit of the people, and the waves which had been blown into commotion in the conflict of right and prerogative, for a moment subsided. But this calm was not employed in a false security and inactivity; the people were silently preparing against the arduous contest. Rewards were offered for the best specimens of American powder, and for the encouragement of various manufactures of primary necessity. Attention began to be paid to the exercise and discipline of the militia, and that noble ardour which had been roused in defence of liberty, was kept alive by the same means by which it had been at first excited, the closet speculations of ingenious men and the vehemence of popular eloquence.

CHAP. V.

1775.

MEANWHILE the day for the meeting of the assembly approached, and an anxiety proportioned to the occasion was visible in the countenances of the people and the governor. Reports had gone abroad, founded on some passages in intercepted letters, that the most conspicuous leaders of the people were to be seized and sent to Britain. It was whispered amongst the inhabitants of Williamsburg, that the marines were once more on their march, and that some plan was in agitation to seize the members of assembly. A notice appeared some time before in the public journals, warning the deputies to come prepared. This report was connected with a suspicion, that the deputies to the last general congress were to have been seized by parties of tories, in consequence of which they were escorted by parties of horse over the heads of all the rivers they had to pass. The governor in his turn, affected to feel the greatest alarm for his own safety.

An assembly.

IN the midst of these mutual jealousies and apprehensions, the members of assembly began to make their appearance, and no spectacle perhaps ever was more striking and better calculated to express the importance, the terror and the sublimity of the crisis. The members had generally come from considerable distances; they were habited in hunting shirts, the usual dress of American hunters and warriors, and they were generally armed with rifles. It was a melancholy reflection to such as had not lost all sensibility, that the representatives of a brave and enlightened community should thus as it were be compelled to seek any other protection than the sacredness of their own characters, and it told the mournful secret, that all confidence and harmony between the government and people were at an end in Vir-

CHAP. V.

ginia. These reflections were accompanied on the part of the people, by sentiments of a prouder nature. Their representatives were in danger; they were menaced with arrest and transportation; they had been marked out for their devotion to the cause of American liberty. The sages and fathers of the country, by taking arms for their defence into the sanctuary of the laws, proclaimed at once their apprehensions, together with their resolution of perishing rather than submit to personal violence or national dishonour, and every heart solemnly pledged its blood for their protection; every arm was lifted for their defence.

FAR different were the feelings of the governor; his heart died within him at the account of this extraordinary phœnomenon, and he abandoned all hope of stemming the torrent of disaffection. Every moment he expected to be assaulted in his palace and sacrificed to the rage of an incensed people: The least noise alarmed him. The representatives of the people in vain waited for the customary communication to open their sitting; in vain his councillors sought him in the council chamber: The haughty deputy was no where to be found. He had fled in the night, leaving behind him that kind of stunted communication denominated a message, in which the king and his deputies are used to state their wants and their projects to the legislature.

Flight of governor.

NOTHING could exceed the surprize of the assembly at this rash and unadvised proceeding. The council were equally unprepared and concerned for this event; but after the first agitation had subsided, both branches resumed their deliberations, and a joint address was immediately agreed on, to be presented by deputies from each body to the go-

vernor on board the Fowey. In this he was entreated, as the most likely means of quieting the minds of the people, to return to the palace, and an assurance given that they will cheerfully concur in any measure that may be proposed for the security of him and his family. The answer of Dunmore was full of haughty and unfounded recrimination. "When," says he, "the disposition which the house of burgesses have shewn towards me, the returns they have made for the respect and civility I have been forward to offer them; the countenance they have given to the violent and disorderly proceedings of the people, his majesty's magazine having been forced and rifled in presence of some of the members of the house of burgesses, and by the information of the committee the house appointed to inspect the magazine, no other endeavours have been used than to prevail on the people to return the arms taken out, but not to commit the persons in whose possession they were found, that they might be brought to the punishment due to so heinous an offence, no less against the peace and good order of the country, than the dignity and authority of the king: When a body of men assembled in the city of Williamsburg, not only to the knowledge, but with the approbation of every body, for the avowed purpose of attacking a party of the king's troops; when especially the house of burgesses, or a committee of the house, (which is the same) has ventured on a step fraught with the most alarming consequences, in ordering and appointing guards without even consulting me, to mount in the city of Williamsburg as is pretended, to protect the magazine, but which may be well doubted, as there then remained nothing therein which required being guarded. I say when these circumstances are duly consi-

CHAP. V.

dered, I may submit it to your own judgment whether I could reasonably expect any good effect from communicating the ground of my uneasiness to you." This imprudent composition was accompanied by papers containing the conditions on which any of the colonies might be admitted within the pale of the royal mercy, all of which having been taken into consideration, an answer was returned equally distinguished for its temperate argument and the solemn resolution it evinces. In reply to the governor's notification, that a benevolent tender had been made to the house of commons, towards bringing to a good end their disputes with the mother country, they say, "Next to the possession of liberty, my lord, we should consider such a reconciliation the greatest of all human blessings. With these dispositions we entered into a consideration of that resolution. We examined it minutely. We viewed it in every point of light in which we were able to place it, and with pain and disappointment we must ultimately declare it only changes the form without lightening the burden of oppression. We cannot, my lord, close with the terms of that resolution." They then proceed to a detail of their reasons for their rejecting the proffered charity: Reasons which, if aught could convince the obstinacy of ministers, had not been without success on this occasion.

"THESE, my lord, (say they in the conclusion of this admirable production) are our sentiments on this important subject, which we offer only as an individual part of the whole empire. Final determination we leave to the general congress now sitting, before whom we now shall lay the papers your lordship has communicated to us. To their wisdom we commit the improvement of this important advance; if it can be wrought

into any good, we are assured they will do it. To them also we refer the discovery of that proper method of representing our well founded grievances, which your lordship assures us will meet with the attention and regard so justly due to them. For ourselves, we have exhausted every mode of application our invention could suggest as proper and promising. We have decently remonstrated with parliament; they have added new injuries to the old; we have wearied our king with supplications; he has not deigned to answer us; we have appealed to the native honour and justice of the British nation; their efforts in our favour have hitherto been ineffectual. What then remains to be done? That we commit our injuries to the even-handed justice of that Being who doth no wrong; earnestly beseeching him to illuminate the counsels, and prosper the endeavours of those to whom America hath confided her hopes, that through their wise direction we may again see re-united the blessings of liberty and property, and the most permanent harmony with Great Britain."

But the principal subjects of legislative attention remained yet unadjusted. Under the pretext that the fees of officers could not be legally taxed, unless the assembly would renew the fee bill, the lawyers of the general court refused to transact business, and the courts of justice were closed. This procedure had its rise in the two fold wish, of procuring a meeting of assembly, and during a crisis of great civil agitation and embarrassment of guarding the people against the operation of suits principally foreign. Another measure of acknowledged importance, was the formation of a fund for defraying the charges of the late expedition against the Indians, and

CHAP. V.

satisfying the arrears due to the brave men engaged on that arduous service. Bills for both these purposes were passed without hesitation; but on account of some pretended defect in the fee bill, and the former alleged disallowance by his majesty of ten per cent. on slaves provided for the military charges, the governor objected to both, and finally refused to exercise this essential part of executive duty, unless the representatives of the people repaired to York, where they must legislate under the guns of British ships of war. The other parts of his lordship's conduct were equally offensive. The application of the burgesses for a restoration of the powder was refused, as well as their solicitation that the guns should be removed from the palace to the magazine.

The governor's answer being taken up in a committee of the whole house, to whom was referred also the state of the colony, the following resolutions were reported, which were unanimously agreed to.

"Resolved, *nem. con.* that his lordship's message, requiring this house to attend him on board of one his majesty's ships of war, is a high breach of the rights and privileges of this house.

"Resolved, *nem. con.* that the unreasonable delays thrown into the proceedings of this house by the governor, and his evasive answers to the sincere and decent addresses of the representatives of the people, give us great reason to fear that a dangerous attack may be meditated against the unhappy people of this colony. It is therefore our opinion, that they prepare for the preservation of their property, and their inestimable rights and liberties, with the greatest care and attention.

"Resolved, *nem. con.* that we do, and will bear faith and true allegiance to our most gracious sovereign George III. our only lawful and rightful king; and that we will, at all times, to the utmost of our power, and at the risk of our lives and property, maintain and defend his government in this colony, as founded on the established laws and principles of the constitution.

"Resolved, *nem. con.* that it is our most earnest desire to preserve and strengthen those bands of amity with all our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, which are so very essential to the prosperity and happiness of both countries.

"Resolved, *nem. con.* that it is with the deepest concern we find ourselves deprived of an opportunity of making immediate provision for those gallant officers and soldiers who so nobly defended this country against the incursions of the Indians, unless we would sacrifice their own and the inestimable rights and privileges of all other inhabitants of this colony; that as we have already endeavoured to make the most ample provision for this necessary purpose, so will we gladly seize every opportunity afforded us of doing the utmost justice to those brave men, and all other public creditors."

The correspondence between the governor and assembly had now closed for ever, and it became necessary to resort to other means for giving effect to the important measures, which had been already sanctioned by that body. In this emergence, all eyes were directed to the council, whose president, in the event of the death or absence of the governor, was vested with all the attributes of executive power. It was represented that the office of governor was at present vacant, by the voluntary abdication of lord Dunmore, and that the president might rightfully enter up-

CHAP. V

on the discharge of its proper and most essential duties. This reasoning, so conformable to the principles of sound policy and good sense, was resorted to at first with caution, and after some affectation of scruple, so anxious were the people of this colony to justify themselves by a close adherence to constitutional forms. But this coyness soon yielded to a consciousness of right and the necessity of circumstances. The treasurer, a man of gentle manners, but of decided patriotism, had declared himself ready to disburse any part of the public monies in his hands, when called on by the existing authority; and the council at length, after a faint struggle on the part of the governor's friends, assented to a principle alike called for by its justice and the wishes of the people.

OTHER circumstances of a nature equally important, yet remained unadjusted. The Shawanese hostages had disappeared at the time of the governor's flight, and from some depositions taken before the assembly, there was but too much reason to apprehend that they were set at large with a view, by their agency, of stimulating the formidable confederacy of the Shawanese and their allies to war against Virginia. It appeared that the governor had neither ratified the treaty nor given up the hostages. In this emergence it was ordered that George Washington, Thomas Walker, James Wood, Andrew Lewis, John Walker and Adam Stephen, or any three of them, be commissioners to ratify the treaty, and that Robert Carter Nicholas be directed to pay the charges of the commission. The assembly, after discharging these important duties, adjourned themselves.

SOON as the negociation had ceased between lord Dunmore and the assembly, he proceeded

down the river in the Fowey, and prepared to collect a force sufficient at least to check the progress of insurrection, until an army should arrive from Europe. With this view he issued his proclamation, commanding all subjects on their allegiance to repair to his standard; and not content with this, he offered freedom to the slaves who should join his standard. He was not without hope that this measure would involve the people in an insurrection with this mutinous and unfortunate race, to extricate themselves from whose horrors, they would be glad to solicit his return; or if this should fail, they might be attacked with greater advantage by the royal troops. These measures of Dunmore only served to heighten their contempt and indignation against him, and to confirm their resolution. Volunteer companies, which poured into Williamsburg from every quarter after the flight of Dunmore, solicited to be employed against him; and the counties at their public meetings, expressed their wishes that a regular permanent force should be embodied, for the purpose of repelling at all points the enemies of American liberty.

Lord Dunmore sails in the Fowey.

MEANWHILE the convention met at Richmond, and proceeded immediately to the organization of a provisional government. It was obvious that the public enthusiasm required a regular concert, to guard against the vigilance of the enemy, and to preserve the tranquility of the country, and the legislature was too numerous to apply a remedy with sufficient secrecy and dispatch. It was resolved that every thing relating to the public safety within the state and the jurisdiction of her waters, should be entrusted to a committee consisting of eleven members.

Convention meets 17th July.

THE members of this committee were Edmund Pendleton, George Mason, John Page,

CHAP. V.

Richard Bland, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Paul Carrington, Dudley Digges, James Mercer, Carter Braxton, William Cabell, and John Tabb. They were chosen by ballot of the convention, and were to remain in office until they were superseded by the voice of the convention.

Organize a military force.

The defence of the colony demanded their immediate and pointed attention, and it was not thought proper to leave wholly to the discretion of a committee what had ever been provided for by the legislature. Two regiments of regulars were voted for one year, and it was determined that a portion of the militia should encamp by regiments for a certain number of days in the spring and autumn, for the purpose of perfecting themselves in the military exercises. This class was denominated minute men, from their conditions of enlistment to march at a minute's warning to any part of the colony for its defence.

Meanwhile the Virginia committee of safety convened at Hanover town, and immediately entered upon the arduous duties assigned them. Numbers of citizens, elected by their companies, attended from all quarters, for the purpose of procuring their commissions.

It became necessary also to appoint a commissary of provisions, and another of stores, in order that depots should be immediately formed, adequate to the pressing wants of the army. This was justly regarded as an object of primary importance, and an inattention to it in providing for the exigencies of the continental army was attended with the most serious inconvenience. Soon as this business had been dispatched, the committee turned their eyes to the situation of Norfolk, where it was apprehended the principal efforts of Dunmore would be directed. Captain Davis, of the Norfolk volunteers, was sent down

express to the committee of his county, with directions to them to collect and mount all the cannon they could procure; they were desired at the same time to transmit an exact account of the situation of affairs in their neighbourhood, in order that a body of troops if necessary might be sent to their assistance. The committee after this adjourned to Williamsburg.

People of Hampton solicit assistance.

In the mean time the inhabitants of Hampton applied for assistance to defend them against an attack threatened by Dunmore, in revenge for two schooners which had been burnt by two enterprising young men, of the name of Barron. These men, afterwards distinguished for their courage and success in maritime adventure against the British, commanded at this time two pilot boats, a species of vessel constructed chiefly with an attention to sailing, and kept the fleet of Dunmore constantly on the alert by the rapidity of their movements. If pursued, by keeping close in with the shore, they took refuge in Hampton.

The force of Dunmore consisted at this time, according to the best information, of the Mercury of 24 guns, the Otter of 14, and the King's Fisher of 16; two companies of the 14th regiment, just arrived from the West Indies, where they had been trained to hunt the Caribbs, about one hundred negroes, and from twenty to thirty tory volunteers. He had in addition to this fitted out two large ships, which he had seized, belonging to Virginia merchants, in which he had embarked his servants and effects. The men of war had fitted out seven tenders, mounted with cannon.

It was obvious that the people of Hampton had no means adequate to a defence against such a force, and it was equally obvious that on every

CHAP. V.

principle they were entitled to protection. Yet there existed in the committee a difference of opinion respecting the policy of defending any part of the lower country. It was even proposed to withdraw the inhabitants, and make waste every thing before an invader. But the arguments by which this extraordinary proposal was supported, were exposed in their true colours by John Page, with the same unceremonious boldness which so honourably distinguished his opposition to the royal council. He told them, that if the people of the lower country, notwithstanding their known attachment to the cause of liberty, were denied the aid to which they were entitled in their distresses, they would make a common cause with the invader, and abandon a people, who had neither courage nor humanity to protect them. But independent of the mischief it would cause, by alienating the affections of so valuable a class of our citizens, it would be productive, he said, of a more serious and vital injury. The peaceable possession of the lower country and of the waters, would sooner or later draw after it the possession of the rest. The enemy would have time to strengthen themselves until an army should arrive from Britain, and possessing all the channels of trade, added to the means of defence and the power of extending protection to its partisans, who will answer for the constancy of the people, in the midst of difficulties, dangers and privations of every kind.

It should be told, however, that the project for abandoning the lower country had its rise in the most generous devotion to the cause of liberty, and was adopted by men who had formed the magnanimous determination of penetrating the wilderness in the event of their efforts proving unsuccessful, with the wreck of the nation, and of

preserving the American name for better times, and more prosperous fortunes. Such was the project of Bacon, exactly a century before; and it is for the honour of our nature that in every state there existed crouds who would, have deliberately resigned the various enjoyments arising from commerce, and retired with liberty to the howling wilderness.

THE arguments of Page had weight with a majority of the committee, notwithstanding some expressions thrown out by him, regarded as personally offensive; and some of the new raised regulars having arrived, captain Nicholas of the 2d regiment, and captain Lyne of the King and Queen minute men, were sent down to relieve the volunteers, whose time of service had expired. But it was now considered on all hands, that in the first encounter with the British, something worthy of the American character should be atchieved, which like the battle of Lexington would act as an example, and inspire the enemy with apprehension and respect. Col. Woodford was sent down with one hundred mounted riflemen of the Culpeper battalion, without any other incumbrance than their provisions and blankets.

BUT before the arrival of Woodford, captain Squires, with six tenders full of men, appeared in Hampton creek, and commenced an attack on the town. He imagined that the mere display of his squadron would have paralised the courage of the new raised troops, and that no resistance would have been attempted. Under this impression, the boats under cover of a fierce cannonade, rowed towards the shore for the purpose of setting fire to the houses, and carrying off whatever property should be spared from the conflagration. A few moments disclosed the vanity

24th Oct.

CHAP. V.

1775.

of these expectations. A shower of bullets soon compelled the boats to return to the ships, while the riflemen disposed in the houses and the bushes along the beach, proved that even the tenders were not secure against their fatal precision.—Checked by a resistance so fierce and unexpected, the tenders hauled farther into the stream, and further operations were suspended until a reinforcement, which was hourly expected, would render an assault more certain and decisive.

25th Oct.

MEANWHILE Woodford, who had used the most extraordinary expedition,* arrived at day break with his riflemen, and as it was certainly known that the enemy would renew the attack, a new disposition was made of the American troops. The enemy's fleet had spread themselves with the view of dividing the force of the Americans, and though it was intended perhaps only as a diversion, it was not improbable that an attempt would be made to land troops at a considerable distance in the rear of the Americans. To guard against this, Woodford disposed the minute men with a part of the militia in his rear, the remainder of the militia was distributed at different points on the creek to act as parties of observation, according to circumstances, whilst he himself took post with the riflemen in the houses, and every other low and covered position that presented itself on the beach.

British attack Hampton.

AT sun-rise the enemy's fleet was seen standing in for the shore, and having at length reached a convenient position, they lay with springs on their cables, and commenced a furious cannonade. Double headed and chain shot, and grape,

* Edmund Pendleton, president of the committee of safety, received the letter at 12 o'clock at night, and the reinforcement reached Hampton at sun-rise.

flew in showers through all parts of the town, and as the position of the ships enabled them to enfilade, it was thought impossible to defend it even for a few minutes. Nothing could exceed the cool and steady valour of the Virginians; and altho' with very few exceptions wholly unacquainted with military service, they displayed the countenance and collection of veterans. Woodford's commands to his riflemen, previous to the cannonade, were simply to fire with coolness and decision, and observe the profoundest silence.—The effects of this advice were soon visible; the riflemen answered the cannonade by a well directed fire against every part of the line, and it soon appeared that no part of the ship was secure against their astonishing precision. In a short time the enemy appeared to be in some confusion; their cannonade gradually slackened, and a signal was given by the commander to slip their cables and retire. But even this was attended with the most imminent danger. No man could stand at the helm in safety; if the men went aloft to hand the sails, they were immediately singled out. In this condition two of the schooners drifted to the shore. The commander of one of these in vain called on his men to assist in keeping her off; they had all retired to the hold, and declared their utter refusal to expose themselves to inevitable destruction. In this exigency, deserted by his men, he jumped into the water and escaped to the opposite shore. The rest of the fleet had been fortunate enough to escape, although with some difficulty, and returned to Norfolk.*

Are repulsed.

* The inhabitants had sunk five sloops before the town.

CHAP. V.

THE result of this first encounter afforded a ground of rational triumph to the people of Virginia, and was attended with the most beneficial effects on their future operations. Notwithstanding their determination to conquer, or perish in the just and necessary contest in which they had been compelled to engage, they had hitherto regarded with respect and apprehension the power of the mother country. They hoped indeed that the justice of their cause and the enthusiasm of liberty would furnish a counterpoise to the discipline and resources of their enemies, but this had hitherto been a bare hope, adopted with some caution and unsupported by any experiment. They had now made a trial of their strength; they had witnessed the effect of cannon and ships without any material loss, and scarcely with any apprehension: With very inferior means they had beaten their enemies, and compelled them to retreat with a considerable loss and dishonour.

IT disclosed this secret of the utmost consequence, and which was wholly unexpected. The navy of Britain had inspired them with the justest alarm, and it was apprehended that their own palpable deficiency in ships and cannon, and military tactics, would render more disproportionate these enormous advantages on the part of the enemy; but the superior skill and decision of her riflemen were discovered to be a counterpoise; and the courses of the channels of their rivers, by compelling ships of war often to approach within rifle-shot of the shores, held out the hope that the enemy could not with any certainty even hold the dominion of the waters.

MEANWHILE Dunmore having by force and corruption collected a body sufficient for active measures, penetrated in person Prin-

cess Ann county, for the purpose of destroying some cannon belonging to the colony. Intelligence of this having been conveyed to lieutenant colonel Hutchins, the county commandant, he formed the bold resolution of ambushing a narrow path of the road through which the royalists must pass, and sallying out upon them in the midst of their confusion. Nothing was wanting to ensure success to this project but coolness and collection, qualities but rarely to be met with in raw troops. The militia were disposed by Hutchins judiciously in ambush, and Dunmore had already entered the defile in the confidence of a full security, when without waiting the signal, alarmed perhaps at the boldness and novelty of their situation, they broke from their concealment, and after a single ineffectual discharge, fled with precipitation. Nothing could exceed the surprise and panic of the royalists at the first sight of the Americans; they huddled together in the utmost disorder, and falling back on the main body, the entrance of the defile was choaked by a confused multitude, unfitted equally for fighting or retiring. The two companies of regulars alone exhibited any thing like a disposition to make a stand. On the first alarm they were hastily formed in a square, with Dunmore in the centre, but the contagion had reached them and their leader, and it was strongly believed at the time, that a single fire made with coolness and decision would have completed the route of the whole body.

The impatience of the Virginians, and afterwards their unaccountable panic, prevented their taking advantage of this disorder, and although but a single man was killed, and not more than seven were taken prisoners, it had for a moment a tendency to lessen the confidence of the peo-

CHAP. V.

ple, excited their mortification, whilst it raised the hopes and presumption of the enemy. Colonel Hutchins was amongst the number of the prisoners.

THE confidence of Dunmore was raised by this partial success, and the disaffected flocked to his standard, stimulated by the hope of pillage and the promise of confiscation. They in general consisted of Scotch and English merchants and factors, and a small part of the Princess Ann and Norfolk militia, whom he had compelled to attend him in arms, and a party of fugitive slaves whom he had seduced or torn from their masters. With this force, amounting in the whole to something more than two thousand, he thought himself in a condition to attempt something, and having heard that a detachment of regulars and minute men were on their march to attack him, he took a strong position at the Great Bridge, on the north side of Elizabeth river, directly in the route of the colonial troops. At this place he erected a fort on an island surrounded by a marsh, and having communication only on the north and south by a long cause way.

HERE major Leslie took post with about one hundred regulars of the 14th regiment, while the tories and slaves were stationed in advance, on a kind of highland formed by the river, under the shelter of a few old houses.

Committee send Woodford to Great Bridge.

MEANWHILE the committee of safety having received information that Dunmore was strengthening himself at Norfolk by daily accessions, and judging that they would be justly reproached if a handful of banditti were permitted to keep possession of the largest town in the province, and give law to a considerable part of the lower country, dispatched colonel Woodford with the 2d regiment, and a party of minute and riflemen, to

dislodge them. They were directed to use the greatest expedition, but by an express from colonel Woodford of the next day, he was still at Cobham. He alleged as the cause of this delay, that the waggon horses, owing to the poverty of that part of the country, had been turned out to feed, that they had strayed in the night, and had not been collected at the date of the express. He mentions some other particulars deserving notice, that according to information which might be relied on, lord Dunmore would be at Suffolk on that day for the purpose of destroying the forage and provisions, of publishing his proclamation and receiving the submission of the people, and that in conformity with an unanimous decision of a council of war, he had dispatched lieutenant colonel Scott and major Marshall with two hundred and fifteen light troops, one hundred and three of which were good riflemen, to make a forced march, with no other incumbrance than their blankets, for the purpose of cutting him off. He was urgent in his intreaties for a reinforcement of at least one hundred, and a supply of cartouch boxes, bullet moulds and muskets for the volunteers, who were hourly flocking to his standard.

This express was received by colonel Christian, who commanded in Williamsburg during the absence of colonel Henry, and the measures of the committee to supply the wants of the army were prompt and vigorous. The supplies demanded were sent with the utmost expedition, and by the advice of a member of the committee, colonel Bullet, who had been in all the actions with colonel Washington, and had been praised by governor Fauquier for conducting the celebrated retreat at Loyal Hanning, was sent down to assist by his advice and experience.

CHAP. V.

EVERY moment was now interesting, and the public anxiety kept pace with the rapid succession of events. The detachment under Marshall and Scott arrived at Suffolk on the evening; but the enemy had retired, and they continued their march with the same expedition till they arrived within seven miles of the Great Bridge, where they surprised a number of tories. Woodford, with the main body of the army and the baggage, followed close in his rear; on the 25th he reached Suffolk, where he was joined by forty gentlemen volunteers on horseback. He stated his confidence in the courage and temper of the troops.

MEANWHILE Scott had seized all the boats on the river, and manifested a disposition to cross it and attack the enemy on both sides at the same time. Some measures had been already taken, seemingly for the purpose of carrying this plan into execution.

Two companies of regulars and one of volunteers were dispatched under major Spotswood, to keep open the communication between them, whilst the enemy were held in suspense by various movements calculated to divide and distract their attention. Parties well acquainted with the country were sent to surprise and disarm the inhabitants who had taken the oaths prescribed by Dunmore; in one of these excursions colonel Wills disarmed two companies, and took their officers prisoners.

MEANWHILE colonel Woodford arrived with the main body, and a facine battery was immediately commenced, under the direction of colonel Bullet. But they were obliged to wait for the arrival of the troops from North Carolina, who according to information received from their committee, were on their march before even

this small work could be mounted with cannon. The enemy fired incessantly, but with little effect, having only killed two men and wounded one, from the first to the ninth.

But this interval was not entirely unemployed by Woodford. The enemy had a small fort lower down on the banks of the river, to watch the motions of the provincials, and check their incursions into the country from whence they derived their forage and supplies. It was principally manned by tories and negroes, and was a considerable obstruction to the operations of the Virginians against the works on the causeway. It was resolved to attempt it by surprise, and if necessary even by storm; and Taliaferro's and Nicholas's companies, under the command of col. Stephens, were landed at some distance below the smaller fort, about day-break. The centinels having given the alarm, a hot fire of grape and musquetry opened on the detachment, but they had already approached too near, and a signal being given for the assault, in a moment they were masters of the fort, which was abandoned with precipitation. Only two negroes were killed and two taken, on whom were found gashed and cut balls, a savage practice which marked the inhuman spirit of the enemy. Not a man of the detachment was either killed or wounded, and a warm eulogium was passed by the commander on the gallantry of the troops, and the heroic behaviour of lieutenant Tibbs and captain Nicholas, who were the first to enter the fort sword in hand.

Enemy are seen passing the Bridge.

On the morning of the ninth colonel Bullet, who was stationed on a line with and to the left of the breast work, discovered the enemy in motion and laying down the planks on the bridge. He

CHAP. V.

called out to lieutenant Travis, who commanded capt. Meade's company at the breast work, that the enemy were advancing, and sent a messenger to colonel Woodford to the same effect. After this he repaired to the breast work. The troops at this place, beside the ordinary guard of twenty-five men, consisted of forty of Meade's company, to these he added forty of the Augusta riflemen; another party of riflemen were disposed behind the houses in the street: The main body was stationed near the church in the street at four hundred yards distance.

THE provincial centinels were at length driven, after having displayed considerable courage and fired several rounds; and the enemy were seen passing from the island to the cause-way at about one hundred and seventy yards distance, when a galling fire commenced from the breast work. They continued notwithstanding to advance, and the commander was conspicuous in the van, animating his men and exhorting them to advance in the midst of a most destructive fire: He had now arrived within forty five yards of the breast work, and was waving his hat as an assurance of victory to his followers, when a ball struck him in the knee and he stumbled and fell; but afraid of discouraging his troops, he brushed his knee lightly with his hand, as if his fall had been merely accidental, and continued to advance. Bullet, whose advice operated like a law amongst the soldiers, and who had inspired them with his own unconquerable spirit, directed that the riflemen should all discharge and reload. He pointed out to them the gallant leader of the enemy, and told them to keep their eyes on him. The words had been scarcely uttered when fourteen bullets pierced the body of the gallant Fordyce, the British commander, and the detachment was thrown into

The British commander is killed.

irretrievable disorder. They had penetrated to within fifteen yards of the breast work with charged bayonets, and firing in platoons in the priming position, when the last dreadful volley struck the line. Their commander was dead, their second in command was mortally wounded; lieutenant Batut was wounded in the leg and was on the ground; in this forlorn situation no attempt was made to rally them, and they retreated precipitately back towards the fort.

British are repulsed.

JUST as the retreat commenced, colonel Woodford arrived, and directed a pursuit of the enemy, who were rallied by captain Leslie, at the entrance of the island. Two pieces of cannon, which during the engagement had played on the breast work, now opened on the column led by Woodford. Their principal force was now concentrated on the island; the provincials had not a single cannon, and the distance was too great for the riflemen to act with any advantage; a blaze of fire was kept up from the artillery and musquetry of the enemy, and it was considered madness to hazard the honour and advantage which had been gained by an assault on the works. Bullet indeed strongly urged the propriety of such a measure, but his advice, although backed by the enthusiasm of the troops, was over-ruled by the caution of Woodford.

MEANWHILE it was determined to drive the enemy if possible from the island, a project apparently of great difficulty and danger. There was a point of land seventy yards nearer it than the breast work; but the party attempting to gain this post would be exposed during the whole way to the cannon of the enemy. It was notwithstanding determined to gain it at all hazards, and colonel Stephens, who had already signalised himself on several occasions, was appointed to this ser-

CHAP. V

vice. He proceeded with one hundred men, chiefly riflemen, gained the point without sustaining any loss, and took shelter to the right of the enemy behind the houses on the point.

THIS movement decided the fortune of the day. Not an object on the island could escape the fatal precision of the marksmen under Stephens, and after a faint struggle they fled promiscuously, tories and negroes, leaving behind the two pieces of cannon, beside several dead and wounded on the ground.

THE advice of Bullet for an immediate assault, was again renewed with all the ardour and vehemence that distinguished his character. It was urged that the flower of the garrison was annihilated on the bridge, and that all its out-posts were driven in; that it was defended only by negroes and tories, who had neither the courage nor force to resist the enthusiasm and valour of the provincial troops: But Woodford was fixed immovably in his resolution of leaving nothing to hazard. He apprehended an ambuscade, and was unwilling to risk the reputation he had already acquired, by any rash and unadvised project. It was reported that a considerable body of Highlanders were on their march to reinforce the garrison, and the retreat of the enemy from the island might have been only a feint to draw him from his position.

THE loss of the British in this short but well contested action, was severe beyond any previous example. Every officer was either killed or wounded: But eleven of the privates escaped, and it is affirmed that every one of the survivors was wounded. Captain Leslie, the brother of the commander, had just strength to reach the fort, and immediately fell dead in his brother's

arms. Lieutenant Batut was wounded in the leg and taken prisoner.

NOTHING could exceed the tenderness of the Americans towards their wounded prisoners; and in celebrating the last obsequies of the gallant Fordyce, they evinced a nice attention to the punctilious formalities of military etiquette accompanied with those feelings which do honour to human nature. Whilst bending over the grave of the gallant Fordyce, they rested on their arms reversed, and the tear involuntarily started in their eyes for the fate of this victim of war.

THIS generous humanity drew from the commander of the fort a polite and affecting billet, in which after expressing his sorrow for the fate of Fordyce, he thanks Woodford for his attention to the usages of war and the feelings of humanity.

THIS affair afforded the Virginians another evidence of their ability to contend with their enemies. The English were superior in numbers, amounting to at least one hundred and thirty regulars: The force of the Americans actually engaged at the breast work, did not exceed one hundred, and these wholly unacquainted with service. It is another singular fact, that whilst almost every British regular was either killed or wounded, not a man was lost by the Virginians, and only one was slightly wounded.

IMMEDIATELY after the action Woodford sent an officer to the fort, proposing a truce, until they had buried their dead, which was gladly accepted. But though the firing had ceased the Americans remained under arms, in expectation of another attack. The reported arrival of a considerable body of Highlanders suggested the probability of a strong and immediate reinforcement. This report originating in misconception in all

CHAP. V.

probability, saved the remains of the British force. For had the Americans pushed on according to the advice of Bullet, the fort would have opposed a delay only of a few minutes: They might have surprized the governor and tories in Norfolk, and for the present have extinguished the war in Virginia. A body of Highland emigrants had actually arrived, consisting of men, women and children, in the last stage of distress, for the purpose of forming a settlement; but they had no disposition to engage in hostilities, and they were wholly ignorant of military service. They were notwithstanding impressed by lord Dunmore.

THIS report, however, was not wholly without its benefit. At the pressing solicitations of of Woodford the army was reinforced by five companies of the 1st regiment, two four pounders, beside a considerable supply of ammunition.

MORNING disclosed the evacuation of the fort, and the precipitate flight of the enemy.—Leslie, an experienced officer, seeing no prospect of the promised reinforcement, and apprehensive of an assault, the success of which in the wretched condition of his troops could not be doubted, transported his wounded in carts, which he had impressed immediately after his defeat, down to the river and passed over in boats to Norfolk.

NOTHING could exceed the surprise and agitation of Dunmore on receiving information of this disaster, and the tories and misguided men who had subscribed, many of them no doubt unwillingly, his test, were inspired with the justest apprehensions. Norfolk, lately the scene of of insolent boast and presumptuous folly, exhibited an appearance of shame, confusion and dismay, which never had been exceeded. Thro'-

out the day men and even women were seen transporting merchandise, household furniture, every thing in fact that was valuable, to the water to be lodged for safety on board the fleet, where they themselves were speedily to follow. Dunmore himself set the example of flight, by retiring on board his own ship. He was followed by a melancholy train of wretched fugitives of both sexes, and of all colours, who without any distinction crouded into boats, which were kept constantly engaged in this service. The ships of war drawn up before the town, covered the debarkation, as if the Americans were actually at hand. But notwithstanding these precautions, several of the obnoxious characters were compelled for the want of room and provisions to submit to the mercy of the conquerors.

Royalists go on board the fleet.

Woodford was yet at the Great Bridge so late as the 11th, waiting for the return of his waggons, which had been dispatched to Smithfield for provisions. He sent, however, lieutenant colonel Stephens in advance to Kemps with six companies, and having received the expected supplies, he followed with the army to Norfolk. He had been joined subsequent to the action by colonel Howe of the 2d North Carolina regiment, with three hundred and fifty eight men, who as senior officer, now commanded in chief.

11th Dec.

Meanwhile Dunmore had sent lieutenant Wallace of the 14th regiment, with a flag of truce, accompanied by Blair, a Scotch merchant, who commanded a company of slaves, to negociate an exchange of prisoners. Woodford replied that he should apply to the convention for instructions on this head, but that he would not suspend his operations. The president had already instructed him to propose an exchange, but he had not received the letter, and when it

CHAP. V.

reached him he supposed it came from the committee of safety instead of the president of the convention, by whose directions he imagined he was to be regulated.

Americans enter Norfolk.

THE army was received at Norfolk by the patriots with transports of admiration and gratitude; by the remaining tories with the most abject submission and supplication. Addresses poured in from all quarters, expressive of gratitude for their deliverance from insult and oppression, or soliciting forgiveness for errors which were ascribed to violence or infatuation. Amongst the rest the Highland emigrants, abandoned by Dunmore and reduced to the extremity of want and wretchedness, presented a petition in which, disavowing all agency or interest in the present disputes, they attribute their involuntary fault to the violence of Dunmore, and appealed to the well known humanity and liberality of the American character.

THE public sympathy was excited, notwithstanding the anxiety and agitation of the public mind, in favour of these wretched suppliants, who with their wives and children were literally starving in the streets. They were clothed and fed at the public expense, and were enabled to prosecute their journey to Cape Fear in North Carolina, the place of their original destination.

MORE than twenty pieces of cannon were found dismounted and spiked on the unfinished works. Had Woodford marched immediately after the action, they would have been found in a serviceable state; for such was the terror of Dunmore, that he forgot to spike them for two whole days after his debarkation. The river was full of vessels with the effects of the fugitive tories, all of which too but for this delay, had fallen into the hands of the victors.

CHAP. V.

1775.

On the arrival of the patriot army, the Otter and King's Fisher with their tenders, consisting of two schooners and four sloops, together with the Kilbeck and William, lord Dunmore's ships, were drawn up with their broadsides before the town: But the American marksmen having taken post near enough to pick out their officers, when directed by their commanders, they fell down the river to the new distillery. They had previously solicited a supply of wood and water from Howe and Woodford, which was peremptorily refused.

A large brig loaded with salt which had been captured by the men of war, was ordered to fall down the river along with the squadron; but in attempting to execute these orders, she was brought to by the marksmen, and compelled to lie along side the wharf; and a barge dispatched by the men of war to take her off, was compelled to retire with the loss of several men. After this Squires sent a flag of truce to demand her as his prize; he was answered that she was now a prize to the Americans, and that she could not be restored.

It was expected that this refusal would have brought on a cannonade from the ships: But only a few cannon shot were fired at the town, which did no injury, and were perhaps only intended to impress the Americans with a conviction of their means of destruction whenever it was thought necessary to exert them.

The American riflemen had been hitherto restrained from firing on the ships, and things had remained in a kind of forced and gloomy suspense, until the arrival of the Liverpool frigate and a store ship, with a full compliment of men, when the whole fleet weighed anchor, and moor-

CHAP. V.

1775.

ed in line of battle before the town with springs on their cables. In this position they remained until the 25th, when a requisition for a supply of provision was made by captain Bellew of the Liverpool. Howe declared himself unauthorised to grant this indulgence without special instructions from the convention, whose opinions he should gain by the return of an express: But this answer not being considered satisfactory, at three o'clock P. M. the ships and tenders opened a tremendous cannonade on the town with double headed, bar, chain and grape shot, according to the distance of objects, and when it was hoped that the dreadful effects of this fire had spread confusion and panic among the patriots, they landed under cover of a thick smoke, and set fire to different houses in several quarters along the river. The wind was favourable to this project, and the flames spread with the most awful rapidity, involving in smoke and ashes the American troops, and prevented any view of the operations and designs of the enemy.

British cannonade Norfolk.

EMBOLDENED by the success of this operation, the British landed in great numbers in different quarters. Under cover of the cannonade, which yet continued with unabated fury, and marching in front of the terrific fire, which the wind blew directly in the faces of the Americans, they hoped to attack them to advantage. A few moments disclosed the fallacy of those expectations. Two hundred riflemen, under lieutenant colonel Stephens, were immediately dispatched to strengthen the American posts; on a signal the patriots rushed undismayed through the fire, and in a moment the enemy were attacked at all the points of deperation, and driven with slaughter to their boats.

It is a singular fact, that during the whole of this cannonade, the Americans had not a single man killed, and only seven wounded. The towns people were equally fortunate; only one person, an old woman, was killed by the fall of a cannon ball in the back of the town. The highest praise was bestowed on the cool and steady courage of the young troops, in the midst of a scene which would have shaken the resolution of veterans.

Whilst these things were passing, one of the Barrons took two merchant ships, and carried them safe into York harbour. The captains of these vessels propagated a report that the fleet was coming round from Norfolk, and it was apprehended that Dunmore, foiled in his schemes at that place, meditated an attack on the defenceless towns of York and Williamsburg. The measures of the committee of safety were prompt to repel this invasion, and they were seconded by the generous enthusiasm of the people. Colonel Henry and adjutant general Bullett were at this time in York, examining the situation of the place, with a view to its future defence. The troops usually stationed there consisted only of two companies of minute men. On receipt of this intelligence, Henry sent express for the Prince William battalion, which had left York only that morning, and to Williamsburg for the rifle company of West Augusta. But the report had preceded the express, and these troops were already on their march with crouds of citizens, and amongst the rest several of the members of the convention on horseback, armed for the defence of this post. They were overtaken on the road by a counter express, explaining the mistake; but a sense of the exposed state of this important place, suggested the propriety of a force durable in its nature, and adequate to the exigence,

CHAP. V

and in addition to the two companies of the first regiment stationed in Williamsburg, captain Anderson's minute men, who had just been discharged, were again ordered into service, and the whole with an armed association of private gentlemen and members of convention, were placed under the command of colonel Andrew Lewis.

SINCE the affair of the 25th, the situation of affairs continued in a state of gloomy suspence, nothing having occurred on either side worthy of notice during this interval: But the impatience of the riflemen, notwithstanding the directions of their officers, was with difficulty restrained. They would sometimes amuse themselves by firing at the ships, and notwithstanding the distance, singled out individuals on the decks, and brought them down with their usual precision. To punish this presumption, on the morning of the 16th another cannonade was opened on the town, and on the 19th the Americans having taken a boat with eight seamen and a mate, belonging to the Liverpool, who were taking in water, the bombardment was renewed by the whole fleet in a more concerted and regular manner. Under cover of this fire a party of sailors and marines landed and set fire to the old distillery; but the post being reinforced, they were driven to their boats. In this attack three of the patriots were killed at the back of the town, and one wounded. The British beside their wounded, which were carried off, left three of their dead behind. Several smaller parties sent out for the purpose of plunder, had no better success. In one of these a negro was taken, armed with a musket marked 14th regiment; and in all cases they were able to save themselves only by a precipitate retreat.

16th Dec. 1775.

CHAP. V.

FROM a conviction that the fleet could preserve their present station but a short time longer, as well from the obvious impracticability of succeeding as from the want of water and other necessaries, it was predetermined to pay some attention to the security of those places, which would probably be the next objects of the governor's resentment. Hampton had again become obnoxious by the recent enterprises of Barron, and by the facility afforded to the American naval depredations, and York was a desirable object, as well from its position as the opportunity it would afford for the gratification of ancient injuries. At the former of those places, colonel Grayson was stationed with the Prince William battalion of three hundred men, and captain Barron's company: While colonel Bullet, whose genius directed him to every station of usefulness and danger, was preparing a battery at York, at which place were stationed Alexander's riflemen, beside two companies of minute men, who could be reinforced during any emergence, by a respectable force from Williamsburg.

Operations in the other states.

WHILST these things were passing, events of the highest interest had taken place in the other parts of America. After the affair of Lexington, the proceedings of the provincial congress of Massachusetts were marked by an energy and decision becoming their situation, and worthy the glorious cause in which they had embarked. Their language indeed still expressed their respect and attachment to the mother country, and they lamented in unaffected sorrow, the melancholy necessity to which they had been reduced, of a submission that would have dishonoured their principles, and impaired their rights and those of posterity, or of a resistance against the habits of their life, and those ties of filial and tender at-

CHAP. V.

tachment by which they were bound to their founders: But superior to all other considerations, were the happiness and freedom of the people from whom they had received their authority, and it was universally regarded as the last evidence of baseness and degeneracy to surrender those invaluable blessings, which they inherited from God and nature, and which confirmed by repeated charters, were transmitted unimpaired by their ancestors. Anxious, however, to preserve in the eyes of the world the consistency of their character, depositions were taken, with the utmost impartiality, of the circumstances of this encounter, and transmitted to their agents in England, accompanied by a letter to the people of Great Britain, with the same information in substance, but couched in a language better calculated to seize the imagination and interest the passions.

From these resolves they passed at once to measures of real decision. By an almost unanimous vote, it was determined that 13,000 men should be immediately raised in Massachusetts, and that the remaining members of the New England confederacy should be called on for their quotas, which would, when complete, form an army of thirty thousand men. The receiver general was by the same vote empowered to borrow one hundred thousand pounds, at an interest of six per centum on the faith and security of the province.

The neighbouring colonies, with a dispatch that outran all forms, furnished their contingents. But the generous enthusiasm of the people, disdaining a too nice proportion at a crisis so pregnant with peril to all, outstripped even the speed of the legislature. It appeared as if the people at the call of their country, were all at once lifted up like the sands of the desart for the purpose

of overwhelming their oppressors. Nor did these contingents wait the slow and cumbrous movements of an army. The several detachments, and single companies, and often individuals, soon as they were armed and supplied with provisions, began their march towards Boston, their countenances strongly pourtrayed by all the generous and sublime emotions that swell the bosom of the soldier and the patriot. Never was sentiment more general and consentaneous. The aged forgot their infirmities; the softer sex their natural timidity. No tear, save that of rage, sullied the cheek of an American on this occasion. No mean fears had place; no unworthy calculations of consequences; their cause was just and glorious: Their injuries had been wanton and unprovoked, and marked by a contumely and contempt on the part of their enemies, that had sunk deep into their hearts. Thus abused and insulted, they threw their fears behind them, and prepared to smite the oppressor in the midst of his power.

But this simultaneous movement was attended with an inconvenience which should have been foreseen, and provided for. Notwithstanding the long duration of the present disputes, and the determined obstinacy of the ministry, a hope had generally prevailed, that matters would be amicably adjusted, and in consequence of this expectation, (certainly vain and illusory if we accurately estimate the circumstances of the parties) no hoards of provisions, no magazines of arms and ammunition had been formed. In consequence of this fatal neglect, the crouds that flew to arms were discharged, and only so many were retained as were furnished with arms, and could be regularly subsisted. These, under the command of general Ward, held the British

CHAP. V.

in a state of siege in the peninsula, on which Boston stands, and cut off all communication between them and the country.

The province of New York, which had hitherto refused her assent to the proceedings of congress, threw off all reserve on hearing these events, and avowed her solemn determination to participate in the honour and peril of the common cause.

In New England the generous enterprise of individuals conceived and executed projects that would have reflected honour on the best established governments. Dean, Wooster and Parson, with whom afterwards were associated Arnold of the same state, and colonel Ethan Allen of Vermont, formed the bold project of surprising the important posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and gaining the command of the lakes George and Champlain. On the credit of these gentlemen a small sum was procured from the legislature of Connecticut. By the personal influence of Allen a body of hardy mountaineers was raised in the neigbourhood of the lakes, whose knowledge of the country would facilitate the operations. By well concerted plans, executed with vigour and ability, these posts were successively surprised. Nothing now was wanting to a complete command of the lakes but the seizure of a sloop of war, which lay at St John's, and this too was happily effected by Arnold, who fitted out a schooner found in South Bay, and took her without opposition.

These important points, for the possession of which so much British and American blood had been shed, and which for forty years had been the theatre of so many brilliant atchievements, were gained without the loss of a man. They were the keys to the British possessions in Ca-

nada, and a considerable supply of arms, ammunition and of those articles in which the Americans were deficient, were found in them; but superior to their intrinsic value was the lustre their acquisition shed on the American character.

It is a curious fact, that a plan precisely in all respects the same, had been submitted to the legislature of Massachusetts by Arnold, without any previous concert or correspondence with the Connecticut adventurers; a strong evidence of the bold and adventurous spirit which at this time pervaded America.

Congress, on receiving information of these events, recommended to the committees of York and Albany the removal of the cannon and military stores from those posts, in order for their preservation and security, with a view as they pretended, that they might be safely returned, when the restoration of the harmony between G. Britain and her colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, should render it prudent and consistent with the over-ruling law of self preservation. Thus anxious were they to avoid the charge of inconsistency, in thus over passing the limits of self defence.

On mature reflection, however, it was resolved that these posts should be maintained. But still anxious of removing all uneasiness from the minds of the Canadians, by holding thus the keys of their country, they resolved that no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken, or made by any colony or body of colonists, against or into Canada.

Meanwhile the reinforcements expected from England having arrived, under the generals Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton, martial law was proclaimed, accompanied with an assurance of

CHAP. V.

pardon and indemnity to such as would return to their allegiance, with the exception of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, whose generous and animated zeal in supporting the rights of America had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious.

These were but the forerunners of more important proceedings. In obedience to the recommendation of the provincial congress, measures had been adopted for the defence of Dorchester Neck, and Bunker Hill, a commanding eminence which, situated within the peninsula on which Charlestown stands, commanded at once that town and Boston.

Americans take post on Bunker hill

In conformance with these instructions, a party of the Americans under general Prescot, passed the cause way under cover of the night, and took post on the declivity of this eminence. By incredible exertions, carried on unremittingly during the night, a redoubt about forty yards square was constructed, and a breast work stretching from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, by extending their line, enabled them to employ a larger body of troops for the defence of this important position.

The ensuing dawn disclosed to the astonished Britons these works, risen all at once like an exhalation of the morning, and it was some time before full credit was given to the reality of the object. The British general saw in a moment all the value of this position, and measures were immediately taken for driving the provincials.

Notwithstanding the nearness of this eminence to the British posts on the other side of the river, and the vigilance that must have every where existed in a town besieged, so profound was the silence of the Americans, that not the slightest alarm or even suspicion was excited.

CHAP. V

THE British general felt in a moment all the importance of this position, as well as the impropriety of having hitherto neglected to occupy it, and measures were immediately taken to dispossess the Americans. They were now distinctly seen busy in completing the works, when a cannonade opened from every gun that could be brought to bear upon this point: But this fire, terrible though it was, and well calculated to strike a panic amongst raw troops, having produced not even the effect of suspending for a moment the labours of the provincials, Major general Howe and brigadier general Pigot were detached with twenty companies of grenadiers and light infantry, and several field pieces, to take it by storm.

British send a force to dispossess them.

THIS detachment debarked on the opposite side of Charles river at Moreton's Point, and immediately formed in order of battle. They had now an opportunity of viewing more distinctly the situation and strength of this extraordinary redoubt, and their observations suggested the prudence of waiting for a reinforcement. The extent of the American lines supposed a garrison of at least three thousand men, the issue of an attack on whom, covered as they were, was considered as justly precarious. But what particularly directed the judgment of the general was the profound silence, and the order and firmness with which the Americans waited the assault. They had opposed no interruption to the British whilst passing the river, or after their debarkation; but appeared to reserve themselves, with a gloomy determination, until a nearer approach of their enemies should render their fire more efficient and tremendous.

THE delay on the part of the British enabled the Americans also to reinforce this position with

CHAP. V.

a considerable body under the generals Warren and Pomeroy. They had time also to pull up some adjoining fences, which being disposed in two lines parallel to each other and stuffed with hay, afforded a tolerable security against musquetry.

The expected reinforcement having at length arrived, the British army in two lines moved slowly up the hill, under cover of a heavy fire of cannon and howitzers, occasionally halting, to allow time for their cannon to demolish the works.

Whilst moving towards the works, orders were issued for burning Charlestown, a handsome village, containing about five hundred houses, which flanked their line of march. The houses being principally constructed of wood, were suddenly in a blaze, a spectacle which heightened by the roar of cannon, the approaching conflict of the two armies, and the agonizing solicitude and strong emotions of multitudes who crouded the numerous hills, was well calculated to give to the mind a character of sublimity.

The British were permitted to approach to within less than one hundred yards, when all at once a flood of fire burst from every part of the entrenchment, which but a minute before appeared to be abandoned to silence and depopulation, and the enemy were almost immediately driven back in confusion. By the exertions of their officers, they were with difficulty brought again to the charge, but were as suddenly broken and driven back by a renewal of the same dreadful volley. General Howe was at one time left almost alone, and most of the officers about him were either killed or wounded. But notwithstanding these severe repulses, the British had extended their line so as to assault the works on three sides at once; while the breast-work was

raked by some pieces of cannon: It was observable too that the fire from the Americans had considerably slackened, which could be ascribed only to a scarcity of ammunition. At this crisis the British were once more rallied, and with the utmost difficulty led to the redoubt, which was mounted with ease and carried at the point of the bayonet. The ardour of the Americans did not, however, yet give up the contest; they fought with clubbed muskets until the redoubt was half filled by the English troops.

British gain the hill.

The fall of the redoubt drew after it that of the breast work, which was defended with equal gallantry, and the provincials retreated over Charlestown neck in the face of the victorious enemy, exposed to the cross fire of the Glasgow man of war and two floating batteries. In this hazardous operation they experienced little loss, although the supposed danger of encountering this force had deterred the reinforcements from coming to their assistance, and had prevented them from receiving sufficient supplies of ammunition.

In this battle more than one third of the troops engaged, composing the flower of the British army, were either killed or wounded: Whilst that of the Americans was comparatively small. The death of Dr. Warren, who had just been appointed brigadier general, but who acted only as a volunteer on this occasion, was seriously regretted. In other respects the Americans had every reason to be satisfied, and the affair of Bunker Hill was justly considered as an important victory. The British, 'tis true, had gained possession of the hill: But they might exclaim with Phyrrus; "One such victory more, and we are undone:" Whilst the provincials, inferior in numbers and unaccustomed to war, felt their confidence rise

CHAP. V.

by the issue of this encounter with veteran troops.

A congress.

MEANWHILE congress, which had convened at Philadelphia, on the first information of these events, proceeded to an organization of the national force, for a general and effective resistance.

WITH this view they recommended to the conventions of the several states to use their utmost exertions to provide the means of making gun powder, and to obtain sufficient supplies of ammunition; and the non-importation agreement was relaxed in favour of vessels bringing cargoes of those articles. With a like earnestness they were urged to arm and discipline their militia, one fourth of which should be classed as minute men. The provinces were at the same time authorised severally to raise a body of regulars not exceeding one thousand men; and a recommendation was made for raising a force for the service of the continent. Bills of credit to the amount of thee millions of Spanish milled dollars were emitted, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war, and the twelve confederated colonies were pledged for their redemption; articles of war were formed for the government of the army, and a solemn declaration in the form of a manifesto, was prepared to be published to the army in orders, and to the people from the pulpit.

George Washington appointed commander in chief.

IN pursuance of these measures, George Washington of Virginia, so well known by his services in the late war, was appointed commander in chief of the forces raised, and to be raised, for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty, and a solemn declaration was unanimously entered into, that they would maintain, assist and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes. The commander in chief, after a short delay at New-York, where several important operations were to be decided on, proceeded to

CHAP. V.

1775.

Cambridge, and entered on the arduous duties of his high station with the entire confidence of the army and people.

He found the British closely invested in Boston, and a large but disorganized and undisciplined army deficient in arms and ammunition, but abounding in ardour and courage, to reduce which to order, and to supply whose wants, required the whole of his patience and sagacity. For these purposes he was admirably fitted by his temper and address. Under his direction, assisted by the resolutions of congress, privateers issued from the ports of New-England, and returned with rich prizes, freighted often with the articles most essential in military service. By a variety of prudent and skilful dispositions, the enemy's quarters were straightened, and their regular supplies of provisions cut off. and finally by the possession of Dorchester Heights, the enemy were compelled to evacuate Boston.

British evacuate Boston.

But previous to this event, an important expedition had been projected by congress for the possession of Canada, under the command of major general Schuyler, assisted by brigadiers Wooster and Montgomery. The indisposition of the commander in chief devolved the arduous duties of this important command on Richard Montgomery, an Irishman, who had acquired considerable reputation and experience during the late war, and who from the very commencement of the disputes between the mother country and the colonies, had taken a decided part in favour of the rights of America. With a force not exceeding two thousand men, he embarked on the Sorel river, and invested fort St. John's, defended by a garrison of six hundred regulars and two hundred Canadians. The capture of fort Chamble, by a detachment under majors Brown

Expedition against Canada.

CHAP. V.

Forts, Chambles, St. Johns, and Montreal, taken by Montgomery.

and Livingston, by affording a seasonable supply of ammunition and artillery, accelerated the fall of this fortress; the defeat of major Maclean, a veteran officer, marching to its relief, by colonel Warren, determined this event: The garrison, in consideration of their gallant resistance, being permitted to retire with the honours of war. Having, with uncommon address and difficulty, induced the troops whose time of service had expired, to remain one month longer, and placed garrisons in forts St. John's and Chamble, he proceeded without halting to the reduction of Montreal; his floating batteries under colonel Easton at the same time continuing to advance up the St. Laurence. The usual good fortune of Montgomery attended him on this occasion. Montreal and the fleet of Carleton surrendered: But that experienced general himself made his escape down the river in the night in a boat with muffled oars.

To co-operate in this important expedition, the commander in chief had dispatched colonel Arnold with about one thousand men, by the Kennebeck river, through that savage wilderness lying between the settled parts of Maine and the St. Laurence. This hardy detachment, after encountering incredible hardships, emerged at length to the astonishment of the Canadians in the neighbourhood of Chaudiere: on the 9th November the detachment reached Point Levi, opposite Quebec, and on the 14th eluding the armed vessels, he crossed over in the night and formed his small army on the Heights of Abraham. Here he was joined by general Montgomery with about three hundred men, all that remained of his army after garrisoning Montreal and granting a discharge to the troops whose time of service had expired. The American

force, even after this junction, was still inferior to the enemy's garrison, and in this inclement region, where the frost sets in early and with intense severity, the troops were but badly clad and scarcely supplied with provisions; and the hardships and consequent discontent of his raw and inexperienced troops, would encrease rather than diminish by time. In this emergence Montgomery embraced an expedient suited alike to the nature of the crisis, and the elevation of his genius. The works of Quebec, although strong by nature, and rendered difficult of access, at all its weak points by numerous artificial defences, were too extensive for its present garrison; and success at any of the points of attack would distract the attention and embarrass the operations of the enemy, who conscious of their own weakness, and impressed with a belief of the superior numbers of the assailants, would abandon a defence, which might be justly regarded as desperate. The condition of the garrison too, composed principally of Canadians and sailors, and containing only a small proportion of regular troops, promised to oppose no adequate and effectual resistance: But above all other motives, the circumstances of his own army engaged his attention, and decided his judgment. The time of service of a considerable portion of his troops would almost immediately expire, and he was in possession of no inducement strong enough to detain them a second time, on a theatre, where they would have to encounter winter in his wildest and most terrific form; privations, of every description, added to war attended with every circumstance of peril, and with scarcely any prospect of success. Under these circumstances it was determined to attempt an assault, and every thing being at length prepared

CHAP. V.

1775.

Quebec attempted by assault.

between four and five o'clock in the morning.—On a signal given, the several divisions moved to the assault in the midst of a violent storm of snow, whilst to distract the enemy's attention, from the side of the river St. Laurence, along the fortified front round the bason, every part seemed equally threatened. The division of Arnold moved in files along the street St. Roches, towards the St. Matelots. Here was the first barrier of the enemy, and a battery of two twelve pounders, which it was necessary to force. In approaching this battery, Arnold had his leg shattered by a musquet ball, and was carried off the field to the hospital: but his place being instantly supplied by Morgan, who commanded a company of Virginia Riflemen, the battery was instantly mounted by the help of ladders, having been previously abandoned by the enemy. But the main body did not as was expected advance to his support; in addition to his own company, he was followed but by a few bold individuals: It was yet dark, he had no guides, and not the slightest knowledge of his route, and in spite of his own impatience, and that of his brave followers, it became necessary to halt, whilst he repaired in person to the barrier, which had been passed for the purpose of bringing up the remainder of the troops. Here he was joined by lieutenant colonel Green, and majors Bigelow and Meigs, with parts of companies, composing a total of about 200 men: and this little band of heroes with Morgan's company in front, was led at their own pressing solicitation, to the assault of the second barrier. But for this their force was utterly incompetent: they were exposed in a narrow street to a most destructive fire; and opposed in front by superior numbers, covered and out of the reach of danger; the day too was every moment becoming clearer, the enemy became

acquainted with their weakness, and having made a sortie with two hundred men, they took captain Dearborn, with the rear guard prisoners. In this desperate situation Morgan proposed to a council of the officers present to fight their way to their company, which was delayed only by the suggestion that Montgomery might be successful, and that their co-operation would be essential: But the numbers of the enemy every moment encreasing and the prospect of relief appearing desperate, they were compelled to surrender at 10 o'clock prisoners of war.

THE fate of the division commanded by Montgomery, was equally disastrous. That gallant spirit advancing along the St. Laurence, by the way of Aunce de Mere, under captain Diamond, took possession of a block house about 200 yards in front of the first barrier, the Canadians abandoning it after an ineffectual fire at his approach. In their flight they communicated their terrors to the troops defending the barrier and redoubt, and these two were abandoned with precipation. At this interesting crisis Quebec was saved by one of those extraordinary circumstances, which often defeat the wisest and best concerted measures. Whilst moving at the head of his followers in the narrow path round captain Diamond, and assisting with his own hands to pull up the pickets to make way for the troops; he was obliged to halt a few minutes until a sufficient force could make their way to him. At the head of two hundred he at length proceeded to the attack of the barrier: but the fatal interval of delay had given time to one or two of the enemy to return to the battery, who having taken a slow match laying by one of the guns, discharged a single cannon at the American van, now within forty paces of it. This single and accidental fire decided the

CHAP. V.

Death of Montgomery.

fate of the day. Montgomery with captains Cheeseman and McPherson, together with his orderly sergeant and a private, were killed upon the spot; and the detachment disheartened by the loss of their general, retreated precipitately under colonel Campbell from the action.

NOTWITHSTANDING this severe repulse, Arnold still kept Quebec in a state of siege, until reinforcements should arrive, sufficient to enable him to resume offensive operations.

THE union was now complete, Georgia having formally acceded to the confederacy: The intellectual energies, which during a season of calm, lie dormant and buried, were now drawn out, and their effects were in the highest degree grand and impressive. Nor was it only by the proper genius and valor of her children, that the cause of America was advanced and adorned.—Attracted by the glory of the revolutionary morning, souls of ethereal stamp flocked from the remotest regions, and rallied round the first pure altar, raised to the worship of liberty. Imperial Britain reluctantly gave a Gates, ardent in courage, of elegant manners, of incorruptible integrity, fated to experience on one occasion, the mortification of defeat, fated also, to atchieve the most useful and brilliant of victories: Lee, whose eagle swoop extended to every region of human knowledge, and returned impressed with a lively and lasting image of life and manners rendered more vivid by the scintillating operation of his own genius; Paine, whose humble and retired labors outweighed the value of victories: Perhaps it is not too much to say that the pen of this self-taught philosopher was equally efficacious as the cannon of Saratoga and York town—France gave a La Fayette, uniting the graceful levity of youth to the thought and the reflection of age. Even the cold vi-

sions of the North afforded the strong scintillations of vigorous capacity, Pulaski, De Kalb, Steuben. Scotland the country of Bruce, of Fletcher and Buchanan, gave a Sterling and a Mercer; and Ireland rich in every species of genius, gave generals and governors and armies to the revolution.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

JOHN DICKSON, PRINTER,
BOLLINGBROOK STREET.

G# 17274150E

F226
B78
v.3

http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found

THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS

WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH DAY AND TO $1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY OVERDUE.

OCT 29 1946	LIBRARY USE
NOV 7 1946	APR 26 1955
A/10 Walker	LIBRARY USE
12Feb'53HD	FEB 11 1956
JAN 29 1953 LU	
LIBRARY USE	FEB 11 1956 LU
JUL 5 - 1953	LIBRARY USE
	OCT 23 1957
LIBRARY USE	REC'D LD
AUG 11 1953	OCT 23 1957
AUG 11 1953 LU	on swag shelf
	7/13
	DEAD

LD 21–100m-7,'40 (6936s)

http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found

M123919
F
226
B78
v.3
Case B
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found

Thank you for your order !

This media compilation, our respective advertisements and marketing materials are protected under U.S. Copyright law. The Federal Digital Millennium Copyright Act and various International Copyright laws prohibit the unauthorized duplication and reselling of this media. Infringement of any of these written or electronic intellectual property rights can result in legal action in a U.S. court.

If you believe your disc is an unauthorized copy and not sold to you by Rockyiguana or Ancestry Found please let us know by emailing at

mailto:dclark4811@gmail.com

It takes everyone's help to make the market a fair and safe place to buy and sell.