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THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 53



RARE LINCOLNIANA No. 11

COMPRISING

- SERMON AT HONOLULU (1865)** *Rev. S. C. Damon*
- REMARKS IN THE CHURCH AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE (1862)**
Rev. S. P. Leeds
- THE ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN (1877)** *Gideon Welles*
- LINCOLN, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF** . . . *Captain I. W. Heysinger*

WILLIAM ABBATT

THE
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" WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Numbers 53-56

VOL. XIV

WILLIAM ABBATT

TARBYTOWN

1917

NEW YORK

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CALIFORNIA

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RES ARDUA VETUSTIS NOVITATEM DARE; NOVIS AUCTORITATEM; OBSOLETIS, NITOREM;
OBSCURIS, LUCEM; FASTIDITIS, GRATIUM; DUBIIS, FIDEM; OMNIBUS VERO NATURAM,
ET NATURAL SUA OMNIA.
ITAQUE ETIAM NON ASSECUTIS, VOLUISSE ABUNDE FULCHRUM UTQUE MAGNIFICUM EST.

(It is a difficult thing to give newness to old things, authority to new things, beauty to things out of use, fame to the obscure, favor to the hateful (or ugly), credit to the doubtful, nature to all and all to nature. To such, nevertheless as cannot attain to all these, it is greatly commendable and magnificent to have attempted the same.

PLINY,—preface to his *Natural History*.

NO. 1000
ANGONIA

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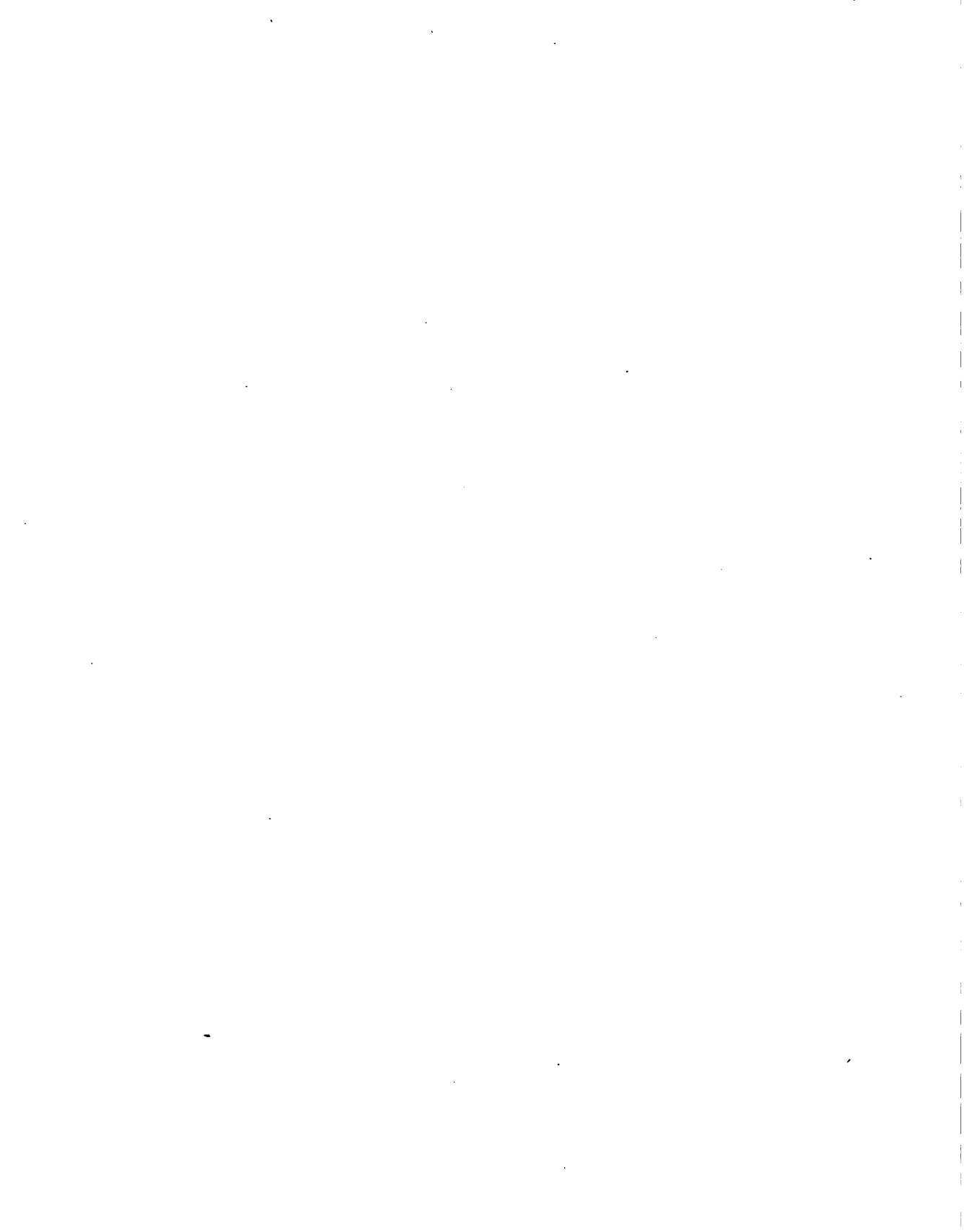
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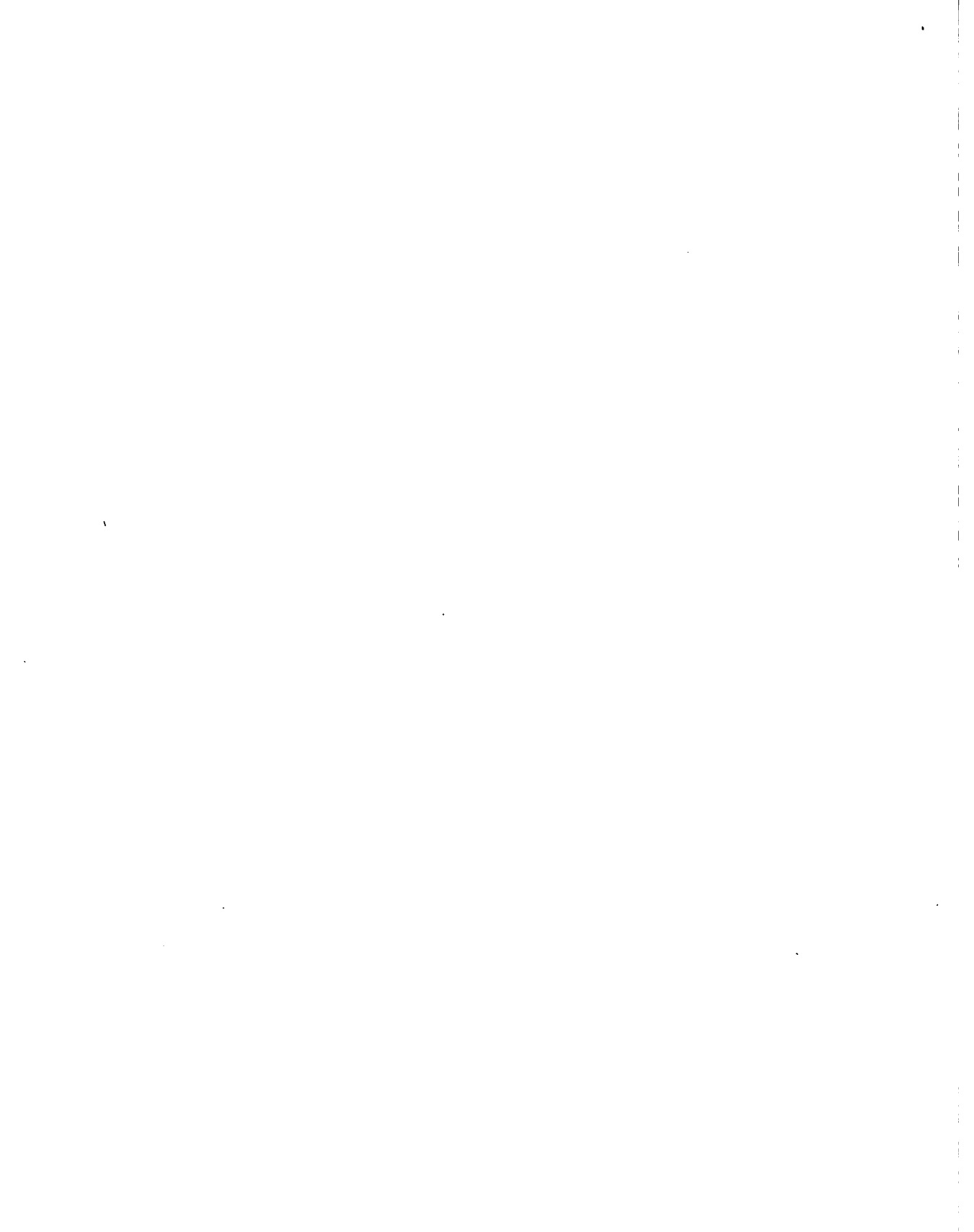


EDITOR'S PREFACE

ALTHOUGH tributes came from all around the globe, yet one of the scarcest is that which appeared in *The Friend*, a Honolulu newspaper, on the first of June, 1865. It is so scarce that we could not find a copy of this particular issue of the paper, in the library of the A. B. C. F. M. (it had probably been stolen from their file) nor in the Public Library of New York, or in those of the many other cities where we applied. Finally we were indebted, as in several similar cases, to the kindness of Mr. Judd Stewart, of New York, for the use of a copy. An original is offered by a Boston dealer for \$50, and in 1913, at the Bishop Sale, one was sold for \$58.

Even scarcer is the address upon the subject of the Emancipation Proclamation. No copy was in the great Lambert Collection, and it is apparently unknown to Lincoln bibliographers. For its use we are indebted to Mr. H. G. Rugg, the librarian of Dartmouth College.

Mr. Welles' able paper on Mr. Lincoln's Administration originally appeared in *The Galaxy* for January, 1877, and is particularly valuable as coming from one who had so intimate a knowledge of the President during his whole administration. While Captain Heysinger's address dates only from 1913, when it was given before the Pennsylvania Loyal Legion, it is not generally known, having appeared only in their *Proceedings* and in the Journal of the Military Service Institution, neither of which is known to the general public as widely as it should be.



A SERMON

ON THE DEATH OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BY
REV. S. C. DAMON

HONOLULU, H. I.
MAY 14, 1865

(FROM *The Friend*, HONOLULU, JUNE 1, 1865)

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A SERMON

ON THE DEATH OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN;

Preached in the Seamen's Chapel, Honolulu, May 14, the First Sabbath after receiving the sad Intelligence of his Assassination by J. W. Booth:

BY REV. S. C. DAMON.

PSALM lxxv:7—"But God is the Judge; He putteth down one, and setteth up another."

JOHN xiii:7—"What I do, thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter."

IN the administration of the affairs of this world God is ever doing and permitting things to be done, the reasons for which cannot be seen by short-sighted mortals. Such is God's method of proceeding, that we are continually compelled to take many things on trust. Faith in Him is the great lesson which He is ever teaching mankind. He has drawn an impenetrable veil before our eyes, shutting out the future from our view. "Ye know not what shall be on the morrow," or "what a day may bring forth." How impressively these scriptural declarations and those of my text are illustrated by events which have recently transpired on the other side of the globe. All the loyal people of that great country, stretching from the shores of the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Gulf to the Lakes, were preparing for such a day of thanksgiving and jubilee as never had been witnessed on the Western Continent. The national feeling which, during four years of civil war had been repressed, was rising, and about to burst forth in such scenes and shouts of rejoicing as would have made the "welkin ring." The dove of peace which had, during those four long years, been confined to the ark rocked and tossed upon the troubled waters of civil strife, political contentions and cruel war, had now been released, and with the olive branch in her mouth, was winging her flight over mountains and valleys, broad savannahs and boundless

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SERMON PREACHED AT HONOLULU

prairies. The good news was flashed with lightning speed over the land and the world. The dark clouds were rolling away, and the sun of the nation's glory was beginning to shine, and the rainbow of peace was distinctly seen spanning a continent, as in days of yore, when lo! from the receding black clouds of secession, treachery and slavery, there darted forth a fiendish arm, holding in its hand an assassin's dagger. The whole scene is instantly changed. For a moment the pulse and heart of the nation cease to beat, but the next instant there follows a sigh of anguish and wail of sorrow. Abraham Lincoln, our beloved President, is dead! I do not believe, since the creation of the world, so many hearts, in so short a space of time, ever mourned over the death of a single human being. There is no disputing or gainsaying the fact, Abraham Lincoln had gradually been winning for himself a place in the hearts of the American people, second only to that of Washington, the Father of his country. But will not the people now call him the Saviour of the country, when the life of the nation was threatened?

This most tragic event is not an accident. It is not the work of chance. We do not live in a world ruled over by blind fate. Never before did I realize there was so much force and intensity of meaning in those words of our Saviour: "But the very hairs of your head are all numbered," and even a sparrow "shall not fall on the ground without your Father." I do not think there ever was a public man who recognized more clearly and fully this doctrine of God's Special Providence, than did our lamented President. Gathered as we now are in the house of God, on this first Sabbath morning after having received the news of his death, how can I more appropriately employ the usual time allotted to a discourse than by directing your minds to some of those moral and spiritual lessons taught by this most sad and melancholy event. The telegraphic intelligence which has reached the Islands is quite sufficient to disclose the naked facts, but insufficient to portray the effects upon the country at large. Under these circumstances, perhaps I may be allowed to dwell upon the religious features of

Mr. Lincoln's character. He was a public man, and had been called to occupy a most responsible and trying public position. He fully realized this fact from the very moment that he stepped forth from the sphere of a private American citizen to occupy the highest position within the gift of his countrymen. His brief address on leaving his home at Springfield, Illinois, is inimitably beautiful: "My Friends—No one not in my position can appreciate the sadness I feel at this parting. To this people I owe all that I am. Here I have lived more than a quarter of a century; here my children were born, and here one of them lies buried. I know not how soon I shall see you again. A duty devolves upon me which is perhaps greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington. He never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him, and on the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support. I hope you, my friends, will pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed, but with which success is certain. I bid you all an affectionate farewell."

During the delivery of this short address the audience was much affected, and when it closed there was the hearty response, "We will pray for you." During his progress to Washington he uttered similar sentiments at Columbus and Steubenville, in Ohio, ever expressing the hope that he should be sustained by the prayers of the American people. In this address we have the key-note to all his subsequent addresses, letters, proclamations and public documents. I cannot recall a single one in which he did not fully and frankly recognize God's agency in the management of the affairs of this world. His allusions to an overruling Providence were not in an half-apologetic and semi-infidel style, as if he wished to conciliate the feelings of Christians, while at the same time he had no very clear and definite idea of what he was saying or writing. Read his second Inaugural, on the fourth of last March. The

staunchest and most orthodox Divine could not have given utterance to more evangelical doctrines or religious sentiments. He quotes and comments upon the very words of our Divine Saviour, in the eighteenth chapter of Matthew. "Woe unto the world because of offences." Then, too, with what masterly emphasis he quotes the words of the Psalmist David, prefacing, "If God wills that the war continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil, shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." Noble utterances and sublime language, which will live as long as the English language shall be spoken. Such truthful sayings will go forth from the Chief Magistrate of a great people to break asunder the fetters of slavery throughout the world. His name through all coming time will be associated with that most important of all his State Documents—his Emancipation Proclamation. It may well be compared with the Imperial Ukase of the Emperor Alexander, giving liberty to twenty millions of Russian serfs. From the time and circumstances under which it was issued it must ever be viewed as marking the transition point from slavery to freedom, in the history of the Republic of America. I cannot stop to dwell upon Mr. Lincoln's efforts and labors in behalf of the slaves and the colored people of America. It was noble and philanthropic, and it doubtless afforded him unfeigned pleasure, during the latter months of his eventful life, to learn, in so many ways, that they appreciated his services. This was apparent when he received a copy of the Holy Bible from the loyal colored people of Baltimore, as a token of respect and gratitude. They hailed him as the "friend of universal Freedom." It never will be known in time how many millions of earnest prayers went up for "Massa Linkum" from the Uncle Tom cabins scattered all over the Slave States, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Those sincere but enslaved people took hold of the arm

that sustained the universe. America stands forth to-day disen-
thrilled and saved, not merely by the achievements of our noble
soldiers and the masterly statesmanship of our Cabinet Ministers,
Senators and Representatives, but there was a power behind all
these outward manifestations. That power was prayer—the
prayers, too, of the poor. Says the son of Sirach. “A prayer out
of a poor man’s mouth reacheth to the ears of God, and His judg-
ment cometh speedily.” “He will hear the prayer of the oppress-
ed.” “The prayer of the humble pierceth the clouds, and till it
come nigh he will not be comforted, and will not depart till the
Most High shall behold to judge righteously and execute judgment.”
Mr. Lincoln recognized that power of prayer, as I have already
shown, when he left his home for the White House at Washington.

How intensely interesting the fact that while he was thus oc-
cupied with the great and momentous affairs of thirty millions of
people—of whom four or five millions were in open rebellion, and a
million more were girded as soldiers, yet even amidst all these cares
he did not neglect the poor who were his neighbors, as the follow-
ing incident will show:

A newspaper correspondent from Chicago one day dropped in
upon Mr. Lincoln, and found him busy counting greenbacks. “This,
sir,” said the President, in his cheerful way, “is something out of
my usual line; but a President of the United States has a multi-
plicity of duties not specified in the Constitution or Acts of Con-
gress. This is one of them. This money belongs to a poor negro,
who is porter in one of the Departments, (the Treasury) who is at
present ill with the small-pox. He is now in the hospital, and
could not draw his pay because he could not sign his name. I
have been at considerable trouble to overcome the difficulty and get
it for him, and have at length succeeded in cutting red tape, as your
newspaper men say. I am now dividing the money and putting
by a portion labeled, in an envelope, with my own hands, according
to his wish.” Such unostentatious acts of kindness need no com-

ment. Our Saviour said, when upon earth, "And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." I doubt not that the good man is now reaping his reward in glory for befriending the poor colored porter who could not write his name—sick with the small-pox in the hospital. It is an interesting fact that the American citizen at home and abroad, however humble his lot, was not forgotten by him. When it was reported at Washington through the correspondence of our Minister, to Mr. Seward, that a sailor had been ill-treated at the Marquesas Islands, Mr. Lincoln immediately directs that five hundred dollars in gold be devoted to the purchase of presents, to be distributed among Hawaiian Missionaries and others who had rescued the unfortunate man.*

It is an interesting fact that the very last public address which Mr. Lincoln ever made, March 17th, was in reference to colored soldiers being employed by the rebels. He remarked that he hoped they would try the experiment! In all his efforts in behalf of the colored people of America, he has endeavored to manage the subject with an enlightened regard to the highest Christian duty to his country and to God. Having shown that Mr. Lincoln was actuated as a public officer by Christian principle, I am fully confident that he was truly an experimental Christian, one whose Christianity did not begin and end in a mere formal acknowledgement of Divine Providence. The following incident is reported by the Rev. Mr. Adams, a Presbyterian minister of Philadelphia. He was on a visit to Washington, and had made an appointment to call upon the President at the White House, at five o'clock in the morning. Says Mr. Adams, "Morning came, and I hastened my toilet and found myself at a quarter to five in the waiting room of the President. I asked the usher if I could see Mr. Lincoln. He said I could not. 'But I have an engagement to meet him this morning.'

*See note page 14.

'At what hour?' 'At five o'clock.' 'Well sir, he will see you at five.' I then walked to and fro for a few minutes, and hearing a voice, as if in grave conversation, I asked the servant, 'Who is talking in the next room?' 'It is the President, sir.' 'Is anybody with him?' 'No sir, he is reading the Bible.' 'Is that his habit so early in the morning?' 'Yes sir, he spends every morning from four o'clock to five in reading the Scriptures and praying.'" How beautiful an illustration this is of the injunction of our Saviour, "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet, and pray to thy Father which is in secret." How beautiful an instance of one who followed our Saviour's devotional habit, who, "in the morning, rising up a great while before day," went out and prayed.

"Prayer ardent opens heaven, lets down a stream
Of glory on the *consecrated hour*
Of man, in audience with the Deity!"

The following incident, however, sets forth Mr. Lincoln's views upon the question of vital godliness, in the very strongest light: Several months before his ever-to-be-lamented death, a gentleman called upon him on business. After the business was closed and they were about to part, the gentleman said to the President, "On leaving home a friend requested me to ask Mr. Lincoln whether he loved Jesus." The gentleman makes the following report: "The President buried his face in his handkerchief, turned away and wept." He then turned and said, "When I left home to take the chair of state I requested my countrymen to pray for me. I was not then a Christian. When my son died—the severest trial of my life—I was not a Christian. But when I went to Gettysburg, and looked upon the graves of our dead heroes who had fallen in defense of their country, I *then and there* consecrated myself to Christ. I *do love Jesus*." This simple and touching confession needs no comment. It opens to the world the heart and religious experience of the good man. The people felt that he was honest in all his dealings with them, and so he was equally honest with himself and God. These few simple utterances, welling up from the

depths of his heart, and accompanied with tears, will ever be cherished by Christians of every name and sect as the most precious sayings of his life. They touch the tenderest chord in the Christian's heart. Christians of every name will ever regard him as a brother beloved, but departed, and when thinking of him as departed the language of the Burial Service will not be inappropriate; "It hath pleased Almighty God, in His wise Providence to take out of this world the soul of our deceased brother!"

Think not, my hearers, that I have brought forward these facts and incidents in the life of our lamented President, because I think it requires an argument in the style of special pleading to prove his adherence to the principles of Christianity and the doctrines of the New Testament. No, his Christian, as well as his public and political character, is known and read of all men. With him there was no reserve or concealment. His character was perfectly transparent. His faults as well as his virtues were equally apparent,

"And e'en his failings lean'd to virtue's side."

He went to the theatre on that fatal night, the telegraph informs us, because he wished to please his friends and not disappoint the people, who were expecting the presence of Gen. Grant.

"His life was gentle; and the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world, *This was a man.*"

In turning our thoughts from a contemplation of his character to our bleeding country, the question forces itself upon every thoughtful mind, what will be the effect of Abraham Lincoln's assassination upon the Nation? Our latest dates afford us, as yet, no facts by which we can satisfactorily answer this question. Time must determine. Our minds must for the present find consolation in dwelling upon the great truth that God lives and reigns, and that He is able and "will make the wrath of man to praise Him." We may also recall to mind some of those pages of history wherein

somewhat similar events are recorded. When Brutus and his fellow-assassins smote down Caesar in the Senate at Rome, they supposed that with Caesar's death Caesar's influence would no longer be felt. They were disappointed. Caesar disappeared, but exclaims Cicero, "All the acts of Caesar's life, his writings, his words, his promises, his thoughts, are more powerful after his death than if he were still alive." So I trust, and doubt not, it will be with the life, writings, words, promises, thoughts of Abraham Lincoln. His blood has stamped an impress upon these which will immeasurably increase their value throughout all coming time.

When the hired assassin, Balthazar Gerard, brought to an untimely end the eventful life of William the Silent, Prince of Orange, on the 10th of July, 1584, Philip II., all the enemies of civil and religious liberty, imagined that with the death of the Prince of Orange would end his usefulness. But O, how disappointed were these men! In the beautiful language of Motley, "The Prince was entombed amid the tears of a whole nation. Never was a more extensive, unaffected and legitimate sorrow felt at the death of any human being. As long as he lived he was the guiding star of a whole brave nation, and when he died the little children cried in the streets." The Commonwealth which William had liberated forever from Spanish tyranny continued to exist as a great and flourishing Republic during more than two centuries, under the successive stadtholderates of his sons and descendants. So I doubt not a similar result will follow the assassination of the illustrious man whose most unexpected death we now lament. He died the martyr to Liberty. He was assassinated by the hand of Booth, but it was negro-chattel slavery which nerved that arm and prompted that basest of crimes in the annals of nations. This was the crowing act of the slaveholders' rebellion. Sumter was fired upon on the 12th of April, 1861, Booth shot President Lincoln on the 14th of April, 1865. The same bad animus that first struck down the flag in '61 fired the assassin's bosom when he smote down the President, Commander-in-Chief of all the military and naval

forces of the Republic. No powers of metaphysical analysis can separate the two. Perhaps it was needed that this crime of crimes should be perpetrated to arouse the minds of the American people to the awful enormity of the crime of *slavery* and *treason*. The deed has been accomplished, and henceforth and forever, in the minds of all loyal Americans and lovers of liberty throughout the world, a stigma has been fastened upon the crime of *slavery* and *treason* which can never be wiped away. However much we may pity the unfortunate dupes of the leaders of that rebellion, the deeds of the instigators and leaders can never be palliated, for their crimes all culminated in Booth's assassination of Abraham Lincoln. How the perpetrator of that crime shall be punished remains to be seen, but woe be unto those who arouse the wrath of a nation of thirty millions of people! Solomon compares the wrath of a King to "the roaring of a lion," and to "messengers of death;" but to what shall be compared the people's wrath! Mr. Lincoln could not execute that wrath! He found it, from the overflowing kindness of his nature, almost impossible to punish the guilty. Perhaps there was no trait of his character to which his enemies took more exception, and over which his friends more deeply mourned. It sometimes seriously embarrassed the regular administration of justice. The officers of the army and the Government said it was useless to arrest offenders and traitors, for Mr. Lincoln would pardon them. At the last meeting of the Cabinet, held only the day before his death, Mr. Lincoln expressed his determination to deal in the most liberal manner with the rebellious States. As it has been well remarked, "The great, capacious, manly heart of Abraham Lincoln was generous enough to have embraced all within the forgiveness of its loving nature, and in their madness they have killed him." The best friend of the rebels was assassinated by one of themselves, and no doubt if he could have again spoken he would have prayed in the language of our Saviour on the Cross, "Father forgive them, they know not what they do."

The event to which your attention has now been called will

not pass into oblivion and be forgotten. It was not done in a corner, but the crime was perpetrated, as it were, in the presence of a gazing crowd of spectators infinitely larger than that gathered in the theater where it took place. Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on the world's wide stage. There was a great cloud of witnesses. Now what shall be its influence upon the Nation and the world. we know not now, but we shall know hereafter. It will be overruled for good. How unspeakably thankful we all should be that he was spared thus long to the Nation, even to see a virtual ending of the rebellion. God permitted this stunning blow to fall for the accomplishment of some wise purpose. I do believe that in after years and ages it will be seen to have been necessary for bringing about the final triumph of justice and truth, and the punishment of the guilty. For a season clouds and darkness may surround the Throne of God and envelope His plans and purposes, but ere long He will make all clear and plain. If we are watchful and take the word of God for our guide, we shall see the dark clouds revealing a rainbow of glorious promise. I am confident that a bright and glorious future is opening before our country. Let us be hopeful. Great results must follow from these tragic events of war and commotion. Surely we have witnessed enough to make us trustful and confiding. It seems to be a law or principle which God observes in his management of nations as well as individuals, that when He would bestow some signal favor He prepares the way by severe chastisements. Surely I think we may hope that God has great good in store for that people when he shall have chastised them for that great sin of slavery. That must be removed before the millennium come and the Gospel shall everywhere triumph. In the appropriate language of Longfellow, I would exhort you, "Look not mournfully upon the past; it comes not back again. Wisely improve the present; it is thine. Go forth and meet the shadowy future, without fear and with a manly heart." Let us not go forth, however, trusting in an "arm of flesh," but in God, our Saviour and Deliverer, most fully believing the sentiment of the

text, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." "*God is the Judge.*"

After the delivery of the foregoing discourse the following appropriate hymn was sung, selected from the "Sabbath Hymn Book."

SERVANT of God, well done!
Rest from thy loved employ;
The battle fought, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy.

The voice at midnight came;
He started up to hear:
A mortal arrow pierced his frame;
He fell, but felt no fear.

At midnight came the cry,
"To meet thy God prepare!"
He woke,—and caught his Captain's eye:
Then, strong in faith and prayer.

His spirit with a bound
Left its encumbering clay:
His tent, at sunrise, on the ground
A darkened ruin lay.

The pains of death are past;
Labor and sorrow cease;
And life's long warfare closed at last,
His soul is found in pease.

Soldier of Christ, well done!
Praise be thy new employ;
And while eternal ages run,
Rest in thy Savior's joy.

DAY OF HUMILIATION AND PRAYER.—Today—this first day of June—President Johnson has appointed as a day of humiliation and prayer throughout the United States. It is most fit and becoming that such a day should be set apart. We are confident it will be universally observed throughout the country. Most emphatically, God has brought the people of that land devoutly to

acknowledge his overruling Providence. The reproach is now wiped away that the American Government ignores God's presence and agency in the affairs of this world. Our Minister Resident has called public attention to this subject. Religious services will be held this morning, at eleven o'clock, at the Bethel, and at half-past seven o'clock this evening at Fort street Church. The Rev. H. Parker will deliver a discourse at the evening service. Americans and all sympathizing with them are respectfully invited to attend these exercises.

We would acknowledge the following pamphlets: "Report of the 4th Industrial Exhibition of the Mechanics' Institute, of the city of San Francisco;" also, "Minutes of the 8th Annual meeting of the General Association of California;" also, "Proceedings of the 5th Anniversary of the San Francisco Port Society;" also, "A discourse on the death of *Abraham Lincoln*, delivered in Larkin street Presbyterian Church, of San Francisco," April 16th, by Rev. J. D. Strong, Pastor. It is somewhat remarkable that a San Francisco Pastor could discourse upon President Lincoln's death on the 16th, when he died only the day before at Washington! Truly we live in a fast age, when the news goes by lightning speed.

IT affords us gratification to record the fact that every possible effort has been made by loyal Americans and others in Honolulu to honor the memory and becomingly notice the death of PRESIDENT LINCOLN. The sad intelligence was received May 8th, and on the following day at 12 o'clock M. there was convened at Fort street Church the largest gathering of foreigners, for religious purposes, we have ever seen in Honolulu. Mr. McBride, our Minister Resident, appropriately stated the object for which the assembly had been called together. The choir followed with appropriate music. Select portions of Scripture were read, and a prayer offered by the Rev. S. C. Damon. His Honor, Chief Justice Allen, then addressed the audience, and was followed by the Rev. E. Corwin. Their addresses have already been published. All the exercises were most solemn and impressive.

Religious exercises becoming the occasion were also held in the Roman Catholic and Reformed Catholic Churches.

The Hawaiian Government ordered the National Flag lowered, and all officers to wear crape for fourteen days. We cannot imagine any observance omitted, the performance of which could have added a deeper solemnity to the day, or been the occasion of showing additional respect to the **ILLUSTRIOUS DEAD.**

Events of such momentous magnitude as the closing of the civil war in America, and the death of President Lincoln, occur but seldom in the slow progress of centuries. The Great Rebellion had most marvelously disturbed the elements of society and trade throughout the world, and now to have, from the receding thunder clouds of war, an angry flash (which) prostrates the noble man at the head of the great Republic, makes the civilized world stand aghast. We hope the waves of political strife and civil war will soon subside, and when the elements do become tranquil and calm, may it be in obedience to Him who said to the troubled waters of the Galilean Lake, eighteen hundred years ago, "Peace, be still."

*We learn from Mr. McBride, our Minister Resident, that, in accordance with his instructions from Washington, he procured two gold watches, two guns, two silver medals, and a quantity of clothing, to be presented to those persons at the Marquesas Islands who rescued Mr. Whalon, mate of the *Congress*. The Rev. Mr. Kekala and the Rev. Mr. Kaukau, Hawaiian Missionaries, each received a gold watch. One of the guns was presented to a Chief and the other to a German. The watches were suitably engraved with an inscription in the Hawaiian language, and presented in the name of President Lincoln. We learn that the Hawaiian Missionaries have returned becoming letters of acknowledgment, which have been translated and forwarded to Washington.

REMARKS

Made by the Pastor in

"THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE"

on the

SUNDAY (MARCH 9, 1862)

after the

PRESIDENT'S EMANCIPATION MESSAGE

TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK

REPRINTED

WILLIAM ABBATT

1916

Being Extra Number 53 of THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY WITH NOTES AND QUERIES

REMARKS IN THE CHURCH AT DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

THERE is a subject to which I wish to ask your special attention and which I would earnestly commend to your prayers.

The Head of the Nation has, within the past week, in view, as he says, "of his great responsibility to his God and his country," "earnestly begged the attention of Congress and the People" to the emancipation of the slaves within our borders. I deem it to be not only my privilege, but my duty as a religious guide of the thoughts of others, to respond to, and in my humble measure to second, this solemn appeal. With its purely political aspects I have nothing to do. I make haste to speak of the subject before it has to any serious degree occupied the thoughts of political men,—before I have seen any discussion of it in the public prints or have heard scarce a comment upon it.

The blessing of God, I feel most deeply, is indispensable to any successful effort for the solution of the great question which has so long disturbed the land. Its elements are too many and too difficult for any sagacity merely human. All thoughtful men have felt this more and more during the progress of the great struggle in the Nation. A DIVINE GUIDANCE, many an irreligious man has felt that we must have.

And, I trust, we have it. As I remarked to you last Autumn, we are, in our present National conflict, under God's leading like the Israelites in the wilderness. Our privilege, as our duty, is, like ancient Israel, to do each day's work as it comes, trusting for wisdom to know and grace to do that of the next. Watching "the cloudy, fiery pillar," we are to move on to do His will;—and our faith shall not be disappointed.

Allow me to repeat, also, the remark then made, that we should

—The speaker was Rev. Samuel P. Leeds, pastor of the Church for forty years.

be instant in prayer in this regard, taking heed lest in our petitions we think not enough of our enslaved countrymen or ask for the welfare of the free portion of the Nation only, and being sure that there will be no permanent settlement of our difficulties that includes only us and not them also.

Before I close, I cannot forbear mingling my congratulations with yours in this great, this EPOCHAL occasion. That our President should himself, in view of his "responsibility to God," summon the attention of his fellow-citizens to such a subject, at once so wisely and so earnestly, may well awaken our thanksgivings. For one, I bless our Heavenly Father that I see this day.

**THE ADMINISTRATION OF
ABRAHAM LINCOLN**

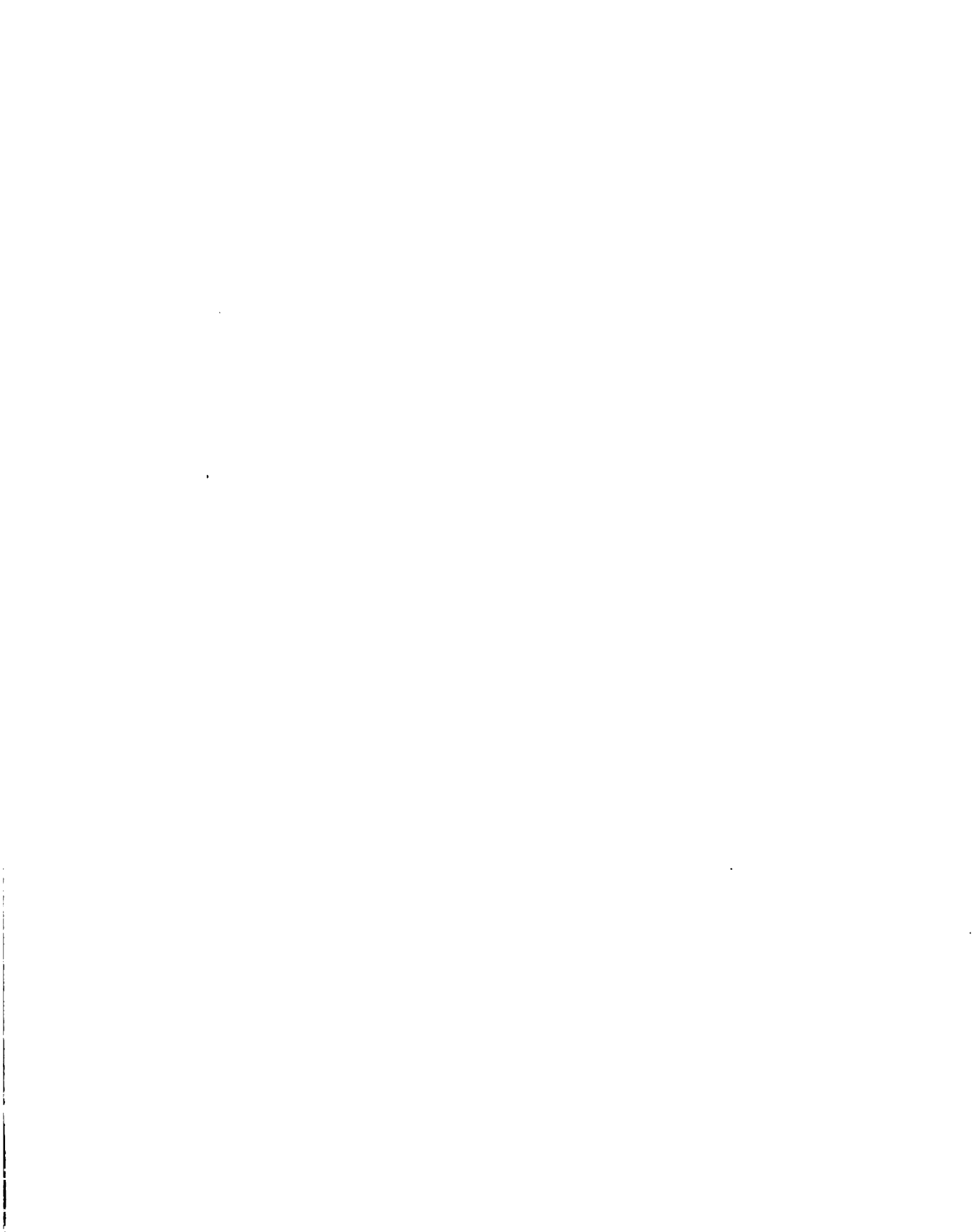
"THE GALAXY"

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THE ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE political differences which have generated parties in this country date back to an early period. They existed under the old confederation, were perceptible in the formation of the Constitution and establishment of "a more perfect union." Differences on fundamental principles of government led to the organization of parties which, under various names, after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, divided the people and influenced and often controlled national and State elections. Neither of the parties, however, has always strictly adhered or been true to its professed principles. Each has, under the pressure of circumstances and to secure temporary ascendancy in the Federal or State governments, departed from the landmarks and traditions which gave it its distinctive character. The *Centralists*, a name which more significantly than any other expresses the character, principles, and tendency of those who favor centralization of power in a supreme head that shall exercise paternal control over States and people, have under various names constituted one party. On the other hand, the *Statists*, under different names, have from the first been jealous of central supremacy. They believe in local self-government, support the States in all their reserved and ungranted rights, insist on a strict construction of the Constitution and the limitation of Federal authority to the powers specifically delegated in that instrument.

The broad and deep line of demarcation between these parties has not always been acknowledged. Innovation and change have sometimes modified and disturbed this line; but after a period the distinctive boundary has reappeared and antagonized the people. During the administration of Mr. Monroe, known as the "era of good feeling," national party lines were almost totally obliterated, and local and personal controversies took their place.

National questions were revived, however, and contested with extreme violence during several succeeding administrations. Thirty years later, when the issues of bank, tariff, internal improvements, and an independent treasury were disposed of, there was as complete a break-up of parties as in the days of Monroe. It was not, however, in an "era of good feeling" that this later dislocation of parties took place; but an attempt was made in 1850 by leading politicians belonging to different organizations to unite the people by a compromise or an arrangement as unnatural as it was insincere—party lines if not obliterated were, as the authors intended, in a measure broken down. This compromise, as it was called, was a sacrifice of honest principles, and instead of allaying disputes, was followed by a terrific storm of contention and violence transcending anything the country had ever experienced, and ended in a civil war.

The time has not yet arrived for a calm and dispassionate review of the acts and actors of that period and the events of the immediately succeeding years; but the incidents that took place and the experience so dearly purchased should not be perverted, misunderstood, or wholly forgotten.

The compromises of 1850, instead of adjusting differences and making the people of one mind on political questions, actually caused in their practical results the alienation of life-long party friends, led to new associations among old opponents, and created organizations that partook more of a sectional character than of honest constitutional differences on fundamental questions relative to the powers and authority of the Government, such as had previously divided the people. The facility with which old political opponents came together in the compromise measures of 1850, and abandoned principles and doctrines for which they had battled through their whole lives, begot popular distrust. Confidence in the sincerity of the men who so readily made sacrifices of principles was forfeited or greatly impaired. The Whig party dwindled un-

der it, and as an organization shortly went out of existence. A large portion of its members, disgusted with what they considered the insincerity if not faithlessness of their leaders, yet unwilling to attach themselves to the Democratic party, which had coalesced in the movement, gathered together in a secret organization, styling themselves "Know Nothings." Democrats in some quarters, scarcely less dissatisfied with the compromises, joined the Know Nothing order, and in one or two annual elections this strange combination, without avowed principles or purpose, save that of the defeat and overthrow of politicians, who were once their trusted favorites, was successful. In this demoralized condition of affairs, the Democrats by the accession of Whigs in the Southern States obtained possession of the Government and maintained their ascendancy through the Pierce administration; and, in a contest quite as much sectional as political, elected Buchanan in 1856.

But these were the expiring days of the old Democratic organization, which, under the amalgamating process of the compromise measures, became shattered and mixed, especially in the Southern States, with former Whigs, and was to a great extent thereafter sectionalized. The different opposing political elements united against it and organized and established the Republican party, which triumphed in the election of Lincoln in 1860. The administration which followed and was inaugurated in 1861 differed in essential particulars from either of the preceding political organizations. Men of opposing principles—Centralists, who like Hamilton and patriots of that class were for a strong imperial national government, with supervising and controlling authority over the States, on one hand, and Statists on the other, who, like Jefferson, adhered to State individuality and favored a league or federation of States, a national republic of limited and clearly defined powers, with a strict observance of all the reserved right of the local commonwealths—were brought together in the elections of 1860. It has been represented and recorded as grave history

that the Republican party was an abolition party. Such was not the fact, although the small and utterly powerless faction which, under the lead of William Lloyd Garrison and others, had for years made aggressive war on slavery, was one of the elements which united with Whigs and Democrats in the election of Mr. Lincoln. Nor was that result a Whig triumph, though a large portion of the Whigs in the free States, after the compromises of 1850, from natural antagonism to the Democrats, entered into the Republican organization. While it is true that a large majority of the Whigs of the North relinquished their old organization and became Republicans, it is no less true that throughout the slave States, and in many of the free States, the members of the Whig party to a considerable extent supported Bell or Breckenridge. But Democrats dissatisfied with the measures of the Pierce and Buchanan administrations, in much larger numbers than is generally conceded, took early and efficient part in the Republican organizations—some on account of the repeal of the Missouri compromise, but a much larger number in consequence of the efforts of the central Government at Washington, by what was considered by them an abuse of civil trust, and by military interference, to overpower the settlers in Kansas, denying them the right of self-government, and an attempt arbitrarily and surreptitiously to impose upon the inhabitants against their will a fraudulent Constitution. It was this large contribution of free-thinking and independent Democrats, who had the courage to throw off party allegiance and discipline in behalf of the principles of free government on which our republican system is founded, the right of the people to self-government, and, consequently, the right to form and establish their own constitution without dictation or interference from the central government so long as they violated no provision of the organic law, that gave tone, form, and ascendancy to the Republican party in every free State.

Persistent efforts have been made to establish as historical

truths the representations that the civil war had its origin in a scheme or purpose to abolish slavery in the States where it existed, and that the election of Abraham Lincoln was an abolition triumph—a premeditated, aggressive, sectional war upon the South; whereas the reverse is the fact—the Republican party in its inception was a strictly constitutional party that defended the rights of the people, the rights of the States, and the rights of the Federal Government, which were assailed by a sectional combination that was not satisfied with the Constitution as it was, but proposed to exact new guarantees from the nation for the protection of what they called “Southern rights”—rights unknown to the Constitution. The misrepresentations that the Republicans were aggressive and aimed to change the organic law have not been without their influence, temporarily at least, in prejudicing and warping the public mind. It is true that the slavery question was most injudiciously and unwisely brought into the party controversies of the country; but it was done by the slaveholders or their political representatives in Congress after the failure of the nullifiers to obtain ascendancy in the Government on the subject of free trade and resistance to the revenue laws.

John C. Calhoun, a man of undoubted talents, but of unappeasable ambition, had at an early period of his life, while Secretary of War, and still a young man, aspired to the office of President. By his ability and patriotic course during the war of 1812, and subsequently by a brilliant career as a member of Mr. Monroe’s Cabinet, he had acquired fame and a certain degree of popularity which favored his pretensions, particularly with young men and army officers. Schemes and projects of national aggrandizement by internal improvements, protection to home industries, large military expenditures, and measures of a centralizing tendency which were popular in that era of no parties, gave him *éclat* as Secretary of War. Flattered by his attentions and by his shining qualities, military men became his enthusiastic supporters, and

received encouragement from him in return. It was the first attempt to elect so young a man to be Chief Magistrate, and was more personal than political in its character. In the memorable contest for the successorship to President Monroe, Mr. Calhoun at one time seemed to be a formidable candidate; but his popularity being personal was evanescent, and failed to enlist the considerate and reflecting. Even his military hopes were soon eclipsed by General Jackson, whose bold achievements and successes in the Indian and British wars captivated the popular mind. Jackson had also, as a representative and Senator in Congress, Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, and Governor of Florida, great civil experience. Mr. Calhoun was, however, in the political struggle that took place in 1824, elected to the second office of the republic, while in the strife, confusion, and break-up of parties no one of the competing candidates for President received a majority of the electoral votes. He and his supporters submitted to, it may be said acquiesced in, the result then and also in 1828, when General Jackson was elected President and Mr. Calhoun was re-elected to the office of Vice-President. This acquiescence, however, was reluctant; but with an expectation that he would in 1833, at the close of General Jackson's term, be the successor of the distinguished military chieftain.

But the arrangements of calculating politicians often end in disappointments. Such was the misfortune of Mr. Calhoun. His ambitious and apparently well contrived plans had most of them an abortive and hapless termination. Observation and experience convinced him, after leaving Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, that the educated and reflective Statists or State rights men of the country, and especially of the South, would never sanction or be reconciled to the exercise of power by the Federal Government to protect the manufacturing interests of New England, or to construct roads and canals in the West, at the expense of the National Treasury. These were, however, favorite measures of a class of politicians of the

period who had special interests to subserve, and who carried with them the consolidationists, or advocates of a strong and magnificent central government. The tariff, internal improvements, and kindred subjects became classified and known in the party politics of that day as the "American system"—a system of high taxes and large expenditures by the Federal Government—without specific constitutional authority for either. Parties were arrayed on opposite sides of this system, which, besides the political principles involved, soon partook of a sectional character. High and oppressive duties on importations, it was claimed, were imposed to foster certain industries in the North to the injury of the South.

Henry Clay, a politician and statesman of wonderful magnetic power, was the eloquent champion of the "American system," and enlisted in his favor the large manufacturing interest in the North and the friends of internal improvement in the West. These measures were made national issues, and Mr. Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, appropriated them to his personal advancement, and was their recognized leading advocate. Mr. Calhoun could not be second to his Western rival, but abandoned the policy of protection, internal improvements, and great national undertakings, and allied himself to the commercial and plantation interests, which opposed the system, expecting to identify himself with and to receive the support of the Statists. But the strict constructionists of Virginia, Georgia, and other States of the old Jefferson school distrusted him and withheld their confidence and support.

South Carolina, erratic, brilliant, and impulsive, had never fully harmonized with the politicians of Virginia in their political doctrines, but had been inclined to ridicule the rigid and non-progressive principles of her statesmen, who, always cautious, were now slow to receive into fellowship and to commit themselves to the new convert who sought their support. They slighted him, and rejected his nullification remedies. Instead of following the

Palmetto State in her fanatical party schemes on the alleged issue of free trade, and supporting her "favorite son" in his theories, they sustained General Jackson, whose Union sentiments they approved, and who, to the disgust of Calhoun, became a candidate for reelection in 1832 and received the votes of almost the whole South.

In this crisis, when the heated partisans of South Carolina in their zeal for free trade and State rights had made a step in advance of the more staid and reflecting Statists, and undertook to abrogate and nullify the laws of the Federal Government legally enacted, they found themselves unsupported and in difficulty, and naturally turned to their acknowledged leader for guidance. To contest the Federal Government, and pioneer the way for his associates to resist and overthrow the Administration, Mr. Calhoun resigned the office of Vice-President and accepted that of Senator, where his active mind, fertile in resources, could, and as he and they believed would extricate them. There was, however, at the head of the Government in that day a stern, patriotic, and uncompromising Chief Magistrate, who would listen to no mere temporizing expedients when the stability of the Union was involved, and who, while recognizing and maintaining the rights of the States, never forgot the rights that belonged to the Federal Government. In his extremity, when confronting this inflexible President, Mr. Calhoun hastened to make friends with his old opponents, Clay, Webster, and the protectionists, the advocates of the "American system," the authors and champions of the very policy which had been made the pretext or justification for nullification and resistance to Federal law and the Federal authority. This coalition of hostile factions combined in a scheme, or compromise, where each sacrificed principles to oppose the administration of Jackson. It was an insincere and unrighteous coalition which soon fell asunder.

In the mean time, while nullification was hopelessly prostrate, and before the coalition was complete, the prolific mind of the aspiring Carolinian devised a new plan and a new system of tactics

which it was expected would sectionalize and unite the South. This new device was a defence of slavery—a subject in which the entire South was interested—against the impudent demands of the abolitionists. Not until the nullifiers were defeated, and had failed to draw the South into their nullification plan, was slavery agitation introduced into Congress and made a sectional party question with aggressive demands for national protection. The abolitionists were few in numbers, and of little account in American politics. Some benevolent Quakers and uneasy fanatics, who neither comprehended the structure of our Federal system nor cared for the Constitution, had annually for forty years petitioned Congress to give freedom to the slaves. But the statesmen of neither party listened to these unconstitutional appeals until the defeated nullifiers professed great apprehension in regard to them, and introduced the subject as a disturbance, and made it a sensational sectional issue in Congress and the elections.

From the first agitation of the subject as a party question, slavery in all its phases was made sectional and aggressive by the South. Beginning with a denial of the right to petition for the abolition of slavery, and with demands for new and more exacting national laws for the arrest and rendition of fugitives, the new sectional party test was followed by other measures; such as the unconditional admission of Texas, the extension of slavery into all the free territory acquired from Mexico, the repeal of the Missouri compromise, a denial to the people of Kansas of the right to frame their own constitution, and other incidental and irritating questions that were not legitimately within the scope of Federal authority. Fierce contentions prevailed for years, sometimes more violent than at others.

In 1850 a budget of compromises, which has already been alluded to, involving a surrender of principles and an enactment of laws that were unwarranted by the Constitution, and offensive in other respects, had been patched up by old Congressional party

leaders, ostensibly to reconcile conflicting views and interests, but which were superficial remedies for a cancerous disease, and intended more to glorify the authors than to promote the country's welfare. Both of the great parties were committed by the managers to these compromises, but the effect upon each was different. The Whigs, tired of constant defeat, hoped for a change by the compromises that would give them recognition and power; but instead of these they found themselves dwarfed and weakened, while the Democrats, who yielded sound principles to conciliate their Southern allies, were for a time numerically strengthened in that section by accessions from the Whigs. Old party lines became broken, and in the Presidential contest of 1852 the Democratic candidate, General Pierce, a young and showy, but not profound man, was elected by an overwhelming majority over the veteran General Scott, who was the candidate of the Whigs. From this date the Whig organization dwindled and had but a fragmentary existence. Thenceforward, until the overthrow of the Democratic party, the Government at Washington tended to centralization. Fidelity to party, and adherence to organization, with little regard for principle, were its political tests in the free States. Sectional sentiments to sustain Southern aggressions, under the name of "Southern rights," were inculcated, violent language, and acts that were scarcely less so, prevailed through the South and found apologists and defenders at the North. Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, literally "northern men with southern principles," were submissive to these sectional aggressions, acquiesced in the repeal of the Missouri compromise, the extension and nationalizing of slavery, hitherto a State institution, and also in the schemes to prevent the establishment of a free constitution by the people of Kansas. The mass of voters opposed to the policy of these administrations, and who constituted the Republican party, were not entirely in accord on fundamental principles and views of government, but had been brought into united action from the course of events which followed the Mexican war, the acquisition of territory, and the unfortunate

compromises of 1850. The sectional strife, for the alleged reason of Lincoln's election and Republican success, which eventuated in hostilities in 1861, and the tremendous conflict that succeeded and shook the foundation of the Government during the ensuing four years, threatening the national existence, absorbed all minor questions of a purely political party character, and made the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln, though its members entertained organic differences, a unit. There were occasions when the antecedent opinions and convictions of the members elicited discussion in regard to the powers, limitations and attributes of government; but in the midst of war disagreeing political opinions as well as the laws themselves were silenced. Each and all felt the necessity of harmonious and efficient action to preserve the Union.

This was especially the case during the first two years of the war of secession. Not only the President's constitutional advisers, but the Republican members of Congress, embracing many capacious, factious, and theoretical controversialists, acted in harmony and concert. Murmurs were heard among its friends, and dissatisfaction felt that the Administration was not sufficiently energetic or arbitrary, and because it did not immediately suppress the rebellion. A long period of peace which the country had enjoyed rendered the malcontents incapable of judging of the necessities of preparation for war. "On to Richmond" became the cry of the impatient and restless before the armies mustered into service were organized. The violent and impassioned appeals of excited and mischievous speakers and writers created discontent and clamor that could not always be appeased or successfully resisted. Not content with honest if not always intelligent criticism of the Government, some editors, papers, writers, and speakers, at an early period and indeed throughout the war, condemned the policy pursued, asumed to direct the management of affairs, and advanced crude and absurd notions of the manner in which the Government should be administered and military operations conducted. For a period

after the rout at Bull Run, which seemed a rebuke to these inconsiderate partisans, there was a temporary lull of complaints and apparent acquiescence by Republicans in the measures of administration.

Military differences and army jealousies existed from the beginning, which were aggravated and stimulated by partisan friends and opponents of the rival officers, and by dissent from the policy pursued in the conduct of military affairs to which many took exception.

General Scott was the military oracle of the Administration in the first days of the war. His ability and great experience entitled him to regard and deference on all questions relating to military operations. No one appreciated his qualities more than the President, unless it was General Scott himself, who with great self-esteem was nevertheless not unconscious that his age and infirmities had impaired his physical energies, and in some respects unfitted him to be the active military commander. It was his misfortune that he prided himself more if possible on his civil and political knowledge and his administrative ability than on his military skill and capacity. As a politician his opinions were often chimerical, unstable, and of little moment; but his military knowledge and experience were valuable. With headquarters at Washington, and for thirty years consulted and trusted by successive administrations of different parties in important emergencies, internal and external, and at one time the selected candidate of one of the great political parties for President, he had reason to feel that he was an important personage in the republic; also that he was competent, and that it was a duty for him to participate in political matters, and to advise in civil affairs when there were threatened dangers. But while he was sagacious to detect the premonitory symptoms of disturbance, and always ready to obey and execute military orders, he was in political and civil matters often weak, irresolute, and infirm of purpose. He had in the autumn of 1860 warned President

Buchanan of danger to be apprehended from the secession movement, and wisely suggested measures to preserve peace; but he soon distrusted and abandoned his own suggestions. Without much knowledge of Mr. Lincoln, and believing erroneously, as did many others, that Mr. Seward was to be the controlling mind in the new administration, he early put himself in communication with that gentleman. The two agreed upon the policy of surrendering or yielding to the States in secession the fortresses within their respective limits. It has been said, and circumstances indicate that there was also an understanding by Mr. Seward with certain secession leaders, that the forts, particularly Sumter, if not attacked, should not be reinforced. Of the plans of Mr. Seward and General Scott, and the understanding which either of them had with the secessionists, President Lincoln was not informed; but, while he had a sense of duty and a policy of his own, he attentively and quietly listened to each and to all others entitled to give their opinions.

The reports of Major Anderson and the defence of Sumter being military operations, the President, pursuant to Mr. Seward's advice, referred to General Scott, and it was supposed by those gentlemen that the President acquiesced in their conclusions. Nor were they alone in that supposition, for the President, while cautiously feeling his way, sounding the minds of others, and gathering information from every quarter, wisely kept his own counsel and delayed announcing his determination until the last moment. He was accused of being culpably slow, when he was wisely deliberate.

When his decision to reinforce Sumter was finally made known, the Secretary of State and the General-in-Chief were surprised, embarrassed, and greatly disappointed; for it was an utter negation and defeat of the policy which they had prescribed. The General, like a good soldier, quietly and submissively acquiesced; but Mr. Seward, a man of expedients and some conceit, was unwilling and unprepared to surrender the first place in the Administration,

and virtually publish the fact by an Executive mandate which upset his promised and preferred arrangements. It was then that he became aware of two things: first, that neither himself nor General Scott, nor both combined, were infallible with the Administration; and second, that the President, with all his suavity and genial nature, had a mind of his own, and the resolution and self-reliance to form, and the firmness and independence to execute a purpose. They had each overestimated the influence of the other with the President, and underestimated his capacity, will, and self-reliance. When the Secretary became convinced that he could not alter the President's determination, he conformed to circumstances, immediately changed his tactics, and after notifying the authorities at Charleston that the garrison in Sumter was to be supplied, he took prompt but secret measures to defeat the expedition by detaching the flagship, and sending her, with the supplies and reinforcements that had been prepared and intended for Sumter, to Fort Pickens. In doing this he consulted neither the War nor Navy Departments, to which the service belonged; but discarding both, and also the General-in-Chief his preceding special confidant, and with whom he had until then acted in concert, he took to his counsel younger military officers, secretly advised with them and withdrew them from their legitimate and assigned duties. The discourtesy and the irregularity of the proceeding, when it became known, shocked General Scott. His pride was touched. He felt the slight, but he was too good an officer, too subordinate, and too well disciplined, to complain. The secret military expedition undertaken by the Secretary of State without the knowledge of the proper departments and of himself, was so irregular, such evidence of improper administration, that he became alarmed. He felt keenly the course of Mr. Seward in not consulting him and in substituting one of his staff as military adviser for the Secretary of State; but he was more concerned for the Government and country.

A native of Virginia, and imbued with the political doctrines

there prevalent, but unflinching in patriotism and devotion to the Union and the flag, General Scott hesitated how to act—objected to the hostile invasion of any State by the national troops, but advised that the rebellious section should be blockaded by sea and land. He thought that surrounded by the army and navy the insurgents would be cut off from the outer world, and when exhausted from non-intercourse and the entire prostration of trade and commerce they would return to duty; the “anaconda principle” of exhausting them he believed would be effectual without invading the territory of States. When the mayor of Baltimore and a committee of secessionists waited upon the President on the 20th of April to protest against the passage of troops through that city to the national capital, he, in deference to the local government, advised the President to yield to the metropolitan demand, and himself drew up an Executive order to that effect. The seizure of Harper’s Ferry and Norfolk and the threatened attack upon Washington greatly disturbed him, but not so much as the wild cry of the ardent and impulsive which soon followed of “on to Richmond” with an undisciplined army.

Sensible of his inability to take the field, he acquiesced in the selection if he did not propose after the disaster at Bull Run, that General McClellan should be called to Washington to organize the broken and demoralized Army of the Potomac. A thorough reorganization was promptly and effectually accomplished by that officer. In a few days order, precision, and discipline prevailed—the troops were massed and a large army was encamped in and about the national capital. But it was soon evident to the members of the Administration that there was not perfect accord between the two Generals. The cause and extent of disagreement were not immediately understood.

At a Cabinet meeting which took place in September at the headquarters of the General-in-Chief by reason of his physical infirmities, a brief discussion occurred which developed coolness if

not dissatisfaction. An inquiry was made by the President as to the exact number of troops then in and about Washington. General McClellan did not immediately respond—said he had brought no reports or papers with him. General Scott said he had not himself recently received any reports. Secretary Seward took from his pocket some memoranda, stating the number that had been mustered in a few days previous, and then went on to mention additional regiments which had arrived several successive days since, making an aggregate, I think, of about ninety-three thousand men. The General immediately became grave.

When the subject matter for which the Cabinet and war officers had been convened was disposed of, some of the gentlemen left, and General McClellan was about retiring, when General Scott requested him to remain, and he also desired the President and the rest of us to listen to some inquiries and remarks which he wished to make. He was very deliberate, but evidently very much aggrieved. Addressing General McClellan, he said:

“You are perhaps aware, General McClellan, that you were brought to these headquarters by my advice and by my orders after consulting with the President. I know you to be intelligent and to be possessed of some excellent military qualities; and after our late disaster it appeared to me that you were a proper person to organize and take active command of this army. I brought you here for that purpose. Many things have been, as I expected they would be, well done; but in some respects I have been disappointed. You do not seem to be aware of your true position; and it was for this reason I desired that the President and these gentlemen should hear what I have to say. You are here upon my staff to obey my orders, and should daily report to me. This you have failed to do, and you appear to labor under the mistake of supposing that you and not I are General-in-Chief and in command of the armies. I more than you am responsible for military operations; but since you came here I have been in no condition to give directions or to

advise the President because my chief of staff has neglected to make reports to me. I cannot answer simple inquiries which the President or any member of the Cabinet makes as to the number of troops here; they must go to the State department and not come to military headquarters for that information."

Mr. Seward here interposed to say that the statement he had made was from facts which he had himself collected from day to day as the troops arrived. "Do I understand," asked General Scott, "that the regiments report as they come here to the Honorable Secretary of State?"

"No, no," said Mr. Cameron, who wished to arrest or soften a painful interview. "General McClellan is not to blame; it is Seward's work. He is constantly meddling with what is none of his business, and (alluding to the Pickens expedition) makes mischief in the war and navy departments by his interference."

There was in the manner more than in the words a playful sarcasm which Seward felt and the President evidently enjoyed. General McClellan stood by the open door with one hand raised and holding it, a good deal embarrassed. He said he had intended no discourtesy to General Scott, but he had been so incessantly occupied in organizing and placing the army, receiving and mustering in the recruits as they arrived, and attending to what was absolutely indispensable, that it might seem he omitted some matters of duty, but he should extremely regret if it was supposed he had been guilty of any disrespect.

"You are too intelligent and too good a disciplinarian not to know your duties and the proprieties of military intercourse," said General Scott; "but seem to have misapprehended your right position. I, you must understand, am General-in-Chief. You are my chief of staff. When I brought you here you had my confidence and friendship. I do not say that you have yet entirely lost my confidence. Good day, General McClellan."

A few weeks later General Scott was on his own application placed upon the retired list, and General McClellan became his successor. Disaffection on the part of any of the officers, if any existed, did not immediately show itself; the army and people witnessed with pride the prompt and wonderful reorganization that had taken place, and for a time exulted in the promised efficiency and capabilities of the "young Napoleon." But the autumn passed away in grand reviews and showy parades, where the young General appeared with a numerous staff composed of wealthy young gentlemen, inexperienced, untrained, and unacquainted with military duty, who as well as foreign princes had volunteered their services. Parades and reviews were not useless, and the committal of wealthy and influential citizens who were placed upon his staff had its advantages; but as time wore on and no blow was struck or any decisive movement attempted, complaints became numerous and envy and jealousy found opportunity to be heard.

The expectation that the rebellion would be suppressed in ninety days, and that an undisciplined force of seventy-five thousand men or even five times that number would march to Richmond, clear the banks of the Mississippi, capture New Orleans, and overwhelm the whole South, had given way to more reasonable and rational views before Congress convened at the regular session in December. Still the slow progress that was made by the Union armies, and the immense war expenditures, to which our country was then unaccustomed, caused uneasiness with the people, and furnished food and excitement for the factions in Congress.

The anti-slavery feeling was increasing, but efforts to effect emancipation were not controlling sentiments of the Administration or of a majority of Congress at the commencement or during the first year of Mr. Lincoln's term, although such are the representations of party writers, and to some extent of the historians of the period. Nor did the Administration, as is often asserted and by many believed, commence hostilities and make aggressive

war on the slave States or their institutions; but when war began and a national garrison in a national fortress was attacked, it did not fail to put forth its power and energies to suppress the rebellion and maintain the integrity of the Union. Military delays and tardy movements were nevertheless charged to the imbecility of the Government. It is not to be denied that a portion of the most active supporters of the President in and out of Congress and in the armies had in view ulterior purposes than that of suppressing the insurrection. Some were determined to avail themselves of the opportunity to abolish slavery, others to extinguish the claim of reserved sovereignty to the States, and a portion were favorable to both of these extremes and to the consolidation of power in the central Government; but a larger number than either and perhaps more than all combined were for maintaining the Constitution and Union unimpaired.

The President, while opposed to all innovating schemes, had the happy faculty of so far harmonizing and reconciling his differing friends as to keep them united in resisting the secession movement.

Abraham Lincoln was in many respects a remarkable man, never while living fully understood or appreciated. An uncultured child of the frontiers, with no educational advantages, isolated in youth in his wilderness home, with few associates and without family traditions, he knew not his own lineage and connections. Nor was this singular in the then condition of unsettled frontier life. His grandfather, with Daniel Boone, left the settled part of Virginia, crossed the Alleghany mountains, penetrated the "dark and bloody ground," and took up his residence in the wilds of Kentucky near the close of the Revolutionary war. There was little intercourse with each other in the new and scattered settlements destitute of roads and with no mail facilities for communication with relatives, friends, and the civilized world east of the mountains. Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of the President, was

a nephew of Daniel Boone, and partook of the spirit of his brave and subsequently famous relative. But his residence in his secluded home was brief. He was killed by the Indians when his son Thomas, the father of President Lincoln, was only six years old. Four years later the fatherless boy lost his mother. Left an orphan, this neglected child, without kith or kindred for whom he cared or who cared for him, led a careless, thriftless life, became a wandering pioneer, emigrated from Kentucky when the President was but seven years old, took up his residence for several years in the remote solitudes of Indiana, and drifted at a later day to Illinois. This vagrant life, by a shiftless father, and without a mother or female relative to keep alive and impress upon him the pedigree and traditions of his family, left the President without definite knowledge of his origin and that of his fathers. The deprivation he keenly felt. I heard him say on more than one occasion that when he laid down his official life he would endeavor to trace out his genealogy and family history. He had a vague impression that his family had emigrated from England to Pennsylvania and thence to Virginia; but, as he remarked in my presence to Mr. Ashmun of Massachusetts, and afterward to Governor Andrew, there was not, he thought, any immediate connection with the families of the same name in Massachusetts, though there was reason to suppose they had a common ancestry.

Having entered upon this subject, and already said more than was anticipated at the commencement, the opportunity is fitting to introduce extracts from a statement made by himself and to accompany it with other facts which have come into my possession since his death—facts of which he had no knowledge.

In a brief autobiographical sketch of his life, written by himself, he says:

I was born February 12, 1809, in Hardin county, Kentucky. My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families—second families perhaps I should say. My mother, who died in my tenth year, was of a family of the name of Hanks, some of whom now reside in

Adams and others in Macon county, Illinois. My paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, emigrated from Rockingham county, Virginia, to Kentucky, about 1781 or 2, where, a year or two later, he was killed by Indians, not in battle, but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest. His ancestors, who were Quakers, went to Virginia from Berks county, Pennsylvania. An effort to identify them with the New England family of the same name ended in nothing more definite than a similarity of Christian names in both families, such as Enoch, Levi, Mordecai, Solomon, Abraham, and the like.

My father, at the death of his father, was but six years of age; and he grew up literally without education. He removed from Kentucky to what is now Spencer county, Indiana, in my eighth year. We reached our new home about the time the State came into the Union. It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild animals still in the woods. There I grew up. There were some schools, so called; but no qualification was ever required of a teacher, beyond reading, writing, and ciphering to the rule of three. If a straggler, supposed to understand Latin, happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher, to the rule of three; but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity.

I was raised to farm work, which I continued till I was twenty-two. At twenty-one I came to Illinois, and passed the first year in Macon county. Then I got to New Salem, at that time in Sangamon, now in Menard county, where I remained a year as a sort of clerk in a store.

In addition to the foregoing I may add that among my acquaintance in central Pennsylvania were several sisters whose maiden name was Winters. Two of these sisters were wives of Judges of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Another sister was the wife of William Potter, a member of Congress of some note from that State and son of General Potter of the Revolution. These sisters were the great-aunts of President Lincoln, and I subjoin an obituary notice of the younger sister, Mrs. Potter, who died in 1875, at the advanced age of eighty-four. There are some incidents not immediately connected with the subject that might be omitted, but I think it best to present the obituary in full:

Died, in Bellefonte, at the residence of Edward C. Humes, on Sunday morning, the 30th of May A. D. 1875, Mrs. Lucy Potter, relict of Hon. William W. Potter, deceased, aged eighty-four years, nine months, and two days.

Mrs. Potter was a member of a large and rather remarkable family; her father having been born in 1728, married in 1747, died in 1794; children to the number of nineteen being born to him, the eldest in 1748, the youngest in 1790—their birth extending over a period of forty-two years. William Winters, the father of the deceased, came from Berks county to Northumberland, now Lycoming county, in the year 1778, having purchased the farm lately known as the Judge Grier farm, near what was called Newberry, but now within the corporate limits of the

city of Williamsport. Mr. Winters was twice married. His first wife was Ann Boone, a sister of Colonel Daniel Boone, famous in the early annals of Kentucky. His marriage took place in the year 1747 in the then province of Virginia. By this union there were issue eleven children, four males and seven females. His eldest daughter, Hannah, married in Rockingham county, Virginia, Abraham Lincoln, the grandfather of President Lincoln. Shortly before his death, Lincoln, who was killed by the Indians, visited his father-in-law at what is now Williamsport, and John Winters, his brother-in-law, returned with him to Kentucky, whither Mr. Lincoln had removed after his marriage; John being deputed to look after some lands taken by Colonel Daniel Boone and his father.

They travelled on foot from the farm, by a route leading by where Bellefonte now is, the Indian path "leading from Bald Eagle to Frankstown."

John Winters visited his sister, Mrs. Potter, in 1843, and wandering to the hill upon which the Academy is situated, a messenger was sent for him, his friends thinking he had lost himself; but he was only looking for the path he and Lincoln had trod sixty years before, and pointed out with his finger the course from Spring creek, along Buffalo run, to where it crosses the "Long Limestone Valley," as the route they had travelled.

Upon the death of Mr. Winters's first wife, in 1771, he again, in 1774, married. His second wife was Ellen Campbell, who bore him eight children, three males and five females, of which latter the subject of this notice was the youngest.

The father of Mrs. Potter died in 1794, and in 1795 Mrs. Ellen Winters, his widow, was licensed by the courts of Lycoming county to keep a "house of entertainment" where Williamsport now is—where she lived and reared her own children as well as several of her step children.

Here all her daughters married, Mary becoming the wife of Charles Huston, who for a number of years adorned the bench of the Supreme Court of this State; Ellen, the wife of Thomas Burnside, who was a member of Congress, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, and finally a Justice of the Supreme Court; Sarah, the wife of Benjamin Harris, whose daughter, Miss Ellen Harris, resides on Spring street in this borough; Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Alexander, a carpenter and builder, who erected one of the first dwellings in Williamsport, at the corner of what are now Pine and Third streets in that city, and many of whose descendants are still living in Lycoming county; Lucy, the wife of William W. Potter, a leading politician in this county, who died on the 15th day of October, 1838, while a member of our national Congress.

Mrs. Potter continued with her mother's family in Lycoming county, frequently visiting her two sisters, Mrs. Huston and Mrs. Burnside, who resided in Bellefonte, where, in 1815, she was united in marriage, by Rev. James Linn, with William W. Potter, a young and rising lawyer, and son of General James Potter, one of the early settlers of the county. Here, with her husband until his death, and then, upon the marriage of her niece, Miss Lucy Alexander, with Mr. Edward C. Humes, she made her home, living continuously in this town since her marriage, and having survived her husband for the long period of thirty-seven years, being that length of time a widow.

The biographers of President Lincoln have none of them given these facts because they did not know them, nor was the President himself aware of them. Of their authenticity so far as the relationship of Mr. Lincoln with the family of Winters is concerned, I have no doubt. His ancestry in this country, paternal and maternal—Lincoln, Boone, and Winters—is to be traced to the county of Berks, Pennsylvania.

A roving child of the forest, where there were not even village schools, Abraham Lincoln had little early culture, but his vigorous native intellect sought information wherever it could be obtained with limited means and opportunities, and overcame almost insuperable obstacles. His quick perception and powers of observation and reflection, and his retentive memory were remarkable; his judgment was good, his mental grasp and comprehension equal to any emergency, his intentions were always honest, and his skill and tact, with a determination to always maintain the right, begot confidence and made him successful and great. Party opponents imputed his success under difficulties that seemed insurmountable to craft and cunning; but while not deficient in shrewdness, his success was the result not of deceptive measures or wily intrigue, but of wisdom and fidelity with an intuitive sagacity that seldom erred as to measures to be adopted, or the course to be pursued. It may be said of him, that he possessed inherently a master mind, and was innately a leader of men. He listened, as I have often remarked, patiently to the advice and opinions of others, though he might differ from them; treated unintentional errors with lenity, was forbearing, and kind to mistaken subordinates, but, ever true to his own convictions. He gathered information and knowledge whenever and wherever he had opportunity, but quietly put aside assumption and intrusive attempt to unduly influence and control him.

Like all his Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Blair, who had been educated at West Point, he was without military pretension when he entered upon his executive duties and encountered at the very threshold a civil war which had been long maturing, was deeply seated, and in its progress was almost unprecedented in magnitude. Neither he nor any of his advisers had personal, official, practical experience in administering the civil service of the Federal Government. The commencement of hostilities, before they had time to become familiar with their duties, imposed upon each and all labors

and cares beyond those of any of their predecessors. To these were added the conduct of military operations as novel as they were responsible. Unprepared as the country was for the sudden and formidable insurrection, the Administration was not less so, yet it was compelled at once to meet it, make preparations, call out immense armies, and select officers to organize and command them.

These commanders were most of them educated military officers, but possessed of limited experience. Their lives had been passed on a peace establishment, and they were consequently without practical knowledge. Many of these, as well as such officers as were selected from civil life, seemed bewildered by their sudden preferment, and appeared to labor under the impression that they were clothed not only with military but civil authority. Some in the higher grades imagined that in addition to leading armies and fighting battles, they had plenary power to administer the Government and prescribe the policy to be pursued in their respective departments. Much difficulty and no small embarrassment was caused by their mistaken assumptions and acts, in the early part of the war.

J. C. Fremont, the Western explorer, a political candidate for the Presidency in 1856, and made a major general by President Lincoln at the beginning of the rebellion in 1861, was assigned to the command of the western department. He evidently considered himself clothed with proconsular powers; that he was a representative of the Government in a civil capacity as well as military commander, and soon after establishing his headquarters at St. Louis assumed authority over the slavery question which the President could neither recognize nor permit. General Hunter, at Port Royal, and General Phelps, in the Gulf, each laboring under the same error, took upon themselves to issue extraordinary manifestoes that conflicted with the Constitution and laws, on the subject of slavery, which the President was compelled to disavow. The sub-

ject, if to be acted upon, was administrative and belonged to the Government and civil authorities—not to military commanders. But there was a feeling in Congress and the country which sympathized with the radical generals in these anti-slavery decrees, rather than with the law, and the Executive in maintaining it. The Secretary of War, under whom these generals acted, not inattentive to current opinion, also took an extraordinary position, and in his annual report enunciated a policy in regard to the slavery question, without the assent of the President and without even consulting him. Mr. Lincoln promptly directed the assuming portion of the report, which had already been printed, to be cancelled; but the proceeding embarrassed the Administration and contributed to the retirement of Mr. Cameron from the Cabinet. These differences in the army, in the Administration, and among the Republicans in Congress, extended to the people. A radical faction opposed to the legal, cautious, and considerate policy of the President began to crystallize and assume shape and form, which, while it did not openly oppose the President, sowed the seeds of discontent against his policy and the general management of public affairs.

The military operations of the period are not here detailed or alluded to, except incidentally when narrating the action of the Administration in directing army movements and shaping the policy of the Government. Nearly one-third of the States were, during the Presidency of Mr. Lincoln, unrepresented in the national councils, and in open rebellion. A belt of border States, extending from the Delaware to the Rocky mountains, which, though represented in Congress, had a divided population, was distrustful of the President. Yielding the Administration a qualified support, and opposed to the Government in almost all its measures, was an old organized and disciplined party in all the free States, which seemed to consider its obligations to party paramount to duty to the country. This last, if it did not boldly participate

with the rebels, was an auxiliary, and as a party, hostile to the Administration, and opposed to nearly every measure for suppressing the insurrection.

There were among the friends of the Administration, and especially during its last two years, radical differences, which in the first stages of the war were undeveloped. The mild and persuasive temper of the President, his generous and tolerant disposition, and his kind and moderate forbearance toward the rebels, whom he invited and would persuade to return to their allegiance and their duty, did not correspond with the schemes and designs of the extreme and violent leaders of the Republican party. They had other objects than reconstruction to attain, were implacable and revengeful, and some with ulterior radical views thought the opportunity favorable to effect a change of administration.

These had for years fomented division, encouraged strife, and were as ultra and as unreasonable in their demands and exactions as the secessionists. Some had welcomed war with grim satisfaction, and were for prosecuting it unrelentingly with fire and sword to the annihilation of the rights, and the absolute subversion of the Southern States and subjection of Southern people. There was in their ranks unreasoning fanaticism, and ferocity that partook of barbarism, with a mixture of political intrigue fatal to our Federal system. These men, dissatisfied with President Lincoln, accused him of temporizing, of imbecility, and of sympathy with the rebels because he would not confiscate their whole property, and hang or punish them as pirates or traitors. These radical Republicans, as they were proud to call themselves, occupied, like all extreme men in high party and revolutionary times, the front rank of their party, and, though really a minority, gave tone and character to the Republican organization. Fired with avenging zeal, and often successful in their extreme views, though to some extent checked and modified by the President, they were presuming, and flattered themselves they could, if unsuccessful with

Mr. Lincoln, effect a change in the administration of the Government in 1864 by electing a President who would conform to their ultra demands. Secret meetings and whispered consultations were held for that purpose, and for a time aspiring and calculating politicians gave them encouragement; but it soon became evident that the conservative sentiment of the Republicans and the country was with Mr. Lincoln, and that the confidence of the people in his patriotism and integrity was such as could not be shaken. Nevertheless, a small band of the radicals held out and would not assent to his benignant policy. These malcontents undertook to create a distinct political organization which, if possessed of power, would make a more fierce and unrelenting war on the rebels, break down their local institutions, overturn their State governments, subjugate the whites, elevate the blacks, and give not only freedom to the slaves, but by national decree override the States, and give suffrage to the whole colored race. These extreme and rancorous notions found no favor with Mr. Lincoln, who, though nominally a Whig in the past, had respect for the Constitution, loved the Federal Union, and had a sacred regard for the rights of the States, which the Whigs as a party did not entertain. War two years after secession commenced brought emancipation, but emancipation did not dissolve the Union, consolidate the Government, or clothe it with absolute power; nor did it impair the authority and rights which the States had reserved. Emancipation was a necessary, not a revolutionary measure, forced upon the Administration by the secessionists themselves, who insisted that slavery which was local and sectional should be made national.

The war was, in fact, defensive on the part of the Government against a sectional insurrection which had seized the fortresses and public property of the nation; a war for the maintenance of the Union, not for its dissolution; a war for the preservation of individual, State, and Federal rights; good administration would permit neither to be sacrificed nor one to encroach on the other.

The necessary exercise of extraordinary war powers to suppress the Rebellion had given encouragement and strength to the centralists who advocated the consolidation and concentration of authority in the general Government in peace as well as war, and national supervision over the States and people. Neither the radical enthusiasts nor the designing centralists admitted or subscribed to the doctrine that political power emanated from the people; but it was the theory of both that the authority exercised by the States was by grant derived from the parental or general Government. It was their theory that the Government created the States, not that the States and people created the Government. Some of them had acquiesced in certain principles which were embodied in the fundamental law called the Constitution; but the Constitution was in their view the child of necessity, a mere crude attempt of the theorists of 1776, who made successful resistance against British authority, to limit the power of the new central Government which was substituted for that of the crown. For a period after the Revolution it was admitted that feeble limitations on central authority had been observed, though it was maintained that those limitations had been obstructions to our advancing prosperity, the cause of continual controversy, and had gradually from time to time been dispensed with, broken down, or made to yield to our growing necessities. The civil war had made innovations—a sweep, in fact, of many constitutional barriers—and radical consolidationists like Thaddeus Stevens and Henry Winter Davis felt that the opportunity to fortify central authority and establish its supremacy should be improved.

These were the ideas and principles of leading consolidationists and radicals in Congress who were politicians of ability, had studied the science of government, and were from conviction opponents of reserved rights and State sovereignty and of a mere confederation or Federal Union, based on the political equality and reserved sovereignty of the States, but insisted that the central

Government should penetrate further and act directly on the people. Few of these had given much study or thought to fundamental principles, the character and structure of our Federal system, or the Constitution itself. Most of them, under the pressure of schemers and enthusiasts, were willing to assume and ready to exercise any power deemed expedient, regardless of the organic law. Almost unrestrained legislation to carry on the war induced a spirit of indifference to constitutional restraint, and brought about an assumption by some, a belief by others, that Congress was omnipotent; that it was the embodiment of the national will, and that the other departments of the Government as well as the States were subordinate and subject to central Congressional control. Absolute power, the centralists assumed and their fanatical associates seemed to suppose, was vested in the legislative body of the country, and its decrees, arbitrary and despotic, often originating in and carried first by a small vote in party caucus, were in all cases claimed to be decisive, and to be obeyed by the Executive, the judiciary, and the people, regardless of the Constitution. Parliamentary discussions were not permitted, or of little avail. The acts of caucus were despotic, mandatory, and decisive. The several propositions and plans of President Lincoln to re-establish the Union, and induce the seceding States to resume their places and be represented in Congress, were received with disfavor by the radical leaders, who, without open assault, set in motion an undercurrent against nearly every Executive proposition as the weak and impotent offspring of a well meaning and well intentioned, but not very competent and intelligent mind. It was the difference between President Lincoln and the radical leaders in Congress on the question of reconciliation, the restoration of the States, and the re-establishment of the Union on the original constitutional basis, which more than even his genial and tolerant feelings toward the rebels led to political intrigue among Republican members of Congress for the nomination of new candidates, and opposition to Mr. Lincoln's re-election in 1864. At one pe-

riod this intrigue seemed formidable, and some professed friends lent it their countenance, if they did not actually participate in it, who ultimately disavowed any connection with the proceeding.

Singular ideas were entertained and began to be developed in propositions of an extraordinary character, relative to the powers and the construction of the Government, which were presented to Congress, even in the first year of the war. Theoretical schemes from cultivated intellects, as well as crude notions from less intellectual but extreme men, found expression in resolutions and plans, many of which were absurd and most of them impracticable and illegal. Foremost and prominent among them were a series of studied and elaborate resolutions prepared by Charles Sumner, and submitted to the Senate on the 11th of February, 1862. Although presented at that early day, they were the germ of the reconstruction policy adopted at a later period. In this plan or project for the treatment of the insurrectionary States and the people who resided in them, the Massachusetts Senator manifested little regard for the fundamental law or for State or individual rights. The high position which this Senator held in the Republican party and in Congress and the country, his cultured mind and scholarly attainments, his ardent if not always discreet zeal and efforts to free the slaves and endow the whole colored race, whether capable or otherwise, with all the rights and privileges, socially and politically, of the educated and refined white population whom they had previously served, his readiness and avowed intention to overthrow the local State governments and the social system where slavery existed, to subjugate the whites and elevate the blacks, will justify a special notice; for it was one of the first, if not the very first of the radical scheme officially presented to change the character of the Government and the previously existing distinctions between the races. His theory or plan may be taken as the pioneer of the many wild and visionary projects of the central and abolition force, that took shape and form not only during the war, but after hostilities ceased and the rebels were subdued.

Mr. Sumner introduced his scheme with a preamble which declared, among other things, that the "extensive territory" of the South had been "usurped by pretended governments and organizations"; that "the Constitution, which is the supreme law of the land, cannot be displaced in its rightful operation with this territory, but must ever continue the supreme law thereof, notwithstanding the doings of any pretended governments acting singly or in confederation in order to put an end to its supremacy." Therefore:

Resolved, 1st. That any vote of secession, or other act by which any State may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the Constitution within its territory, is inoperative and void against the Constitution, and when sustained by force it becomes a practical *abdication* by the State of all rights under the Constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant *forfeiture* of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the State as a body politic, so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress as other territory, and the State, being, according to the language of the law, *felo de se*, ceases to exist.

2d. That any combination of men assuming to act in the place of such State, attempting to ensnare or coerce the inhabitants thereof into a confederation hostile to the Union, is rebellious, treasonable, and destitute of all moral authority; and that such combination is a usurpation incapable of any constitutional existence and utterly lawless, so that everything dependent upon it is without constitutional or legal support.

3d. That the termination of a State under the Constitution necessarily causes the termination of those peculiar local institutions which, having no origin in the Constitution, or in those natural rights which exist independent of the Constitution, are upheld by the sole and exclusive authority of the State.

. . . Congress will assume complete jurisdiction of such vacated territory where such unconstitutional and illegal things have been attempted, and will proceed to establish therein republican forms of government under the Constitution.

It is not shown how a usurpation or illegal act by conspirators in any State or States could justify or make legal a usurpation by the General Government, as this scheme evidently was, nor by what authority Congress could declare that the illegal, inoperative, void acts of usurpers who might have temporary possession of or be a majority in a State, could constitute a practical abdication by the State itself of all rights under the Constitution, regardless of the rights of a legal, loyal minority, guilty of no usurpation or attempted secession—the innocent victims of a conspiracy; nor where Congress or the Federal Government obtained authority to pronounce "an instant *forfeiture* of all those functions and powers es-

sential to the continued existence of a State as a body politic, so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress as other territory, and the State being, according to the language of the law, *felo de se*, ceases to exist."

The administration of Mr. Buchanan had laid down as a rule of government that a State could not be coerced. The whole country not in rebellion had declared there should be no secession, division, or destruction of the Federal Union, but here was the most conspicuous leader of the Republican party in the Senate proposing a scheme to punish a State, to annihilate and destroy its government, to territorialize it, to exclude or expel it from the Union, to make no discrimination in its exclusions and denunciations but to punish alike, without trial or conviction, the just and the unjust. There were, though he was unwilling to admit it, and was perhaps unaware of it, vindictive feelings, venom, and revenge in his resolutions and in his whole treatment of the States and the white people of the South. From the time that he had been stricken down by the bludgeon of Brooks in the Senate, Mr. Sumner waged unrelenting war on the whites in the Southern States, and seemed to suppose it was his special mission—he certainly made it the great object of his life—to elevate the negro race—to give them at least equal rights and privileges with the educated and refined class—and did not conceal his intention and expectation to bring them in as auxiliaries to the Republican party, and thereby give it permanent ascendancy. All this was done in the name of humanity, and with apparent self-convinced sincerity. He was unwilling to acknowledge that he was governed or influenced by personal resentments in his revolutionary plans to degrade the intelligent white and exalt the ignorant black population by tearing down the constitutional edifice. In frequent interviews which I held with him then and at later periods, when he found it impossible to hold his positions under the Constitution, he claimed that he occupied higher ground, and that his authority for these vi-

olent measures was the Declaration of Independence, which declared all men were born equal, etc. Mr. Sumner was an idealist—neither a constitutionalist nor a practical statesman. He could pull down, but he could not construct—could declare what he considered humane, right, and proper, and act upon it regardless of constitutional compromises or conventional regulations which were the framework of the Government. No man connected with the Administration, or in either branch of Congress, was more thoroughly acquainted with our treaties, so familiar with the traditions of the Government, or better informed on international law than Charles Sumner; but on almost all other Governmental questions he was impulsive and unreliable, and when his feelings were enlisted, imperious, dogmatical, and often unjust.

Why innocent persons who were loyal to the Government and the Union should be disfranchised and proscribed because their neighbors and fellow citizens had engaged in a conspiracy, he could not explain or defend. By what authority whole communities and States should be deprived of the local governments which their fathers had framed, under which they were born, and with the provisions and traditions of which they were familiar, was never told.

His propositions found no favor with the Administration, nor were they supported at the beginning by any considerable number even of the extremists in Congress. It required much training by the centralizing leaders for years and all the tyranny of caucus machinery after the death of Mr. Lincoln, to carry them into effect by a series of reconstruction measures that were revolutionary in their character, and which to a certain extent unsettled the principles on which the Government was founded.

But the counsel and example of the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts were not without their influence. Resolutions by radical Republicans counter resolutions, chiefly by Democrats,

relative to the powers and limitations of the Federal Government and the status of States, followed in quick succession. On the 11th of June, the subject having been agitated and discussed for four months, Mr. Dixon, a Republican Senator from Connecticut, whose views coincided in the main with those of Mr. Lincoln and the Administration, submitted, after consultation and advisement, the followin:

Resolved: That all acts or ordinances of secession, alleged to have been adopted by any legislature or convention of the people of any State, are as to the Federal Union absolutely null and void; and that while such acts may and so subject the individual actors therein to forfeitures and penalties, they do not, in any degree, affect the relations of the State wherein they purport to have been adopted, to the Government of the United States, but are as to such Government acts of rebellion, insurrection, and hostility on the part of the individuals engaged therein, or giving assent thereto; and that such States are, notwithstanding such acts or ordinances, members of the Federal Union, and as such are subject to all the obligations and duties imposed upon them by the Constitution of the United States; and the loyal citizens of such States are entitled to all the rights and privileges thereby guaranteed or conferred.

The resolution of Dixon traversed the policy of Sumner and was the Executive view of the questions that were agitated in Congress as to the effect of the rebellion and the condition of the States in insurrection. The Administration did not admit that rebellion dissolved the Union or destroyed its federative character; nor did it adopt or assent to the novel theory that the States and the whole people residing in them had forfeited all sovereignty and all reserved State and individual rights, because a portion of the inhabitants rebelled; nor did it admit that the usurpation of a portion of any community could bring condemnation and punishment on all. The usurpations and acts of all the rebels were considered not legal acts, but nullities.

GIDEON WELLES

LINCOLN, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

BY

CAPTAIN I. W. HEYSINGER, M.A., M.D.

FROM AN ADDRESS BEFORE
THE PENNSYLVANIA COMMANDERY OF THE
LOYAL LEGION OF THE UNITED STATES
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LINCOLN, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

From an address before the Pennsylvania Commandery of the Loyal Legion of the United States, February, 1918.

IN looking over the names of our great men I have always been struck by the knowledge that so many of them were the product of most unlikely places; so often backwoodsmen, country-"jakes," men who were born and brought up in an atmosphere and environment which gave the freest play to every faculty, and even compelled them to grow up strong, courageous and independent men, who attacked problems of the gravest character, as they arose, and who understood prudence but knew not timidity.

Others have noted this. Theodore Roosevelt, in "The Winning of the West," says:

"The backwoodsmen were above all things characteristically American; and it is fitting that the two greatest and most typical of all Americans should have been respectively a sharer and an outcome of their work. Washington himself passed the most important years of his youth heading the westward movement of his people; clad in the traditional dress of the backwoodsmen, in tasseled hunting-shirt and fringed leggings, he led them to battle against the French and Indians, and helped to clear the way for the American advance. The only other man who in the American roll of honor stands by the side of Washington was born when the distinctive work of the pioneers had ended; and yet he was bone of their flesh; for from the loins of this gaunt frontier folk sprang mighty Abraham Lincoln."

In order to learn the great powers of the President, it is necessary to strictly study the Constitution, for that is the sole source of his authority, and of his limitations. Before assuming his office he is required to take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of

my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

That is to say, he must not only maintain the Constitution in its entirety, but is forbidden to transfer to any other person or body of persons the personal obligation prescribed for him alone; and the section immediately following the oath is as follows:

“The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States.”

Section 8 of the Constitution, which relates to the Powers of Congress, says that it shall have power to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, and “*to provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union,*” etc., but the question as to what authority should be actually directed to call forth the militia by clear constitutional enactment is only that contained in the President’s oath, and the supreme authority granted and bestowed upon him directly and personally to do these things, and he had, and has, no more power to transfer this to any other person or authority than he has to transfer his power of the veto. He could not make any one else Commander-in-Chief, and any one who consults a standard dictionary will find that *Imperator*, or in our own tongue *Emperor*, is the sense of Commander-in-Chief, the terms being synonymous and interchangeable.

Webster says of *Emperor*, that he is literally the commander of the army, the sovereign or supreme monarch of an empire, a title superior to that of king. Andrews, in his standard Latin dictionary, defines *Imperator* as a commander-in-chief, a commander, leader, chief, director, ruler, master.

Congress cannot take this command away, nor can it impair or reduce it, for Congress itself is but the creature of the Constitution, as is the Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy and of the militia of the several States when called into active service, and these latter constitute all the male citizens of military age.

But who is to call this vast army into actual service?

Justice Story, the highest constitutional authority, says in his Exposition of the Constitution:

“The delegation of this power to the President would seem indispensable, since the exigency might occur in the recess of Congress; and by the Constitution, the President is not only Commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of the militia, when called into service, but he is also bound to see the laws duly executed. But the question has arisen whether the President has the sole and exclusive authority to judge and decide whether the exigency has arisen or not * * * This question was formerly a matter of heated controversy, and at last came before the Supreme Court of the United States for decision, where it was finally settled, upon full deliberation, that, from the necessity of the case, the President is the exclusive judge of the exigency; and that his decision was conclusive.”

It is a matter of momentous importance to you, as army-officers, to the soldiers of the rank and file, and to all the people of this country; and still more, perhaps, to foreign nations which might be tempted to threaten or assail us, that this statement of fact, baldly stated, empowers the President of the United States, by one stroke of his pen, to call to the colors more than twelve million soldiers.

No other emperor on earth can do that; no sovereign or ruler who ever lived could do it save one alone, and he derived his supreme authority from the same source that our President does.

I refer to Napoleon, on whom, all France freely conferred this supreme power as a personal command. And that is precisely how our Emperor of the United States (emperor in this aspect, for he has powers and duties not of this class, besides) received his commission and command from those who proudly assembled, by orders from the whole people, and opened and presented the President's Commission in these words:

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

The President's Cabinet is nowhere mentioned or described in the Constitution of the United States; the heads of departments, the various secretaries as they have been named, have no power at all to displace or even interrupt the President's work by a single jot or tittle.

The only reference in the Constitution is that the President “may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officers in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices.”

We will now be able to see why General Emory Upton, the distinguished author of “The Military Policy of the United States,” wrote in 1879, as cited by General Michie in his biography of General Upton:

“Neither by the Constitution nor the laws is the Secretary of War entitled to exercise command, and that, whenever he departs from the sphere of administration to control military operations, he is nothing more or less than a usurper.”

A humorous anecdote is narrated of President Lincoln, after the retirement of Cameron from, and the appointment of Stanton to, his cabinet:

Some gentlemen visited him, in 1862, who advised an entire reconstruction of the cabinet. The President replied by saying that when a young man he knew a man by the name of Joe Wilson, who lived out there in a log cabin, and had a poultry shed in which he kept a choice lot of young fowls of which he was very proud.

But the fowls began to disappear during the nights, and he discovered that this was due to the depredations of skunks. One night he heard a great fluttering in the coop and sallied out, putting a double charge in his old musket. It was a moonlight night, and he saw a half-dozen of the little pests scampering in and out of the shed. He blazed away, but only killed one. "Why didn't you follow them up," inquired the neighbors, "and kill the rest?" Old Joe replied, "Why blast it, it was eleven weeks before I got over killing one!"

In August, 1794, when the so-called "Whiskey Insurrection" broke out in Pennsylvania, beyond the Alleghenies, President Washington, from the national seat of Government, then in Philadelphia, issued a proclamation calling out the militia of the four adjacent States, making a total of 12,950, and these troops obeyed the call, the contingents being under personal command of the respective State governors; and a little later, Washington, in full uniform and with his whole brilliantly uniformed staff, himself marched out from Philadelphia to Bedford, where he took the supreme command in person. All this is narrated in Volume IV, Second Series, of the "Official Pennsylvania Archives."

It was in this way that Washington called to the colors the militia of four States to coerce a revolution in one State; and, equally so, he could have called, had the occasion required it, of his own volition and over his own hand the entire able-bodied men of all the States.

So, when South Carolina, in 1832 declared the national tariffs to be null and void in South Carolina, which declaration was to take effect on February 1, 1833, "preparations for war were begun at once." Then President Andrew Jackson, Commander-in-chief, swore "by the Eternal," and issued a proclamation over his own signature, in which he declared that he should enforce the laws in spite of any and all resistance that should be made, saying: "I consider the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed

by one State, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded; and destructive of the great object for which it was formed;" and he at once sent Farragut (our own Farragut, who said later on in Mobile Bay, "Damn the torpedoes, go ahead!") with our navy down to Charleston harbor, and ordered General Scott to have the troops ready to enter South Carolina. It was in his constitutional capacity as "Emperor" of the American people that he did this, and he would have gone on and done all he said he would do, if he had needed to call out the entire militia of the nation. But they knew him and the resistance ceased and they apologized.

And he was on safe ground, the safest kind of ground, for he had behind him Washington's example, the letter of the Constitution, and besides these Jefferson's dictum, which many do not know of or have forgotten.

Quoting a passage from Bartlett's "History of the United States" (written from an intensely Federalistic standpoint), Jefferson, in his correspondence, defining the Constitution, wrote:

"It has been so often said as to be generally believed, that Congress has no power by the confederation to enforce anything. It was not necessary to give them that power expressly; they have it by the law of nature." Jefferson then followed by this sentence which he emphasized in italics. "*When two parties make a compact, there results to each a power of compelling the other to execute it.*"

So President Lincoln, in this capacity, in his proclamation of April 15, 1861, after reciting the circumstances, says:

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested by the Constitution and the laws, have thought fit to call forth and hereby do call forth the militia of the several States of the Union to the aggregate number of seventy-five thousand, in order to suppress said combination, and to cause the laws to be duly executed."

And in his proclamation of May 3, 1861, he says:

"Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, and Commander-

in-chief of the Army and Navy thereof, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into actual service, do hereby call into the service of the United States forty-two thousand and thirty-four volunteers, to serve for a period of three years, unless sooner discharged, and to be mustered into service as infantry and cavalry."

And in his address to the Governors of the seventeen States, July 1, 1862, he says:

"I have decided to call into the service an additional force of three hundred thousand men * * * An order fixing the quotas of the respective States will be issued by the War Department to-morrow."

In reply to a religious delegation, September 13, 1862, the President said:

"As commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war, I suppose I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy."

To Commissioner Dole, in 1864, in the stress of the political campaign involving his own re-election, he said:

"It matters not what becomes of me, we must have the men! If I go down, I intend to go down like the *Cumberland*, with my colors flying." And he called 500,000 men to the colors.

To Governor Morton, of Indiana, July 3, 1862, he said:

"I would not want the half of 300,000 new troops if I could have them now. If I had 50,000 additional troops here now I believe I could substantially close the war in two weeks; but time is everything, and if I get the 50,000 new men in a month I shall have lost 20,000 old ones during that same month, having gained only 30,000, with the difference between old and new troops still against me."

There was only one reason why the President did not have the 50,000 veterans, nay, 100,000, or as many more as he needed, for in the early part of 1862 volunteers were rushing to the standard, and could only be kept away by the issuance of the following order, see official copy, General Orders affecting the Volunteer Force, 1862, Washington, Government Printing Office:

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 33, WAR DEPARTMENT, ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE.

Washington, April 3, 1862.

(III.)—The recruiting service for volunteers will be discontinued in every State from this date. The officers detached on Volunteer Recruiting Service will join their regiments without delay, taking with them the parties and recruits at their respective stations. The Superintendents of Volunteer Recruiting Service will disband their parties and close their offices, after having taken the necessary steps to carry out these orders. The public property belong-

ing to the Volunteer Recruiting Service will be sold to the best advantage possible, and the proceeds credited to the fund for collecting, drilling and organizing volunteers.

By order of the

SECRETARY OF WAR.

L. THOMAS, ADJUTANT-GENERAL.

There is nothing to show that the President ever saw, or even heard of, this General Order No. 33 of the Secretary of War. It was one of the habits of that official, for, as Grant tells us in his "Personal Memoirs," he "felt no hesitation in assuming the function of the executive, or in acting without advising with him."

However, if this suicidal act of April 3d, which Lincoln so bitterly regretted to Governor Morton in July, did not reach Washington, it reached Richmond in almost no time, for less than two weeks afterward, April 16th, the Confederate Government ordered the first general conscription, which provided as follows:

"All white men resident of the Confederate States between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five years; and to continue those already in the field until three years from the date of their enlistment; and those under eighteen and over thirty-five years to remain ninety days."

Lincoln was not himself a military man. In 1848 he delivered a humorous speech in Congress, in order to ridicule the pretensions of "General" Cass, whose friends were trying to make him out a hero:

"By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know that I am a military hero? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk war I fought, bled and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career reminds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I was about as near it was Cass to Hull's surrender; and, like him, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain that I did not break my sword, for I had none to break; but I bent a musket pretty badly on one occasion. If General Cass went in advance of me in picking whortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the wild onions. If he saw any live fighting Indians it was more than I did,

but I had a good many bloody struggles with the mosquitoes; and although I never fainted from loss of blood, I can truly say that I was often hungry. If my friends should ever take me up as their candidate for the Presidency, I protest that they shall not make fun of me, as they did of General Cass, by attempting to write me into a military hero."

General Grant, in his "Personal Memoirs," amusingly relates how Lincoln, at the time when Grant was to take command of the armies in the spring of 1864, gave him a plan of his own.

"He pointed out," said Grant, "on the map two streams which empty into the Potomac, and suggested that the army might be moved on boats and landed between the mouths of these streams. We would then have the Potomac to bring our supplies, and the tributaries would protect our flanks while we moved out. I listened respectfully, but did not suggest that the same streams would protect Lee's flanks while he was shutting us up. I did not communicate my plans to the President, nor did I to the Secretary of War or to General Halleck."

And it was fortunate for the country and the cause that President Lincoln was not a military man of the type suggested. Our "adversaries over the way," as he genially called them, had such a President, a militia colonel from Mississippi in the Mexican War, whom, after he got back to his plantation, President Polk tried to make into a brigadier-general, though he refused the commission.

But after he was made the Confederate President, as Commander-in-chief he developed into ten or a dozen major-generals, besides several lieutenant-generals and a couple of full generals, and I have often thought that the Confederate armies owed as many of their defeats to him as ours did to Lee, and to their other real soldiers, probably more.

No, President Lincoln was not a practical or scientific military man; but he had a virile horse-sense as the war progressed, and a balance of mind, a true genius for supreme rule in the greatest emergencies, which enabled him to use the tools in our direst need to save and bring back a united country. And he grew with the war, as he grew with trial and responsibility in every way. He dwarfed the politicians around him by his massive reserve power.

It is true that he was also a lawyer, a capital and an honest lawyer, the result of which was that his capital was far less than his honesty. Lincoln was a different sort of lawyer from the others, and even the lawyers where he came from nicknamed him "Honest Abe." And he was also a different sort of Commander-in-chief, and President, from the others, and as history has cleared away the mist which caused his troubles, his fame and reputation have grown more and more resplendent with every passing year.

In fact, between the preachers and the lawyers he had a world of troubles.

To a lady whose husband he had pardoned, and who, on parting from him said, "Good-bye, Mr. Lincoln, I shall probably never see you again till we meet in heaven," the President replied: "I am afraid, with all my troubles, I shall never get to the resting-place you speak of; but if I do, I am sure I shall find you. That you wish me to get there is, I believe, the best wish you could make for me. Good-bye."

"I am so borne upon," he almost despairingly said; and again, "I want you to understand that I have very little influence with this Administration."

"Why don't you turn them out?" he was asked; and then he narrated the skunk story which I have already referred to.

He learned about war as the war went along. At the beginning it was all "On to Richmond!"

Even he was dragged into the current to some extent. But by 1863, he saw his way more clearly, and expressed it more scientifically, and that was before Grant came east at all.

In September, 1863, General Meade, commanding the Army of the Potomac, then along the upper Rappahannock, wrote desiring the views of the Government as to what course he was expected to pursue.

Lincoln examined the dispatch, and himself, unknown to Halleck or to any one else, sent this letter in reply in his supreme capacity as Commander-in-chief. The following brief extracts will show what he had learned of actual war, and how he had learned it.

"I am not prepared to order or even advise an advance in this case, wherein I know so little of the particulars, and wherein he, in the field, thinks the risk is so great and the promise of advantage so small. And yet the case presents matter for very serious consideration in another aspect. These two armies confront each other across a small river, substantially midway between the two capitals, each defending its own capital and menacing the other. General Meade estimates the enemy's infantry in front of him at not less than 40,000. Suppose we add fifty per cent. to this for cavalry, artillery and extra duty men, stretching as far as Richmond, making the whole force of the enemy 60,000.

General Meade, as shown by his returns, has with him and between him and Washington, of the same classes of well men, over 90,000. Neither can bring the whole of his men into a battle, but each can bring as large a percentage as the other. For a battle, then, General Meade has three men to General Lee's two. Yet, it having been determined that choosing ground and standing on the defensive gives so great advantage that the three cannot safely attack the two, the three are left simply standing on the defensive also.

If the enemy's 60,000 are sufficient to keep our 90,000 away from Richmond, why, by the same rule, may not 40,000 of ours keep their 60,000 away from Washington, leaving us 50,000 to put to some other use?

To avoid misunderstanding, let me say that to attempt to fight the enemy slowly back into his entrenchments at Richmond, and there to capture him, is an idea I have been trying to repudiate for quite a year. My judgment is so clear against it that I would scarcely allow the attempt to be made, if the general in command should desire to make it. If our army cannot fall upon the enemy and hurt him where he is, it is plain to me it can gain nothing by attempting to follow him over a succession of intrenched lines into a fortified city."

This clear and scientific statement of the problem is a vindication of the plans and judgment of the military men who opposed such a movement at the beginning of the war, and for the same reasons.

And these statements of Lincoln, as Commander-in-chief, were fully vindicated also in the Wilderness campaign of 1864, which Grant undertook under pressure of the politicians, but yet under far different circumstances. He had double Meade's force to begin with, while Lee had less than he had then, and when Grant advanced, Lee was already confronting Butler at Bermuda Hundred with a large part of his army, "bottling him up," as Butler described it, who, with his more than 40,000 men, but without any

real general in command, was beyond the James River, then all in our possession. This was Grant's second base, and he had only to reach that, if he could reach it with any considerable part of his army, to unite both armies in front of Petersburg and Richmond. Not to recapitulate the Wilderness campaign, we know our own frightful losses on the way and how our every effort was baffled down to the awful horror of Cold Harbor, where the Confederates lost hardly more hundreds than Grant lost thousands, and where June 4, 1864, the experiment ended; and Grant ferried and bridged his army what was left of it, across the James, to his second base, in front of Petersburg and the southern Richmond front, which the army could have reached in the first place, with full stomachs and without the loss of a man. Even so late as November, 1863, as stated in the "War Records," Volume XXIX, part 2, page 412, the Army of the Potomac, while permitted to wiggle about a little, was positively forbidden (by orders from Washington) to change its base from Warrenton (and so from Washington), direct to Richmond, along a mathematical line. Civilian strategy always demanded that to "kiver" a place one must constantly sit on the "kiver."

Then after one more fair but vain try, against fortifications, came a nine months' siege in front and constant flank extensions, across unoccupied territory to the left; with Grant's positive orders over and over repeated, against any attack on such works, as cited in the "Official War Records." For example, July 12, 1864, "I would not permit any attack against the enemy in an entrenched position."

July 30, 1864. "Our experience to-day proves that fortifications come near holding themselves without troops * * * * With a reasonable amount of artillery and one infantryman for six feet, I am confident either party could hold its lines against a direct attack of the other."

And so up to the end of March, 1865, when Grant's flankings

had spun Lee's forces out to a thin string like a frazzle; and then came Five Forks, far away; then the abandonment of Petersburg and Richmond, the open pursuit of a broken enemy, still farther away, beyond all entrenchments, and then—the end.

Lincoln wrote his letter, cited above, so to say, out of his own head.

When he handed General Grant his commission President Lincoln said:

"General Grant, the nation's appreciation of what you have done, and its reliance upon you for what remains to be done in the existing struggle, are now presented with this commission, constituting you lieutenant-general in the army of the United States. With this high honor devolves upon you a corresponding responsibility. As the country trusts in you, so, under God, it will sustain you. I scarcely need add that with what I here speak for the nation goes my own hearty personal concurrence."

He did not cease to develop as he went along, for in his first annual message he said:

"Labor is ^{prior to} and independent of capital; capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves ^{the} higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights, nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between labor and capital producing mutual benefits."

Congressman Dixon, of Rhode Island, was appointed to represent some of the northern governors and urge a more aggressive campaign. This was in June, 1862. Said the President:

"Dixon, you are a good fellow, and I have always had a good opinion of you. Still, in justice to myself, you must remember that Abraham Lincoln is President of the United States. Anything that the President of the United States does, right or wrong, will be the act of Abraham Lincoln, and Abraham Lincoln will, by the people, be held responsible for the President's action. Go home and think the matter over."

In November, 1864, some District of Columbia Lincoln and Johnson clubs gave him a serenade, and in response the President made them a little speech, as usual, and I have often thought that this little speech, made on the spur of the moment, deserves to go down in history alongside his immortal speech at Gettysburg; and it is altogether worthy of those gigantic figures who made the Declaration, who carried our country's flag from Lexington to York-

town, and who gave us the Constitution, which Jefferson characterized as:

“Without comparison the best existing, or that ever did exist.”

And beyond that even, a speech worthy of the more than 30,000 of our French allies, who bore back from Yorktown our own tricolor, the “red, white and blue,” which carried to Napoleon the great message of equal humanity, and which swept the “divine right” away forever, finally, from all Europe and all civilization, and planted the platform forever on—“We the People.” This is Lincoln’s brief address:

“It has been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies. On this point the present rebellion brought our Government to a severe test, and a presidential election occurring in a regular course during the rebellion added not a little to the strain. If the loyal people, united, were put to the utmost of their strength by the rebellion, must they not fall when divided and partially paralyzed by a political war among themselves? But the election was a necessity. We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego or postpone a National election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us. The strife of the election is but human nature practically applied to the facts of the case. What has occurred in this case must ever re-occur in similar cases.”

He, Lincoln was very clear in most of his ideas, because he had the high capacity to accomplish, and had forged them out amid the fierce fires of war. Napoleon said that he spent months beforehand in studying, considering, and making up his mind; then he struck without hesitation or delay.

In his first inaugural address Lincoln put the matter of secession, or alleged secession, in its full and proper light. He said:

“If the destruction of the Union by one, or by a part only of the States, be lawfully possible, the Union is less than before, the Constitution having lost the vital element of perpetuity. It follows from these views that no State, upon its own mere notion, can lawfully get out of the Union; that resolves and ordinances to that effect are legally void; and that acts of violence, within any State or States against the authority of the United States, are insurrectionary or revolutionary, according to circumstances.”

In this, as I have already shown, he followed precisely the principles and practices set forth by Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, and enforced, even before, by President Washington.

Of Jefferson, Lincoln said, in a letter written in 1859, inviting him to a celebration of Jefferson's birthday:

"All honor to Jefferson; to a man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independence by a single people, had the coolness, forecast and capacity to introduce into a merely revolutionary document an abstract truth, applicable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there that to-day and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and stumbling-block to the harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression."

The spirit of liberty in Lincoln was not of new growth. As far back as 1836 he published a letter in the *Sangamon Journal*, of Springfield, Illinois, in which he said:

"The candidates are called upon, I see, to show their hands. Here is mine. I go for all sharing the privileges of government who assist in bearing its burdens. Consequently, I go for admitting all the whites to the rights of suffrage, by no means excluding the females."

Of course Lincoln's name stands as the great emancipator. But no one knew better than he that the emancipation proclamation of 1862 was a war measure purely, to cripple the enemy on the one hand and to prevent European intervention in favor of the Rebellion on the other hand. It was simply an act comparable with a declaration of martial law in any hostile territory or district. In his response of June 9, 1864, to the Committee notifying him of his nomination for a second four years' term, he clearly set this forth, by saying:

"I approve the declaration (in the platform), of so amending the Constitution as to prohibit slavery throughout the nation. When the people, in revolt, with the hundred days' explicit notice that they could within those days resume their allegiance without the overthrow of their institution, and that they could not resume it afterward, elected to stand out, such an amendment of the Constitution as is now proposed became a fitting and necessary condition to the final success of the Union cause. Such alone can meet and cover cavils. I now perceive its importance and embrace it. In the joint names of Liberty, and Union let us labor to give it legal form and practical effect."

And he was as careful and thoughtful of the welfare of his own soldiers and their families as of the Nation and its cause. To the Postmaster-General he wrote, July 27, 1863, concerning two endorsements by him of soldiers' widows for post-offices, saying:

"These cases brought me to reflect more attentively than I had before done as to what is

fairly due from us here in the dispensing of patronage toward the men who, by fighting our battles, bear the chief burden of saving our country. My conclusion is that, other claims and qualifications being equal, they have the right, and this is especially applicable to the disabled soldier and the deceased soldier's family."

Standing on the car platform, in Springfield, Illinois, January 11, 1861, in his short farewell address, he said:

"A duty devolves upon me which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved upon any other man since the days of Washington.

"He never could have succeeded except for the aid of Divine Providence, upon which he at all times relied. I feel that I cannot succeed without the same Divine aid which sustained him; and in the same Almighty Being I place my reliance for support, and I hope you, my friends, will all pray that I may receive that Divine assistance, without which I cannot succeed. Again, I bid you an affectionate farewell."

On another occasion long afterward he said:

"I should be the most presumptuous blockhead upon this footstool if I for one day thought that I could discharge the duties which have come upon me since I came into this place without the aid and enlightenment of One who is stronger and wiser than all others."

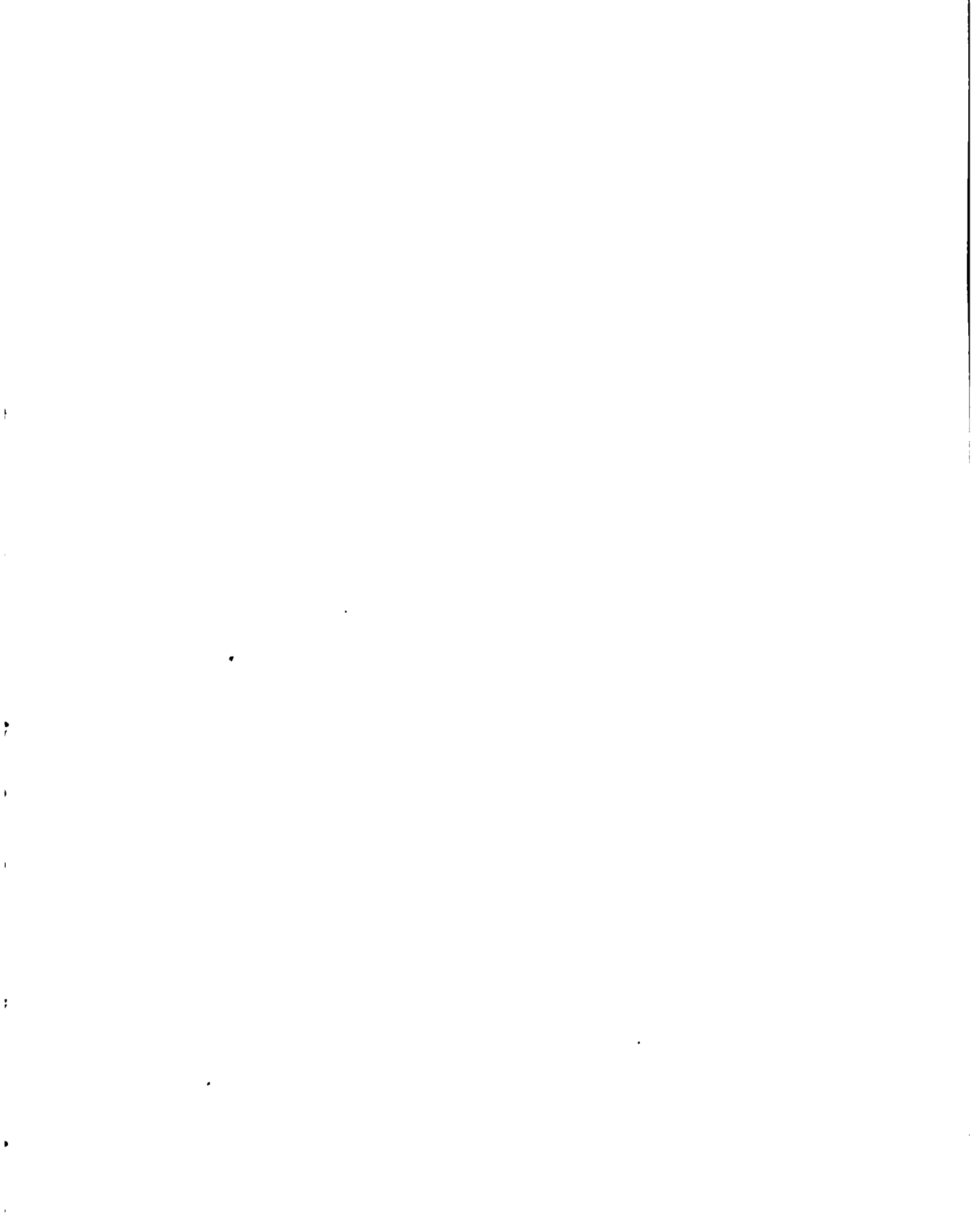
November 16, 1862, he issued an order which contained the following:

"The President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, desires and enjoins the orderly observance of the Sabbath by the officers and men in the military and naval service. The importance for man and beast of the prescribed weekly rest, the sacred rights of Christian soldiers and sailors, a becoming deference to the best sentiment of a Christian people and a due regard for the Divine Will, demand that Sunday labor in the army and navy be reduced to the measure of strict necessity. The discipline and character of the National forces should not suffer, nor the cause they defend be imperilled, by the profanation of the day, or the name of the Most High."

Away back in 1842, Abraham Lincoln made an anniversary address on George Washington, which reminds me in some way of his great speech at Gettysburg, which has become immortal. And this address, on Washington the man, might almost, it seems to me, be spoken to-day of the subject of this paper. These are the words he used:

"This is the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the birthday of Washington. We are met to celebrate this day. Washington is the mightiest name of earth—long since mightiest in moral reformation. On that name a eulogy is expected. It cannot be. To add brightness to the sun or glory to the name of Washington is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe pronounce the name, and in its naked, deathless splendor leave it shining on."

I. W. HEYSINGER

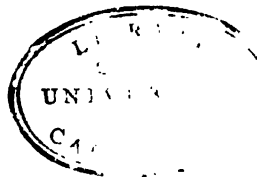


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THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 54



COMPRISING

DOCUMENTS * * * ON RAILWAYS AND STEAM CARRIAGES
OVER CANAL NAVIGATION (1812) - - - - *John Stevens*
RECOLLECTIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR (18
Major John Burnham

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

IN 1810 Robert Fulton published in New York his *Treatise on Torpedo War and Submarine Explosions* (which we republished as our EXTRA NUMBER 35), a then almost unknown subject, but which has during the past two years reached a horrible degree of perfection in the present Great War.

Only two years afterwards there was published a small pamphlet on a subject quite as unfamiliar to the world, but destined to become one of its greatest blessings. This subject was *Railroads*; yet at that time there was not a locomotive or passenger car in use in the world.

The author of this very rare pamphlet (until last February, when a copy was sold at auction in New York for \$350, no sale record of it was known) was John Stevens, the celebrated engineer (1749-1838) who antedated Fulton in the construction of a screw steamboat, which navigated the Hudson in 1804.

It is neither necessary or possible for us to here give any extended notice of his life—the various biographical Encyclopedias may be consulted by any of our readers: we would only quote from one of them a phrase which happily describes his character: “His life was devoted to experiments at his own cost for the common good.”

This is the first book printed in America on the subject of railroads, showing that if his plans had been adopted, the United States would now enjoy the distinction of having been the first to inaugurate transportation by rail as well as by steam navigation.

The Memoir was addressed to the Commissioners (De Witt Clinton, Gouverneur Morris and Robert R. Livingston) appointed to devise a system of water communication between the Hudson and the Great Lakes; and in it Mr. Stevens urged, instead of a waterway (the Erie Canal) the immediate construction of a railroad. The Commissioners reported adversely on the “impracticability” of his plan; and their comments make very humorous reading at this time. His proposal was to build a railroad from Albany to Buffalo,

the track to be laid on wooden stringers, capped with wrought-plate. He enumerates comprehensively the advantages of a general railroad system, naming many details that were afterwards found necessary, putting the probable speed as high as fifty miles an hour.

His plan was substantially the same as is used to-day, except for the elevation of the tracks which he thought desirable.

It may be fairly said that he was so far ahead of his time that his words read like those of a prophet; and his plan was identical with that of the successful South Carolina Railroad (1830-32) the first long road built for general traffic in the United States, the accuracy of his estimates having been proved by the cost of this line.

In our copy we have followed the original issue, but have prefixed the preface to the reprint of 1852, which was written by Charles King, then president of Columbia College.

Our second item, the Recollections of Major John Burnham, is also a rare item, originally published in 1881.

It is a "plain unvarnished tale," of a veteran Revolutionary officer, who served all through the war. It is remarkable for its absence of anything like self-praise. If he did anything remarkable he was evidently not concerned to talk about it; but the endorsement of General Brooks is sufficient to show him to have been a man of unusual strength of character and intense devotion to duty.

PREFACE

THE Pamphlet here reproduced forty years after its first appearance, will now, in the light of its fulfilled and realized speculations, be read with a degree of interest and admiration which at the period of its publication it failed to attract.

Having, while recently preparing a paper on the growth of the city of New-York during the last half century, been led into some investigations as to the pioneers in the construction of steamboats and railroads, and remembering something of a pamphlet about railroads, published many years before by Col. Stevens of Hoboken, I long sought for a copy of it, and at last one was found among the bound pamphlets of the New-York Society Library.

Upon being informed of its existence, the sons of the ingenious author obtained permission to have it copied, determining to reprint it in honor of their distinguished father, and they placed the MS. in my hands for that purpose.

It seemed altogether fitting that the direct successors of the publishers who had given the original to the world, should be invited to print this edition: and accordingly it bears the impress of *Stanford & Swords*, 137 Broadway, 1852, as its original bore that of *T. & J. Swords*, 160 Pearl St., 1812: thus marking at once perpetuity and change.

Of the author of this pamphlet, Col. John Stevens, of Hoboken, a fitting memorial is yet to be written, for he was emphatically, a benefactor of his country and his race. Born to affluence, his whole life was devoted to experiments at his own cost, for the common good.

Mr. Stevens was a native of this city, where he was born in the year 1749. His grandfather, John Stevens, a native of England, came to the colony of New-York in 1699, as one of the Law Officers of the Crown. His father, John Stevens, became a resident

of New Jersey, and married Elizabeth Alexander, descended from one of the original proprietors of New Jersey, and was himself much in public stations there, and for a time Vice President of the Council.

John Stevens, of whom we are treating, though born in this city was a Jerseyman by residence, and eventually by his marriage with Rachael Cox, daughter of John Cox, of Bloomsbury, N. J., who also for many years was Vice President of the Council of that State. Mr. Stevens himself was for many years Treasurer of the State.

Mr. Stevens' attention was first turned, or rather the bent of his genius was developed and directed, towards mechanics and mechanical philosophy, by the accident of seeing, in 1787, the early and as now may be said imperfect steamboat of John Fitch, navigating the Delaware river. He was driving in his phaeton on the banks of the river when the mysterious craft, without sails or oars, passed by; Mr. Stevens' interest was excited—he followed the boat to its landing—familiarized himself with the design and the details of this new and curious combination, and from that hour became a thoroughly excited and unwearied experimenter in the applications of steam to locomotion on the water, and subsequently on the land.

Having been brought, by close family connection, into intimacy with Robt. R. Livingston, (the Chancellor of this State, who married the sister of Col. Stevens) he induced Mr. L. to join him in these investigations, and they were persevered in at great cost and with little immediate success till Chancellor Livingston, in 1801-2, was sent as Minister to France.

So much however was the Chancellor encouraged by the experiments then made, that as early as 1798 he obtained from the Legislature of New-York an exclusive grant for the use of steam on the waters of New York. This, however, became forfeit by the failure to avail within the limited time of its privileges.

But previously to the Act of '98 the Legislature of New-York had, as early as 1787, granted successively to *James Rumsey* and to *John Fitch* the exclusive right to navigate the waters of the State with steam-propelled vessels; and on 9th January, 1789, John Stevens petitioned the Legislature for a like grant—nothing having resulted from the preceding ones. Mr. Stevens in his petition says that, “to the best of his knowledge and belief his scheme is altogether new, and does not interfere with the inventions of either of the other gentlemen who have applied to your honorable body for an exclusive right of navigating by means of steam.” The petitioner adds that he had “made an exact draught of the different parts of his machine, which, with an explanation thereof, he is ready to exhibit.” The prayer of the petition was unsuccessful; but these draughts should be among the papers of the late Col. Stevens, and at this day would be curious.

Mr. Stevens, meanwhile, never renounced his experiments nor despaired of success, and in 1804 he actually constructed a *Propeller* (a small open boat, worked by steam,) with such decided success that he was encouraged to go on and build the *Phenix* steamboat, on his own plan and model, and had her ready almost contemporaneously with, but a little after, the first steamboat of Fulton, the *Clermont*. The *Clermont* entitled Mr. Fulton and Chancellor Livingston, who was co-operating with Fulton, to the benefit of the law which had been revived by the State of New-York, granting a monopoly of the waters of the State, and thus Mr. Stevens' steamboat was excluded from those waters. On the Delaware, however, and on the Connecticut he placed boats; and his eminent son, Robt. L. Stevens, having embraced his father's views, was now at work with him to improve the known and invent new resources for accelerated steam conveyance.

In 1812, just before the commencement of the war with England, and when this State was first addressing itself to the thought of connecting the waters of the lakes with those of the ocean by the

Hudson, a thought, very rapidly matured in the sequel by the delays and *now* incredible cost in transporting troops, artillery and munitions during the war, from the sea-board to the Lakes, Col. Stevens put forth the pamphlet here reproduced, urging that railroads and steam-carriages should be preferred to canals and canal boats.

At that day not a *locomotive* existed in the world—and the only railroads were those few and short *tram-roads*, as they were called in England, connecting for the most part coal mines with canals, or other water transportation, and upon which carriages with the ordinary wheels turning upon their axle-trees were drawn by horses. The carriages were prevented from running off sideways by a flange rising some inches above the outer edge of the flat rail. In this state of knowledge and experience of railroads it was that, in 1812, Col. Stevens made public, in the following pamphlet, his extraordinary and most sagacious views and accurate calculations respecting, not only the feasibility of applying steam to locomotion on land, but the precise mode of such application: its cost, and its almost illimitable advantages. It seems all but impossible to realize the fact, when carefully reading his description of the rail-way, of the locomotive—of its wheels made fast to the axle and revolving not *on* but *with* it, and held by flanges on the inner periphery from flying off at a tangent, of a whole train, or “suit,” as he calls it, of rail-way carriages, “all firmly attached to each other, and pursuing the same direction:” and of the possible speed they might attain of 40 or 50 miles an hour, but that probably “it would in practice be found convenient not to exceed 20 or 30 miles an hour;” it seems, I repeat, almost impossible to realize the fact that at that day no locomotive existed except in the creative and ingenious mind of the writer; and that no rail-road, such as he needed for his unrevealed plan, had ever been laid down.

If he had seen then, what he lived to see afterwards and from the handiwork and genius mainly of his son Robert on the Camden

PREFACE

v

and Amboy Railroad, the spectacle, ever impressive, however frequently witnessed, of long trains of cars sweeping on with the rapidity of the pigeon's flight, he could not have described with more absolute accuracy all the details of such a train, such a road, and such a locomotive, than is done in the prophetic pamphlet of 1812.

He was treated as a "visionary projector." Time has vindicated his claim to the character of a far-seeing, accurate, and skillful practical Experimentalist and Inventor; and who can estimate, if at that day, acting upon the well considered suggestion of President Madison, "of the signal advantages to be derived to the United States from a general system of internal communication and conveyance," Congress had entertained Col. Stevens' proposals, and after verifying, by actual experiment upon a small scale, the accuracy of his plan, had organized such a "general system of internal communication and conveyance;" who can begin to estimate the the inappreciable benefits that would have resulted therefrom to the comfort, the wealth, the power, and above all to the absolutely impregnable union of our great Republic and all its component parts?

All this too, Col. Stevens embraced in his views; for he was a statesman as well as an experimental philosopher; and whosoever shall attentively read this pamphlet will perceive that the political, financial, commercial and military aspects of this great question were all present to Col. Stevens' mind; and he felt that he was fulfilling a patriotic duty when he placed at the disposal of his native country these fruits of his genius.

The offering was not accepted. The THINKER was ahead of his age; but it is grateful to know that he lived to see his projects carried out, though not by the government—and that, before he finally in 1838, closed his eyes in death, at the great age of 89, he could justly feel assured that the name of *Stevens*, in his own person and that of his sons, was imperishably enrolled among those which a grateful country will cherish.

I will detain the reader no longer from the pamphlet.
Col. Coll., New-York, May, 1852.

CHAS. KING.

DOCUMENTS

TENDING TO PROVE

THE SUPERIOR ADVANTAGES

OF

RAIL-WAYS

AND

STEAM-CARRIAGES

OVER

CANAL NAVIGATION

(By JOHN STEVENS—1749-1838)

NEW-YORK :
PRINTED BY T. AND J. SWORDS,
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1812

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INTRODUCTION

THE following documents, on a subject calculated, I should suppose, to attract public attention, are committed to the press from an estimation of their importance, and from a full conviction of the practicability of the proposed improvement. On a subject of such deep interest to the community at large, I presume no apology will be necessary for the liberty I now take of laying before the public private communications.

Had the subject matter of this publication been exhibited to public view in the shape of an entire and connected essay, written expressly for the purpose, numerous repetitions and inaccuracies, both in style and matter, would not have occurred. But I am inclined to believe that the desultory manner in which it is now handled, and the unavoidable repetitions necessarily resulting therefrom, will render it more generally impressive.

Although my proposal has failed to gain the approbation of the Commissioners for the improvement of inland navigation in the State of New York, yet I feel by no means discouraged respecting the final success of the project. The very objections their Committee have brought forward serve only to increase, if possible, my confidence in the superiority of the proposed railways to canals.

So many and so important are the advantages which these States would derive from the general adoption of the proposed railways, that they ought in my humble opinion, to become an object of primary attention to the national government. The insignificant sum of two or three thousand dollars would be adequate to give the project a fair trial. On the success of this experiment a plan should be digested, "a general system of internal communication and conveyance" adopted, and the necessary surveys made

for the extension of these ways in all directions, so as to embrace and unite every section of this extensive empire. It might then indeed be truly said that these States would constitute one family, intimately connected, and held together in indissoluble bonds of union.

Should the national government be induced to make an appropriation to the amount above stated an experiment could soon be made, either in the vicinity of this city, or at Washington, as may be deemed most expedient.

But the attention of the general government is urged more imperatively to this object from the consideration of its great national importance in a fiscal point of view. If any reliance can be placed on the calculations I have made, the revenue which this mode of transportation, when brought into general use, would be capable of producing, would far exceed the aggregate amount of duties on foreign importations. However extravagant this position may at first sight appear, I contend it is capable of the strictest demonstration. It is an indisputable fact that the aggregate amount of internal commerce is vastly greater than that of external commerce. But one half of the latter, viz. exports, are, by the Constitution, exempted from the payment of duties; the other half, foreign imports only, are subject to the payment of duties.

The far greater part of domestic commerce consists of bulky articles, many of which *now* pay fifty per cent. on transportation to market. By the introduction of the proposed rail-ways, nine-tenths at least of this enormous tax would in many instances be saved, and the expense of transportation reduced from fifty to five per cent. A toll of five per cent. would raise it to ten per cent. But still the farmer, remotely situated, would save four-fifths of his present expense in the transportation of his produce to market. An average toll, then, of five per cent. would constitute a very moderate impost. But the product of such an impost would, at

no distant period, be immense. That it would far exceed any amount which could possibly be derived from duties on foreign imposts, cannot admit of a doubt.

At a period like the present, when the ordinary sources of revenue no longer continue to pour into the treasury of the United States their tributary streams, and when too we are called upon to make "arrangements and exertions for the general security;" at such a period the merits of a system promising, not merely to facilitate most astonishingly "internal communication and conveyance," but to furnish new and abundant sources of revenue, ought surely to command the attention of the general government, and cannot fail to "be seen in the strongest lights."

The extension and completion of the main arteries of such a system of communication would by no means be a work of time. It would be exempted totally from the difficulties, embarrassments, casualties, interruptions, and delays incident to the formation of canals. Requiring no supply of water—no precision and accuracy in levelling, the work could be commenced and carried on in various detached parts—its progress would be rapid, and its completion could be ascertained with certainty. Innumerable ramifications would from time to time be extended in every direction. Thus would the sources of private and public wealth, going hand in hand, increase with a rapidity beyond all parallel. For every shilling contributed towards the revenue, a dollar at least would be put into the hands of individuals.

But there remains another important point of view in which this improvement demands the attention of the general government. The celerity of communication it would afford with the distant sections of our wide extended empire, is a consideration of the utmost moment. To the rapidity of the motion of a steam-carriage on these rail-ways, no definite limit can be set. The flying Proas, as they are called by voyagers, belonging to the natives of

the Islands in the Pacific Ocean, are said at times to sail at the rate of more than twenty miles an hour. But as the resistance of the water to the progress of a vessel increases as the squares of her velocity, it is obvious that the power required to propel her must also be increased in the same ratio. Not so with a steam-carriage—as it moves in a fluid 800 times more rare than water, the resistance will be proportionably diminished. Indeed the principal resistance to its motion arises from friction, which does not even increase in a direct ratio with the velocity of the carriage, If, then, a Proa can be driven by the wind (the propulsive power of which is constantly diminishing as the velocity of the Proa increases) through so dense a fluid as water, at the rate of twenty miles an hour, I can see nothing to hinder a steam-carriage from moving on these ways with a velocity of one hundred miles an hour.*

I will now just observe, that should it be considered an object of sufficient importance, sails might be used whenever the wind was favourable. Van Bram gives a curious account of the peasantry in the country round Pekin availing themselves of sails, when the wind favoured them, for propelling the wheel-barrows in which their products are carried to market.†

In a military point of view, the advantages resulting from the establishment of these rail-ways and steam-carriages, would be incalculable. It would at once render our frontiers on every side invulnerable. Armies could be conveyed in twenty-four hours, a greater distance than it would now take them weeks or perhaps months to march.

Thus then this improvement would afford us prompt and effectual means, not only of guarding against the attacks of foreign ene-

*This astonishing velocity is considered here as merely possible. It is probable that it may not in practice be convenient to exceed twenty or thirty miles per hour. Actual experiments, however, can alone determine this matter, and I should not be surprised at seeing steam-carriages propelled at the rate of forty or fifty miles per hour

†As they still do (1916)—[Ed.]

mies, but of expeditiously quelling internal commotions; and thus securing and preserving for ever domestic tranquility.

Whatever constitutional doubts may be entertained respecting the power of Congress to cut and form canals, there can be none about the power to lay out and make roads.

I shall now close this topic with an extract of a Message from President Madison to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

"The utility of Canal navigation is universally admitted, and it is not less certain that scarcely any country offers more extensive opportunities for that branch of improvements than the United States; and none, perhaps, inducements equally persuasive to make the most of them. The particular undertaking contemplated by the State of New-York, which marks an honourable spirit of enterprise, and comprises objects of national, as well as more limited importance, will recall the attention of Congress to the signal advantages to be derived to the United States, from a general system of internal communication and conveyance; and suggest to their consideration whatever steps may be proper on their part, towards its introduction and accomplishment. As some of those advantages have an intimate connection with arrangements and exertions for the general security, it is a period calling for these, that the merits of such a system will be seen in the strongest lights.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, Dec. 2, 1811.

From local circumstances, these rail-ways are calculated to become pre-eminently beneficial to the Southern States. The great predominance of sand, and the deficiency of gravel or stone, precludes the practicability of making good turnpike roads; but the level surface, and great abundance of pine timber throughout this district of country, would not only render the construction of these rail-ways very cheap but peculiarly advantageous. By preserving nearly a horizontal level, the power requisite for the transportation of heavy bodies would be reduced astonishingly. The cheapness of fuel would reduce too the expense of supporting this power to almost nothing. Articles would be transported one hundred miles on these ways, at less expense than they could now be carried one mile on a deep sandy road. This projected improvement is surely then an object worthy of the most serious attention of the inhabitants

of the Southern States. It would at once more than double the value of their products. It appears to me calculated to hold out the most flattering prospects of gain to such enterprising individuals or companies as might be induced to embark a capital in this object.

But I consider it, in every point of view, so exclusively an object of national concern that I shall give no encouragement to private speculations, until it is ascertained that Congress will not be disposed to pay any attention to it.

Should it, however, be destined to remain unnoticed by the general government, I confess I shall feel much regret, not so much from personal as from public considerations. I am anxious and ambitious that my native country should have the honour of being the first to introduce an improvement of such immense importance to society at large, and should feel the utmost reluctance at being compelled to resort to foreigners in the first instance. As no doubt exists in my mind but that the value of the improvement would be duly appreciated, and carried into immediate effect by trans-Atlantic governments, I have been the more urgent in pressing the subject on the attention of Congress. Whatever then may be its fate, should this appeal be considered obtrusive and unimportant, or from whatever other cause or motive should it be suffered to remain unheeded, I still have the consolation of having performed what I conceive to be a public duty.

JOHN STEVENS.

New-York, May 15, 1812.

DOCUMENTS, &c.

No. I.

Copy of a Letter addressed to De Witt Clinton, Esq.

New-York, Feb. 24, 1812.

The Hon. De Witt Clinton, Esq.
Sir,

I enclose a memoir addressed to the Commissioners for exploring the route of an inland navigation, &c. The more I reflect on the plan I have proposed, the more thorough is my conviction, not merely of its practicability, but that it must eventually supersede every other mode of conveyance, where the nature of the country will admit of its introduction. Under such impressions, I consider myself impelled by duty to urge its adoption by the Commissioners.

An experiment, sufficiently extensive, to ascertain unquestionably its real merits or demerits, could be tried at the expense of two or three thousand dollars.

With sentiments of respect,

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN STEVENS.

No. II.

Copy of Mr. De Witt Clinton's Answer to the above.

Albany, March 2, 1812.

DEAR SIR,

I received your interesting communication addressed to the Commissioners of inland navigation, &c. and shall lay it before the Board at their first meeting. With my best compliments, I am yours respectfully.

DE WITT CLINTON.

JOHN STEVENS, ESQ.

No. III.

Copy of a Memoir addressed to the Commissioners.

To the Honourable the Commissioners for exploring the route of an inland navigation, &c.

The report of the Commissioners appointed by the Legislature of this State to explore the route of an inland navigation, from Hudson's River to Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, contains a luminous exposition of the vast importance of facilitating the intercourse between the western country and the tide-waters of Hudson's River.

The plan suggested of bringing the waters of Lake Erie in a canal, on an inclined plane of three hundred miles in length, to communicate with Hudson's River, is unparalleled for the boldness of its conception, and the grandeur of its object. But the magnitude of such an undertaking must necessarily protract the completion of it to a very distant day, and will have a powerful tendency to make many hesitate respecting the expediency of incurring so distant a prospect of remuneration. Still, however, I must concur most heartily with the Commissioners, when they observe, "that no supposable expense can bear an undue proportion to the value of the work. Thus, were it (by giving a loose [rein] to fancy) extended to fifty millions of dollars, even that enormous sum does not exceed half the value of what, in all human probability, and at no distant period, will annually be carried along the Canal. The more proper question perhaps is, in what time it can be effected?"

But, independently of the great consumption of time and money, incident to so vast an undertaking, there are other circumstances which require serious consideration.

The contemplated route of this Canal lies nearly in an east course from Lake Erie to Albany, and in a high northern latitude, where every thing remains locked up by frost for almost five

months during the winter season. Whereas, the southern border of Lake Erie is in a latitude one and a half degree lower, from whence easy communications may be formed with the head quarters of the Ohio and the Susquehannah, and but little interrupted by ice.

These routes, it must be confessed, are very circuitous, and the navigation of the natural rivers, in their present state, very troublesome and tedious. From the nearest point on Lake Erie to tide-water on the Delaware, at Philadelphia; on the Chesapeake, at Havre de Grace, or Baltimore, in a straight line, is but a few miles farther than to Albany. But to form a practicable navigation to either of those places by means of Canals, would make a difference of at least an hundred miles in favour of Albany. But as it respects the nature of the ground through which these Canals must pass, there is no comparison; so great and so numerous are the elevations that the route to Albany is comparatively level. When in addition to these advantageous circumstances, we take into consideration the decided superiority of the city of New-York in a commercial point of view, it will not be practicable to divert into another channel the current of trade, when once fairly established, from the interior to this city. When therefore the immense magnitude of this internal commerce is duly appreciated, every individual inhabitant of this State, but more especially of this city, ought to feel himself interested in the accomplishment of so grand an object.

From the above view of the subject, it appears that there are two considerations of primary importance to be attended to:—first, that this communication with the western country be completed with all possible despatch; and next that, if practicable, such a mode of effecting the purpose be adopted as that the travel shall at no time be interrupted.

Without further preface I will now proceed to propose a plan which, I flatter myself, embraces both these important objects. Let a Rail-way of timber be formed by the nearest practicable route

between Lake Erie and Albany. The angle of elevation in no part to exceed one degree, or such an elevation, whatever it may be, as will admit of wheel-carriages to remain stationary when no power is exerted to impel them forward. This rail-way, throughout its course, to be supported on pillars raised from three to five or six feet from the surface of the ground. The carriage-wheels of cast iron, the rims flat, with projecting flanges to fit on the surface of the rail-ways. The moving power to be a steam-engine, nearly similar in construction to that on board the *Juliana*, a ferry-boat plying between this city and Hoboken.

It would be altogether unnecessary to go into a detailed description of the mode of adopting and applying the machinery of a steam-engine to the purpose of propelling carriages placed on rail-ways. It is sufficient to say that I feel the fullest confidence in being able to convince an experienced and skilful engineer of the entire practicability of the plan.

I shall now attempt to explain the many and important advantages resulting from carrying this plan into effect:—

In the first place, as to expense. On the most exaggerated scale of calculation, the expense of such a rail-way would not exceed that of an ordinary turnpike road with a good coat of gravel on it.

Second. The far greater part of the work can be performed by common labourers, and, as no accuracy of levelling would be required, it may be commenced and carried on in as many different places as may be found expedient. It might, therefore, be accomplished with ease in one or two seasons.

Third. From its elevation above the surface of the ground, the timber of which the rail-way is framed will be little subject to decay, and from this elevation too, the travel on it can never be interrupted, as it will be raised above the ordinary level of the deepest snows.

Fourth. These rail-ways, from the nature of their construction, will be free from the numerous casualties to which canals are liable.

Fifth. The expense of transportation would be much less than on a canal of the best construction.

To prove this, a summary calculation will be necessary.

The Commissioners inform us, (under the authority of Mr. Latrobe) that "by the aid of a rail-way, one horse would transport eight tons, supposing the angle of ascent not to exceed one degree."

In Nicholson's *Journal* is an account of one horse transporting, for several miles on a rail-way, the enormous weight of more than fifty tons.

A small steam-engine then, of ten inches diameter, worked with steam, the elastic power of which was fifty pounds to the circular inch, would possess a power equal to five thousand pounds, on the whole area of the piston, moving with a velocity of three feet in a second. This exceeds the power of twenty horses; but one horse, as above stated, can transport on a rail-way eight tons, and twenty horses would at the same rate transport one hundred and sixty tons.

But after making every possible reduction for exaggeration, we may fairly state in round numbers, that a steam-engine with a cylinder of ten inches diameter, worked on the above principles, would be capable of transporting on a rail-way one hundred tons, at the rate of four miles per hour. It must be recollected that Mr. Latrobe's estimate above stated, is founded on an ascent of one degree. Now, this would give an elevation of ninety-two feet and upwards for every mile. The whole difference of elevation, estimated by the Commissioners, between the tide-water at Albany and the surface of Lake Erie, is five hundred and twenty-five feet. To gain this ascent therefore, would require somewhat less than six miles. This bears so small a proportion to the whole distance,



that it would be in a trifling degree erroneous to consider the whole distance as one level. This would much more than compensate for an increase of the rate of velocity in the steam-carriage from two and a half miles, to four miles an hour; especially when we advert to the well authenticated experiment above stated, viz. that a horse is capable of transporting more than fifty tons on a level rail-way, as the above is founded on an estimate of only five tons to each horse.

We will now proceed to estimate the expense per ton, of this mode of transportation.

The steam-engine of the above mentioned size would require about a cord of wood to keep it constantly going for the whole twenty-four hours; but to silence all cavil, we will state the consumption of wood at three cord a day. Wood, at an average throughout the whole distance, may be procured for one dollar a cord, but we will estimate it at two dollars a cord. To attend the fire and perform any other services that may be required, we will allow four men, at one dollar each per day, is four dollars; which, added to the cost of three cords of wood, would make ten dollars a day. The whole distance then of two hundred and eighty miles, from Lake Erie to Albany, would be travelled in three days. Say the back load would average only one-third of a full freight, there would then remain five days, at ten dollars a day, amounting to fifty dollars, for the expense of transporting one hundred tons of produce a distance of two hundred and eighty miles, which is at the rate of fifty cents per ton. But the Commissioners have estimated the expense of transportation, through the contemplated canal, from Lake Erie to Hudson's River, at three dollars per ton.

In the above calculation, interest on the capital expended, wear and tear, and repairs of machinery, carriages, rail-ways, &c. and no doubt many other incidental charges, are not included. But were we even to double the rate of transportation, raising it from fifty cents to one dollar per ton, still it would amount to only

one-third of what the Commissioners have stated as above. But, if the construction of rail-ways would require only about one-fourth of the capital estimated for a canal, and the transportation thereon could be afforded at one dollar per ton, instead of three dollars, it is easy to see what an immense revenue the state might derive from toll, and still permit transportation to be performed for much less than it could be done by a canal.

But here I expect to be encountered at the very threshold—to be stigmatized as a visionary projector. Have not, it will be said steam-engines and rail-ways been long in use in England? And should it be practicable to apply them to such immense advantage in the improvement of transportation, would it not have been done in that country long ago? To this *argumentum ad hominem*, thanks to the enterprise and active genius of our citizens, we are *now* furnished with ready and conclusive answers. Mr. Latrobe, in a memoir published in the third volume of the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, animadverting on the projects “for propelling boats by steam-engines,” uses these remarkable expressions: “A sort of mania began to prevail, which indeed has not yet entirely subsided.” It is surely unnecessary to say, that in despite of the formidable objections (no less than six) he has urged, “from which,” as he tells us, “no particular mode of application can be free;” in despite of these anathemas, the project, as we all with pleasure can testify, has completely succeeded. Another gentleman, in the *American Medical and Philosophical Register*, for April, 1811, has given a demonstration to prove that a small obstacle would be sufficient to stop a carriage impelled by a steam-engine. That on roads perfectly hard and smooth it could not ascend an inclined plane of seven or eight degrees; and concludes with saying, that “in whatever point of view we place this subject, we shall be more and more convinced of its futility.” He, however, in another place expresses himself as follows: “If roads were perfectly hard, smooth, and level, such an engine would probably have

the advantage over common carriages, because a small power, continually exerted, would give a degree of velocity that could not be supported by horses." This admission is amply sufficient to defend the plan now proposed, against the force of his demonstration, and renders it unnecessary to go into any investigation to point out its defects.

If then, notwithstanding the host of objections, "from which no particular plan can be free," the steam-engine has been successfully applied to propelling boats, we surely need not despair of applying it with success also to propelling carriages. But surely the mere novelty and magnitude of the proposed improvement ought not to startle us. We are too apt to look up with reverential awe to what has usually been called the mother-country, for every improvement in the arts, without considering how recent has been the introduction and establishment of these arts, in that very country.

It is but about a century ago that the first crude attempts to apply the power of steam to useful purposes were made; and it is as it were but yesterday, that the Duke of Bridgewater first introduced canals, which have since been so astonishingly multiplied in that country. And as to rail-ways, they are of a much more recent date, and are at present very limited in their use and application. A project therefore, promising such vast improvement, in the transportation of commodities to and from the interior of our country if not stamped with absurdity on the very face of it, surely merits the most serious consideration: and on this occasion, I have every reason to felicitate myself on my good fortune. When I reflect on the high standing in society and enlightened patriotism of the gentlemen who are in the first instance to pass judgment on the plan I have proposed, I feel perfectly satisfied that its real merits whatever they may be, will be duly appreciated.

It may be objected that, although the elevation on the railways may secure them in a great measure from decay, yet the con-

stant transit of the wheels over them, will very soon wear them out, in like manner as we see happens to the plank on bridges. But the cases are by no means similar. As the plank on bridges are laid cross-ways, the warping of the plank, and the enlargement of the cracks or seams between each, causes inequalities in the surface; this produces more or less jolting in the motion of the wheels of carriages passing over. But what tends still more to wear away the plank, are the heads of the nails in the tire of the wheels, and also the nails and calks in the horse shoes: whereas, the surfaces of both the rail-ways, and the rims of the carriage-wheels, are made in the first instance perfectly smooth and free from all inequalities of surface, and as the rims of the wheels will always continue so, the rail-ways can never be affected by any thing except mere pressure: I should presume therefore that they will be but little subject to wear. But wherever this wear takes place, they can be renewed again at a trifling expense. But should, contrary to expectation, experience prove these rail-ways to be so subject to wear as that the frequency of their renewal becomes inconvenient and expensive, recourse could be had at any time to cast or plated iron rail-ways, which, without any further trouble and expense, could be fastened on the top of the wooden rail-ways. I would beg leave to suggest that an experiment by which the real value of the plan now proposed might be completely and satisfactorily ascertained, could be made for a few thousand dollars.

As the power of the engine is expended principally in overcoming friction, which is increased in but a small degree by an increase of velocity, and may be removed almost entirely by using friction wheels, a carriage may be made, by a small increase of power, to acquire a velocity far greater than could be given by the fleetest horses; and as, too, the rail-roads must be incomparably better than the best turnpike road could possibly be made, I am by no means prepared to say what limits may be set to the rapidity with which a carriage may be driven on these ways.

New-York, Feb. 24, 1812.

JOHN STEVENS.

No. IV

Extract of a Letter from Robert R. Livingston, Esq.

Albany, 11th March, 1812

DEAR SIR,

I did not, till yesterday, receive yours of the 25th of February; where it has loitered on the road I am at a loss to say. I had before read your very ingenious propositions as to the rail-way communication. I fear, however, on mature reflection, that they will be liable to serious objections, and ultimately more expensive than a canal. They must be double, so as to prevent the danger of two such heavy bodies meeting. The walls on which they are placed must at least be four feet below the surface, and three above, and must be clamped with iron, and even then would hardly sustain so heavy a weight as you propose moving at the rate of four miles an hour on wheels. As to wood, it would not last a week: they must be covered with iron, and that too very thick and strong. The means of stopping these heavy carriages without a great shock, and of preventing them from running upon each other, (for there would be many on the road at once) would be very difficult. In case of accidental stops, or the necessary stops to take wood and water, &c. many accidents would happen. The carriage of condensing water would be very troublesome. Upon the whole, I fear the expense would be much greater than that of canals, without being so convenient.

No. V

Answer to Robert R. Livingston's Objections.

New-York, March 16, 1812.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 11th inst. I have just now received, and as you probably will not remain in Albany until this letter reaches that place, I have directed it to Mr. G. Morris, that the Commissioners

may be duly apprized of the answers I shall give to your objections against the proposed rail-ways.

“I fear,” you say, “the expense would be much greater than that of canals.” I have in my memoir stated the expense of the rail-ways at one-fourth of that of a canal; and for the reasons I shall now assign, I am now convinced the difference of expense between them will be much greater, if wood only is used.

The Commissioners have estimated the expense of excavating a canal, fifteen yards wide, and three feet deep, “at \$ 1,500,000, drawn through a favourable soil, lying conveniently without the opposition of rocks or other impediments. Many of these, however, must be expected, and will perhaps double that sum.”

Thus then, the cost of the canal merely, is estimated by the commissioners at \$ 3,000,000. “If the locks be put at \$ 1,500,000, it is the lowest rate that can prudently be supposed. It would indeed be safer to set them at two millions.”

Not one shilling of this aggregate sum of five millions would be required in the erection of rail-ways. “There will still remain for aqueducts, embankments, and mounds, a considerable expenditure and, “it is believed that one million of dollars would provide for every thing of this sort.” Nearly one half of this sum would be required in constructing a mound over the Cayuga lake, one hundred and thirty feet high, sixty feet wide at top, with a base of one hundred and ninety feet at bottom: whereas, the railways would not require a mound at this place of one-tenth part of this magnitude, and so in proportion throughout the whole distance. We will, however, estimate the necessary embankments, mounds, &c. (aqueducts, none would be wanted) at half a million of dollars. There now remains then the cost of the rail-ways to be calculated. I shall, in the first instance, suppose the whole to be constructed of wood. Calculating timber at New-York price of twelve and a half cents per cubic foot; four rails then, of six inches

wide, by twelve inches deep, would make two cubic feet or twenty-five cents a foot, running measure, equal to \$1,320 per mile. The posts or pillars, say eight feet long, at twenty-five cents apiece, twelve feet apart, four rows would be one dollar for every twelve feet, or \$ 440 per mile. Digging holes, setting post braces, and carpenter's work, \$740. Total \$2,500 per mile, or \$750,000 for the whole distance of three hundred miles. This sum of \$750,000, added to \$500,000, estimated above for embankments, mounds, &c. makes an aggregate sum of \$1,250,000 for the whole expense of the rail-ways. And should they even require to be totally renewed once in every ten years, still a capital of \$ 1,500,000, or double the sum of \$750,000, would be more than adequate to the purpose.

For the reasons already assigned in the memoir, these wooden ways must be much more durable than the plank on a bridge; and I must confess I do not perceive on what grounds you found your assertion, when you say that they would not last a week.

But were we to admit the absolute necessity, in the first instance, of shoeing these rail-ways with iron, the whole expense of them would fall far short of the cost of a canal. For this purpose, I should prefer plate iron of about an eighth of an inch thick. Such plates, I presume, might be procured for twelve and a half cents per pound; at which rate the shoeing four rails would cost somewhat less than \$ 4000 per mile, or \$ 1,200,000 for the whole distance. Should, however, cast iron be preferred, plates of an inch thick would cost, for the whole distance, about \$ 3,000,000. These plates, provided they remained unaffected by frost, would last an age, and by protecting the wooden ways from the effects of the weather, will render them also very durable.

One manifest advantage would, however, attend the adoption of these rail-ways; we would be able to count the cost of the undertaking with sufficient accuracy, before the business was commenced; whereas the cost of a canal is, in a great measure, conjectural, and

may at all events, be estimated at more than double the sum calculated upon by the Commissioners.

But after all, I must beg leave to refer once more to the very judicious observations of the Commissioners, on the subject of expense. "No supposeable expense can bear an undue proportion to the value of the work. Thus, were it (by giving a loose [rein] to fancy) extended to fifty millions of dollars, even that enormous sum does not exceed half the value of what, in all human probability, and at no distant period, will annually be carried along the canal. The more proper question, perhaps, is, in what *time* can it be effected."

Were I not thoroughly convinced of the many superior advantages of the proposed rail-ways over canals, the mere saving of expense would not alone induce me to press their adoption. But were rail-ways to cost fifty millions of dollars, whilst a canal could be completed for five, yet, if there is any truth in my calculations, still the rail-ways would ultimately prove the cheapest. Two-thirds of the expense of transportation would be saved, by substituting rail-ways in the place of a canal. The period is not far distant then, when the annual amount of this saving would be equal to legal interest on a capital of fifty millions, even should the calculation be founded on the supposition that the increase of population in the western country should in future be in no greater ratio than what it has been for the last ten years. But the increase of population will most assuredly be in a much greater ratio, more especially should these rail-ways be speedily completed.

When you say that a thick stone wall, "clamped with iron, could hardly sustain so heavy a weight, moving at the rate of four miles an hour on wheels," you appear to have formed an erroneous idea of the distribution of the weight. One hundred tons placed on four wheels would indeed be a very "heavy weight." But it is not contemplated to put more than one ton on four wheels, or, certainly not more than two tons, which would be only five hundred, or at

most, one thousand pounds on each wheel. So moderate a weight could surely have little or no tendency to crush down the ways; and the quicker the passage of the wheels over them, the less would be this tendency.

But I am surprised that you should consider canals as being more convenient than the proposed rail-ways. I must own that I am not able to perceive that canals, in this respect, have in any one particular a preference over them; but on the contrary, they have in many respects a preference over canals.

In the first place, as there are no locks to pass through, and separate ways for the up and down transit, there can never be any interruptions or detentions. And every one, whether he is induced to travel, either by business or pleasure, can calculate with certainty and precision when he will arrive at the end of his journey; I may indeed say with almost absolute certainty; for it must be recollected, that the simplicity and equable motion of the machinery, and the perfect uniformity of the work to be performed, precludes almost entirely the possibility of derangement. Wind and tide, rough or smooth water, light or darkness, would have no influence whatever over steam-carriages moving on these ways.

It cannot be denied then, that these circumstances must render the travel on those rail-ways *very convenient*. But it is not the certainty alone, but the celerity and dispatch of this mode of travelling, which gives it so decided a preference to navigating on a canal, and indeed, to every other mode of conveyance. The farmer, who carries his produce to market, will by means of this mode of conveyance, save three days out of four. And by means of it also, the traveller will, in one day, perform more than a week's journey on a canal.

But "many accidents would happen by carriages running against each other, in cases of accidental or necessary stops." There are easy and obvious modes of effectually guarding against

all accidents of this sort. In the first place, deposits of wood and water must be formed every ten or twelve miles; and each suite of carriages must make no regular halt except at those places. As to accidental stops, these, for the reasons assigned above, will very rarely or never happen. The stopping places must, of course, be always on level ground. And it must be an invariable and established rule, that *all* the carriages which stop at one time and place, be firmly connected to each other.

Whilst these regulations are strictly observed, no accidents of this sort can ever happen. The conductor of each suite of carriages is precisely acquainted with the position of every stopping place, and governs himself accordingly. He takes care to bring to in time, so as not to run against other carriages; and should it be necessary, (although I am inclined to think it will not) means might readily be taken to bring to more expeditiously. For the accommodation of carriages for carrying passengers, it will be very practicable and easy to contrive, at each of these stopping places, a mode of turning out on the adjoining ways, so as to admit of their passing the carriages for the transport of heavy articles.

“But the means of stopping these heavy carriages, without a great shock, would be very difficult.” It is very surprising that you should apprehend the least difficulty about a thing so easy to effect. On stopping the engine, the friction of the wheels turning on the axis, will gradually retard the motion of the whole suite of carriages (the friction operating uniformly at the axis of each wheel) till at length they will all, almost imperceptibly, become stationary without the possibility of producing any thing like a *shock*.

“The carriage of condensing water, would be very troublesome.” I am persuaded you would never have advanced this objection, had you adverted to the circumstance of my stating expressly in the memoir, that the engine was to be wrought by the elasticity of the steam merely.

I have now fully, and, as I conceive, satisfactorily answered every objection you have urged, and, of course, they have only served to establish more firmly in my mind, the very favourable sentiments I entertain respecting the practical utility of the proposed rail-ways.

Yours, &c.,

JOHN STEVENS.

Addressed to GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, ESQ.

Chairman to the board of Commissioners for inland navigation.

No. V

The following is a Copy of a Letter addressed to Gouverneur Morris, Esq. Chairman to the Commissioners for the Improvement of Inland Navigation.

New-York, March 11, 1812.

SIR,

I lately enclosed, in a letter directed to De Witt Clinton, Esq. a memoir addressed to the Commissioners, which no doubt he has communicated to the board. In this memoir I have endeavoured to prove, and I hope not unsatisfactorily, the great superiority of the proposed rail-ways to canals. The only question then is, whether steam-engines can without much difficulty be applied to the purpose of propelling carriages. To the expression of an opinion on this matter, I certainly have some pretensions to competency. After having then maturely considered the subject, I am firmly convinced that steam-engines can be applied to propelling carriages on these rail-ways with much more facility than they are now made use of for propelling boats. The machinery of a steam-engine, requisite for propelling carriages, may be simplified greatly. Cog-wheels, air-pumps, condensing apparatus, plug-frame and fly-wheels, can all be dispensed with. Of course then, the liability of the machinery to derangement will be proportionably diminish-

ed. But to place this matter beyond all possibility of doubt, let it be subjected to the infallible test of actual experiment. As has already been stated in my letter to Mr. Clinton, "an experiment sufficiently extensive to ascertain unquestionably the real merits or demerits of this projected plan, could be tried at the expense of two or three thousand dollars." It remains then for the Commissioners to determine whether the advantages which this plan promises afford sufficient inducements to authorize them to recommend an appropriation of a moderate sum, to be applied to the making the necessary experiments. I now pledge myself that the expense of these experiments shall not exceed \$3,000.

I am aware how unnecessary it would be to attempt to point out to you the magnitude and importance of the consequences which must necessarily result from these rail-ways and steam-carriages coming into general use. The communications between the extremes of this extensive empire would be rendered beyond all conception rapid, and at all seasons, and in all weathers, invariably certain. What influence these circumstances would have on the moral, political, and intellectual attainments of the citizens of these States, cannot now be duly appreciated; but unquestionably, their permanent prosperity and happiness, as well as temporary ease and comfort, would be greatly promoted.

Should any objections occur, either to yourself, or any of the rest of the members of your board, against the plan I have submitted to their consideration, you will confer a particular favour by stating them to me. Pardon the trouble which my solicitude on this subject occasions. I must confess, that having been somewhat instrumental in the introduction of the art of propelling boats by means of steam, I feel ambitious of the honour of introducing the application of the same agent to propelling carriages. And as *steam-boats* have been first brought into practical use on the waters of the Hudson, so I hope and trust that it will not be long before

the abundant products of our interior will be conveyed to the banks of this noble river by means of *steam-carriages*.

I am, Sir,

Yours, &c.

JOHN STEVENS.

No. VI.

The following is a Copy of a Letter from Mr. G. Morris.

Albany, 16th March, 1812.

SIR,

I am directed, by the Board of Commissioners, to transmit the enclosed copy of a report made by the committee to which your letter was referred. I avail myself of the opportunity to present the assurances of that respect with which I have the honour to be,

Sir, your obedient servant,

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

No. VII.

Copy of the Report of the Committee.

The Committee to whom was referred the Communication from John Stevens, Esq. recommending the construction of a Wooden Rail-Way,

REPORT,

That they have considered the said communication with the attention due to a gentleman whose scientific researches and knowledge of mechanical powers entitle his opinions to great respect, and are sorry not to concur in them.

Mr. Stevens proposes a rail-way, on which a steam-engine is to propel, by a force equal to the competent number of horses, one hundred tons, at the rate of four miles an hour.

As horses move on the earth when drawing a weight, it is believed that an equal power must, to produce the same effect, have sufficient hold on the earth; and it is doubted whether an engine in a waggon can work it forward with as much advantage as horses on a road.

If the engine turn the wheels, and propel the weight by their friction on the rail-ways, it may be questioned whether the effect will equal expectation.

The rims of the wheels (however accurate) will, it is apprehended, impede (by their friction) the progressive motion. Such at least would be the case were the waggon drawn by horses.

Friction must be increased if the logs of the rail-way should warp. And it may be doubted whether workmen could be found of sufficient skill (even could they have a choice of seasoned timber) to prevent the warping of logs by change of weather, from hot to cold and from wet to dry.

If the rims and rail-ways should not fit exactly, there might result such variance of direction, as would bring the rims to cut the rails. But if the wheels fit exactly when the logs are green or wet, they can do so no longer when those logs become seasoned and dry. If on the contrary the rail-way should be constructed of dry and seasoned stuff, wheels when well fitted to it would, when rain or damp air had swollen the rails, be squeezed along with difficulty.

Supposing, nevertheless, that non-elastic incompressible rail-ways were so constructed as not to warp, the slightest failure of foundation on either side would give a bias, which (to use a workman's phrase) throwing it out of truth, might occasion its destruction by lateral pressure.

But the result just mentioned would be produced, unless foundations are laid below the power of frost, and of materials

sufficiently solid to bear the grèat incumbent pressure proposed in the shock of rapid motion.

And thus we are definitely led to ask whether a rail-way can be constructed of sufficient strength. It is proposed that one hundred tons be put in motion on it, at the rate of four miles per hour, which is nearly two yards in a second. If this motion were produced by force fixed to the earth, it must not only be equal to the weight multiplied into the velocity, but as much greater as would be needful to overcome the resistance of friction. No formula has yet been discovered by which to calculate the proportion between power, friction and effect, but experience has demonstrated that friction is always a deduction from power. Where that operates (as is supposed to be intended on the present occasion) by friction, at the circumference of wheels, overcoming that which is at their axis, (and propelling so great a weight) the deduction must be greater than in common cases. Put it however, for the present, at nothing, and for the weight of waggon, steam-engine, and fuel, allow nothing: still, we shall have force 100, and weight 100, (together 200) working with a velocity of four miles per hour by friction, on a rail-way. It does not seem probable that a way could be made of sufficient strength.

But if it can, the Committee conceive that it must be composed of materials much more solid and durable than wood. Moreover, as it is self-evident that the same way will not serve for carriages going and returning, the expense, which would (it is conceived) for a single way exceed that of a canal, must be doubled, and would therefore render the construction unadviseable, were it sanctioned by experience.

A true copy from the minutes.

JOHN L. MORTON,
Secretary to the Canal Commissioners.

No. VIII.

Answer to the Report of the Committee.

The objections urged against the proposed rail-ways in the above report of the Committee, appear to me so void of real foundation, that I am constrained to repeat again the sentiment I have already expressed in my answer to the objections brought forward by Mr. Livingston. These objections "have only served to establish more firmly in my mind the very favourable sentiments I entertain respecting the practical utility of the proposed rail-ways."

The respect however, due to the gentlemen who constituted this Committee, prompts me to give the following answer.

It is an established principle, resulting from the laws of motion, that all bodies are indifferent to a state of motion or rest. When therefore, by any means, a determinate velocity is given to a body, that body would continue to move *ad infinitum*, with the velocity originally impressed upon it, were it not resisted by some other force or power. Thus, were we to suppose a sphere or cylinder, perfectly hard and smooth, to be set in motion upon a horizontal plain, also perfectly smooth and hard, it would revolve round the earth for ever, were it not impeded by the resistance of the atmosphere. Gravity, in this case, would have no tendency either to retard or accelerate its motion, as the action of gravity would always be exerted in a direction perpendicular to the line of motion. But a rail-way cannot, in practice, be constructed of materials perfectly hard and smooth; and although friction rollers in the hubs of the wheels would take off from the axis a large share of friction, yet still there would remain a considerable quantity to be overcome: what this would amount to in practice, cannot theoretically be precisely ascertained. However, the fact of one horse drawing on a rail-way upwards of fifty tons for several miles, furnishes sufficient data to calculate upon. We may certainly, with great safety, estimate a steam-engine of a two-horse power, adequate to

the purpose of giving motion to one hundred tons weight, on a horizontal rail-way. But it is proposed to give to this rail-way, where necessary, an ascent of one degree. On these occasions then, there will be required a power equal to somewhat more than one-sixtieth part of the whole weight of one hundred tons; we will call it three thousand five hundred pounds. This, added to the two horse power necessary to overcome friction, &c., on a horizontal plain, would make a sum total of four thousand pounds. But I have stated already the power of the steam-engine at five thousand pounds. But Mr. Latrobe has estimated that "by the aid of a rail-way, one horse would transport eight tons, supposing the angle of ascent not to exceed one degree." One hundred tons, then, would require twelve and a half horses, allowing two hundred and fifty pounds for each horse; the power of twelve and a half horses would equal only three thousand one hundred and twenty-five pounds, instead of four thousand, as above estimated.

But when it is considered that more than nineteen-twentieths of the whole distance will be nearly on a horizontal level, which would require no more than a two or three horse power, instead of twenty, at which the engine is estimated, we surely need not apprehend a deficiency of power. But "as horses move on the earth, when drawing a weight, it is believed that an equal power must, to produce the same effect, have sufficient hold on the earth: and it is doubted whether an engine in a waggon can work it forward with as much advantage as horses on a road."

I must confess I cannot perceive the force of this objection; and fearful that it might contain something which had escaped my attention, I submitted it to a number of scientific gentlemen, who un-animously concur with me that, provided the wheels do not slip on the ways, the whole power of the engine is exerted to the best advantage in propelling the carriage forward. There will, no doubt, in proportion as the shackle-pin approaches to or recedes from the periphery of the wheel, be a difference in the relative velocity of the

carriage and the piston; whereas the horse and the carriage always move forwards with the same velocity.

“If the engine turn the wheels, and propel the weight by their friction on the rail-way, it may be questioned whether the effect will equal expectations.”

No *friction* (except at the hubs) results from the revolutions of the wheels on the rail-ways. *Resistance* will, however, occur, in proportion to the frequency and magnitude of the elevations and depressions of the rail-ways, and their deviations from a horizontal plain.

“The rims of the wheels, however accurate, will, it is apprehended impede, by their friction, the progressive motion. Such at least would be the case, were the waggon drawn by horses.”

It has just now been stated, that no friction whatever takes place at the rims of the wheels of a carriage on a rail-way. This would invariably be the case, whether the carriage were propelled by horses or by a steam-engine.

“But the timber of these rail-ways would be liable to warp.” I would propose to construct the ways of white pine, twelve inches deep, and six wide at bottom, reduced to four at top, and of as great a length as can conveniently be had, say fifty or sixty feet. Now, if the supports are thirteen feet apart, these pieces will rest on them in five or six different places, where they can be confined immovable. Under such circumstances it is not possible they should warp. As pine, although sufficiently strong to support the weight of the carriages, would be too soft for the rims of the wheels to run on, cap-pieces of oak, two inches thick, and four inches wide, must be fastened on the top of the rails.

But these rails will be liable to shrink and swell with “the changes of the weather, from hot to cold, and from wet to dry.” From the observations I have made on this subject, the greatest

variations of dimension in a piece of timber of four inches wide, does not, from the joint operation of these causes, exceed the eighth of an inch; but were it even half an inch, the effects apprehended by the Committee could never occur. The extremities of the rims of the wheels should be about two inches deep, and curving outwards in such a manner as merely to squeeze the rail, when, on any variation of direction, the projections of the rims should be made to come in contact with either side of the rails. As, however, the wheels to which the shackle pins are fixed are wedged fast on each end of an axis revolving with them, they are necessarily prevented from deviating from the line of draught. And as the carriages, which are drawn behind, are firmly attached to each other, they must all pursue one course.

For these reasons I still continue decidedly of opinion, that wooden rail-ways will answer well in practice, and be but little subject to wear, But should experience hereafter prove the fallacy of the ideas I now entertain respecting wooden rail-ways, recourse could at any time be had to iron. Not one shilling of unnecessary expense would be incurred. The iron, whether wrought or cast, could be fastened on the top of the wooden rails, and the business would be done: All the objections which have been urged against wood, as an unfit material, would thus be completely obviated.

But it would be essentially necessary that "foundations be laid below the power of frost, and of materials sufficiently solid." And should it also be found necessary that the wheels should be made to run on iron, the Committee give it as their opinion that the expense would exceed more than double that of a canal.

In support of this assertion they exhibit no proofs, they advance no calculations. The Commissioners themselves acknowledge that with respect to a canal it "would be unpardonably presumptuous, should they pretend to accuracy of calculation." The truth is, as I have elsewhere observed, that any estimation of the cost of

a canal, such as is contemplated, must, from the nature of the business, be in a great measure conjectural. In their former report sum they have stated it at five millions, and in their late report they up the whole expense at six millions of dollars.* Nine-tenths, or perhaps ninety-nine-one-hundredths of this expense will be incurred for labour bestowed principally in excavating ground at present unexplored. Without taking into calculation, then, the great want of economy and gross abuses which ever attend all public works, there is every reason to believe that were the estimate of the Commissioners doubled, it would fall far short of the ultimate cost of the proposed canal. But as has been already well observed in the former report of the Commissioners, the magnitude of the expense is not an object of the first moment. Were a canal to cost ten times as much as the proposed rail-ways, if decidedly preferable, the difference of expense should by no means prevent its being carried into effect. And so, on the contrary, should the rail-ways be found most convenient and eligible, the difference in expense ought not to be regarded.

I shall now proceed to a minute calculation of the cost of rail-ways executed in the most solid and permanent manner, Such, however, is the nature of the work, that the far greater part of it is susceptible of being calculated with a great degree of precision and accuracy.

It will be necessary to reduce the angle of elevation throughout the whole course of the rail-ways so as no part of it shall exceed one degree. To effect this the hills must be reduced by cuttings, and the vallies raised by mounds. But the expense of these operations will be in no comparison as great as would be required for a canal. As the course of a canal must be level, or very nearly so, the depth of the cuttings and the elevation of the mounds must be in proportion. The Commissioners have estimated the expenditure for "aqueducts, embankments, and mounds" at one million

*As a matter of fact, the Erie Canal had cost, when opened in 1825, \$7,602,000.

dollars. But as they have estimated the cost of a mound over the Cayuga Lake at nearly one half this sum, there would remain then about half a million to be applied to these purposes. But for railways no aqueducts would be required, and as a variation of one degree from a horizontal line admits of elevations and depressions of upwards of ninety-two feet in a mile, it perhaps might be practicable to carry the rail-way through from Albany to Lake Erie with scarcely any occasion for the removal of earth. For the reduction then of elevations, and the erection of necessary bridges, \$250,000 appear more than sufficient; but, to silence all cavil, we will put it at half a million.

I have met with no person yet, the least conversant on the subject, who entertains the smallest doubt about the strength of wooden supports. Wood, it must be conceded, falls far short of stone or brick in respect of durability. But as I have already stated, it may still be the most economical material. Although then I can see no valid objection against the use of wood, I will, merely to satisfy the gentlemen of the Committee, substitute stone or brick in the following estimate.

It may be urged that extensive tracts in the course of the railways are destitute of stone proper for the purpose, and that clay for the making bricks cannot be found every where. It will not, I presume, be contested that in a distance of three hundred miles, through a country no section of which, except from Albany to Schenectady, is sandy, a number of places will be found affording good building stone, and good clay for making bricks. By commencing the rail-ways in the vicinity of such places, stone and brick could be transported to wherever these articles may be wanted, at a trifling expense. I have stated the actual expense of transportation at fifty cents per ton for three hundred miles. Supposing then, that some parts of the way may require a transportation of materials a distance of twenty miles; this rate, at the above, would amount to three and one-third cents per ton, But to avoid all dispute, let

the average amount of expense of transportation of materials be estimated at twelve and a half cents per ton. We will, in the first instance, suppose the pillars are composed of brick, six feet high, and eighteen inches square. Each pillar will contain about two hundred bricks. In every thirteen feet of the rail-way three pillars will be required, or at least six hundred bricks.

600 bricks, at \$3 per 1000, is	\$1. 80
6-10 of a day's work of a mason	. 75
Do. of a labourer	. 60
Lime	. 50
Digging, &c.	. 35

—\$4 for every

thirteen feet of rail-way, or \$20 a chain,=\$1,600 per mile. Should stone be used, we may add fifty per cent. or \$2,400 per mile. Estimating timber at twelve and a half cents a foot, which is certainly more than double what it may be got for, the timber for the ways, and the carpenter's work would come to about \$1,500 per mile.

There cannot be a doubt that wrought iron is on various accounts preferable to cast iron for the wheels to run on, provided it is of sufficient thickness. I would propose then to take for this purpose bar iron of half an inch thick and four inches broad. This may be had, at retail price, at six cents per pound, but certainly at much less by the large quantity. It takes about four cubic inches of wrought iron to make a pound—each inch then of these bars will weigh half a pound, and four of them will weigh two pound per inch or twenty-four pound per foot, at six cents per pound=144 cents per foot, or \$7,603 per mile.

Bar iron plates	\$7,603 per mile.
Brick pillars	1,600
Timber ways	1,500

\$10,703, or \$3,210,900 for the

whole distance of 300 miles. . .

For reducing elevation, &c.

	500,000
Total	<u>\$3,710,900.</u>

Should stone however be used, the expense will be enhanced \$800 per mile, or \$240,000 for the whole distance, making a sum total of \$3,950,900.

Thus then, executed in the most durable manner, with stone or brick pillars and iron ways, this great undertaking could be completed for a sum certainly not exceeding four millions of dollars. The only article of expenditure in the foregoing estimate liable to uncertainty is the reduction of elevations of the ground throughout the course of the rail-ways, so as not to exceed one degree. But the Commissioners must have erred very widely from the truth in that part of their estimate relative to the reducing hills, and raising vallies to a horizontal plain, or nearly so, or the sum assigned to the foregoing object must be more than sufficient. The shortest distance between Albany and Lake Erie is two hundred and eighty miles, whereas the Commissioners, in their late report, have conceived it necessary, in order to preserve the requisite levels, to extend the route of the canal in a circuitous course to three hundred and fifty miles. With a rise and fall of ninety-two feet in a mile. it will by no means be necessary for the rail-ways to make so extensive a circuit. It probably will be practicable to conduct these ways by a route not exceeding three hundred miles. This will not only be a saving in the expense of construction, but, what will be much more important, it will effect a great saving in the time and expense of transportation.

I have now answered, and I expect satisfactorily, every objection made by the Committee. These objections are aimed principally against the use of wood. As iron, stone, or brick are now substituted, they of course become inapplicable. And as the doubt the Commissioners have expressed "whether an engine in a waggon can work it forward with as much advantage as horses on a road" has not the least foundation, the only objection then remaining is, that the expense of rail-ways would be more than double

that of a canal. But if the above estimate is not very erroneous, the rail-ways will not cost one half as much as a canal.

But as the Commissioners, in their late report have abandoned the idea of taking the waters of Lake Erie in an inclined plane to the Hudson, a never-failing supply of water will be required at the summit level or levels. It is a notorious fact that tracts of country always become more or less arid as they become cleared of timber. Whether then a sufficient supply of water will at all times be commanded, when the country through which the canal is to pass becomes fully populated, is a very serious and important question. Besides, canals are liable to innumerable casualties. Sudden torrents frequently produce incalculable mischief. It is often extremely difficult to prevent and stop effectually leaks in a loose porous soil. The frosts in winter and droughts in summer will occasion cracks in the clay. Vermin of various descriptions are perpetually perforating holes. Weeds are ever very troublesome, and difficult to eradicate. Their roots are constantly penetrating into the loose earth, and occasioning leaks. The locks are perpetually requiring repairs. Whereas I know of no casualties to which rail-ways, constructed as now proposed, are liable. Whilst the materials last, they must ever remain unaffected by any thing short of an earthquake. When it is considered too that the travel on these ways remains always, winter and summer, uninterrupted—that there are no locks or other circumstances to occasion delay—that the expense of transportation would not be more than one-third of that on a canal, and the original expense of construction not more than one-half—when, I say, all these things are taken into consideration, how can we hesitate to give a preference to the rail-ways?

But, notwithstanding the many inconveniences I have enumerated, the great utility of canals is “sanctioned by experience;” whereas the practical utility of rail-ways, on the proposed construction, remains yet to be ascertained by actual experiment.

But when millions are to be expended, shall a few thousand dollars be grudged to make the experiment on an object promising so fairly?

But it would be useless to pursue the subject farther. Should what has been already said be insufficient to open the eyes of the Committee, I have only to lament that their blindness on this occasion will certainly be followed by future regret. A discovery, more especially a physical one, when once made and its development fairly exhibited before the public, can never, if of any importance, be lost or suppressed. Sooner or later, then, the improvement now proposed will be brought into general use, and, if I mistake not, long before the projected canal will be completed.

It will obviously occur that a number of passages contained in the report of the Committee are not particularly noticed. If, for instance, no particular notice is taken of the following passages, viz. "If this motion were produced by force fixed to the earth, it must not only be equal to the weight multiplied into the velocity"—Again—"No formula has yet been discovered by which to calculate the proportion between power, friction, and effect"—"Still we shall have force 100, and weight 100. (together 200) working with a velocity of four miles per hour by friction on a rail-way." If these and some other passages are not particularly noticed, yet a due attention to what has been advanced in the above reply to the Committee's objections, will satisfy every impartial reader that they have been *all* substantially answered.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS

OF THE

REVOLUTIONARY WAR

BY

MAJOR JOHN BURNHAM, OF GLOUCESTER

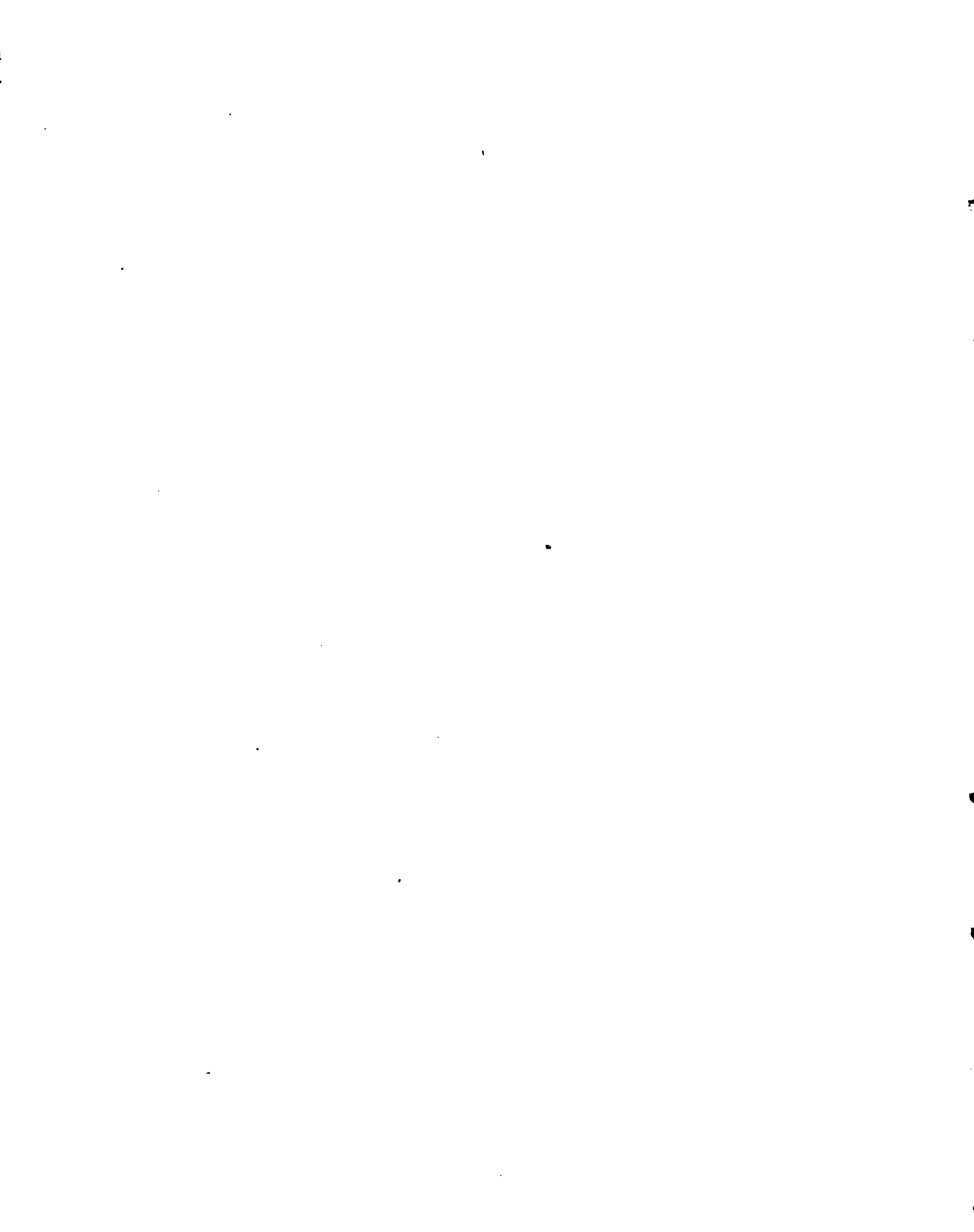
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RECOLLECTIONS

OF THE

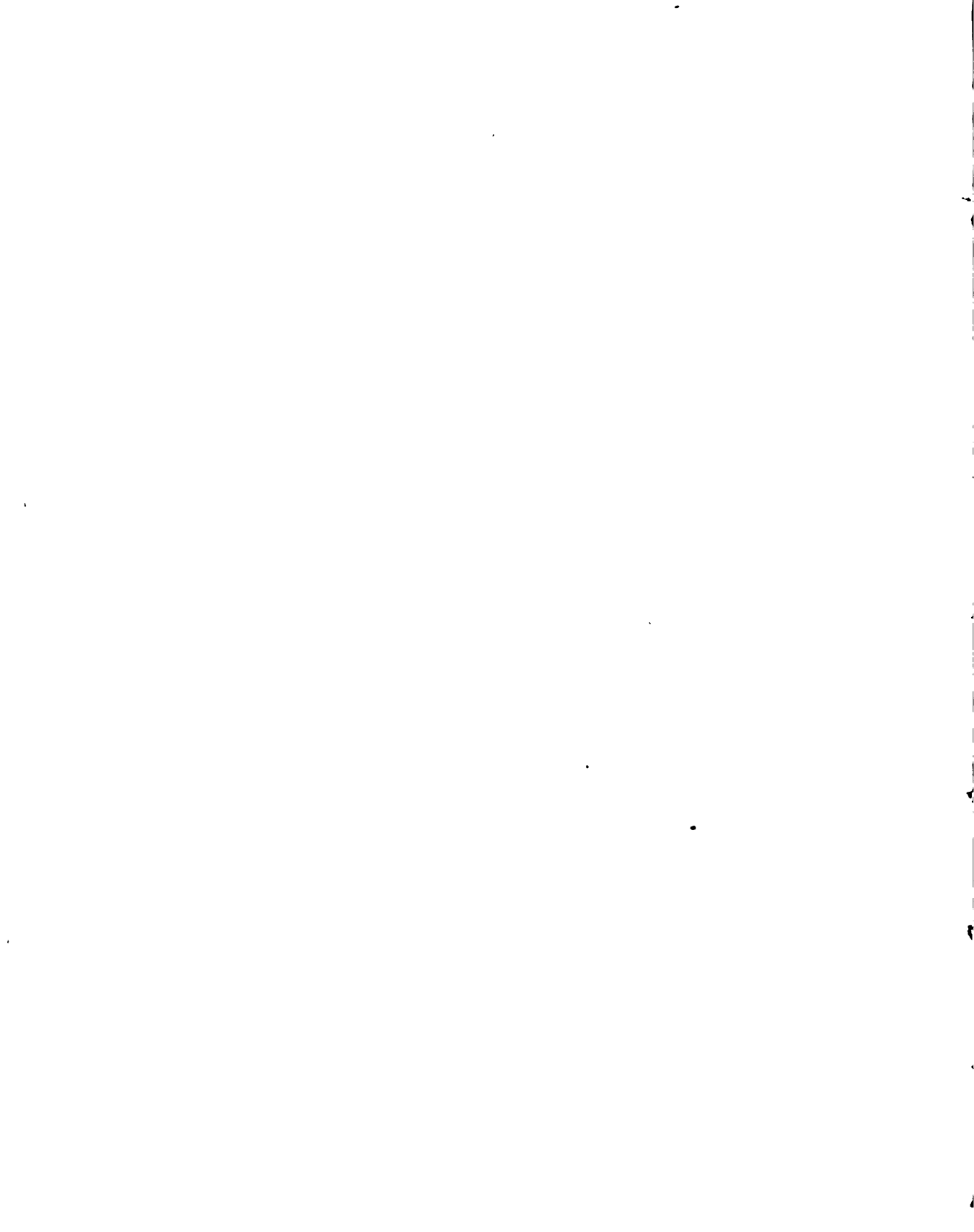
REVOLUTIONARY WAR

FROM

BUNKER HILL TO YORKTOWN

**NARRATIVE OF MAJOR JOHN BURNHAM, A GLOUCESTER
SOLDIER, WHO SERVED FROM MAY,
1775, TO JANUARY, 1784.**

**PUBLISHED FOR THE
FAIR HELD DEC. 19-24, 1881, BY POST 45, G. A. R.
IN AID OF THE SOLDIERS' HOME AND RELIEF FUND**



RECOLLECTIONS OF THE REVOLUTION.

IN the year previous to the commencement of the Revolutionary war, there was a minute company formed in Gloucester, commanded by Capt. Samuel Rogers; I think his subalterns were Nathaniel Warner and A. Robie; myself was one of the sergeants. Soon after the battle of Lexington, Capt. Warner took orders to raise a company, and invited me and other young men to enlist. I hesitated on account of my health. I had been out of health for about a year, and was supposed by some to be in a decline. But he said if I would sign, a number of others would, and if my health continued bad, he would release me. I consulted my physician; he said it would be as likely to help as injure me. When the company was full and before we marched, he appointed me first line, and Daniel Collins second.

We marched to Cambridge towards the last of May. The day after the redoubt was thrown upon Breed's Hill, and when it was discovered that the enemy were preparing to land, we had orders to march to that place. We made a very rapid march to Charlestown, and in crossing the Neck, there was a British ship which kept up a constant fire upon us, which very much broke the order of our troops. When we had passed, there was a large number of men in great confusion. Some officers were endeavoring to put their men in order, and some appeared willing to remain there. We stopped two or three minutes to regulate our men. We found we had missed a number of our men, and our second line. The Capt. looked round to me and lifted up his hands, and with a voice and words which I never forgot when going into action,—“Do you keep your platoon in order, sir; I will mine. We will march on, let who will stay here.” He immediately ordered his company to march without any regard to the regiment. We went on more upon a run than a quick march; we arrived at the line of action but a few

minutes before the firing began. The captain steps up to Gen. Putnam who was on his horse, and asks him, "Where shall we take our post?" He replies, "Get to the fort if you can." We marched to the fort which was but three or four rods off.

The moment the captain was entering the fort, the firing commenced. I discovered there were some scattering men firing over the breastwork into the fort. I ran up to stop that firing; when I turned to go back, I found my men had followed me up the line, instead of going in with Capt. Warner. I then went on till we came in view of the left flank of the enemy, then we began our fire at the outside of the southwest corner of the fort, and remained there till the Americans were driven out of the fort. I had two men killed and three wounded in my platoon; the three were wounded as the retreat began. At this time, Capt. Warner came out of the fort over the breastwork and went towards the rail fence. Our troops were not yet driven from thence, as the greatest force of the enemy bore against the fort. Webber says to me, "Lieutenant, will you take my gun for I am wounded ?;" and immediately another man cries for help, for he was wounded. I says to Webber, "Where are you wounded?" he says, "In my arm." I told him. "You have one good arm, take your gun and get off as fast as possible." I went to the other man that was wounded; says to him, "Where are you wounded?" he says, "In my hip." He was hopping on one foot, touching the toes of the other to the ground. I told him to put his hand on my shoulder, he did so, and hung on till I could go no further with him. I told him I must stop and rest. I was then by a wall, where the bars had been taken out. I sat down by the end of the wall supposing it would shield me from the shot a little, but the shot came so thick I did not stop long. I then went on after the wounded men.

The troops were all upon the retreat by this time. After Warner came out of the fort, in firing his gun the barrel split in his hands but did him no injury. He soon found another and charged it, but

in raising it up to fire, a ball struck it near the tail pipe, split the stock, glanced off the barrel, and did him no injury. Being near, he steps up to the colonel and says to him, "Give me your gun a minute;" he gives it to him; he steps back and says, "Why, colonel, give up your gun in time of action!—I have a mind to blow you through;" he hands the colonel his gun and says, "Take back your gun, I will find one." He soon found a gun. Another ball struck in the pocket of his small clothes, split the handle of a penknife, glanced off and did him no injury.

Our army then retreated over to what was then called Ploughed Hill, and remained there until night. I do not recollect of anything else remarkable to the close of this campaign.

At the close of the campaign, I was ordered to Gloucester to enlist men for the year's service, and in the course of the winter, I enlisted about fifty men from Gloucester and marched them to Cambridge. Capt. Warner then told me I was entitled to a captain's commission; he was willing to give up the men, and recommend me for it if I chose it. I told him I had rather serve another campaign under him.

In the spring of '76, we were ordered to New York and stationed at Long Island at Brooklyn. When the British fleet came into New York, they landed their troops at Flatbush Island. I was in a detachment of two hundred men under Col. Cornell of Rhode Island, and forty miles from camp when the enemy landed. Orders were sent to our colonel to march in with his party; from some cause, he did not receive his orders. In two days after this, he had orders to march immediately, for the enemy had knowledge of him and a party of horse were out after us. After he received this order, the long roll beat, and the troops immediately paraded; it was then after 12 o'clock, P. M. The colonel mounted on his horse in front. He thus addressed his men:—"Here are two hundred brave men of you; we are forty miles from camp. The enemy

has a party of horse out after us, but I am determined to throw you into camp to-night. If the horse come upon you, don't you start. If they come upon you with all the terrors of damnation, don't you start, for if you do, I will put the cold iron into you, and you know I won't lie. Adjutant, call out twenty men for flanks, equal on each flank cannaded(?) a line. By sections of four to the right wheel, march." When we had marched twelve or fifteen miles, then we were ordered to halt for eight minutes; when seven, was the long roll, but we then marched to a place called Newtown, five miles from camp. After half an hour's rest, we started again, and arrived in camp about 2 o'clock, A. M. In this march, we had eighteen miles of sandy road through Hempstead plains to pass over.

There were three roads on which the enemy could come to our camp. We placed guards upon these roads about three miles from camp. Three days after we had arrived at camp as aforesaid, Captain Warner, myself, and about twenty men from our regiment, in all about one hundred and fifty men under command of Col. Cornell, were placed on the middle road. In the night we found the enemy approaching. They made a feint to come up our road, but finally came up the other two roads.

Gen. Sullivan came round in the morning and directed us to change our position. The position was disagreeable to the officers; they petitioned the colonel to change it. He said: "Here I am posted and here I had rather die than to be arraigned before a court martial for leaving my post." In less than five minutes, the enemy met in our rear and fired upon us. The colonel then said: "Disperse and look out for yourselves," We then took to the woods. Capt. Warner did as much as possible to keep the men belonging to the regiment together. We had thirty thousand of the enemy's troops to work our way through. At every chance, Capt. Warner would give the enemy a shot, then start again for another; we were finally cut off from the camp, but saved ourselves by crossing a milldam.

The enemy made attempts to storm our works but were repulsed; they prepared to besiege the place. The American army retreated over to New York. Nothing further took place except skirmishing and retreating until we crossed the Delaware.

The night before Christmas, Gen. Washington took the Hessians at Trenton. Two days after this, the whole army crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, Jan. 1st.

Jan. 11th, Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks appointed me a captain in a regiment to be raised, and gave me orders to go on the recruiting service. The next morning, leaving the army at Trenton and the British at Princeton, I set off on my business. Having travelled seven or eight miles, I heard firing; supposing the armies had come together, I returned, and found the advance of the armies skirmishing. The colonel gave me the command I had before. I went out on the advance party. We fought on the retreat till we came into Trenton. We crossed over the creek at Trenton, night came on, and fires were made; we expected to stay there through the night. About midnight we were ordered to get the troops paraded with as little noise as possible. This was a hard task, as we had been marching the night before. We marched to Princeton, took the British troops there and then marched to a place called Milltown.

Next morning, I started for Gloucester, In Gloucester, I raised a company that winter, and in the spring with my company and enough of the other companies to make up one hundred men, I was ordered to march to Springfield; there I would find Major Hull, who would take command, and march the party to Ticonderoga.

About the first of July the British army made their appearance by land and water stronger than we expected. A council of war determined on a retreat. On the night of the 6th of July, our baggage was put on board of the boats for Shrewsborough*, and we

*Skenesboro, now Whitehall, N. Y.

took up our march for North River. The British pursued our boats and took all our baggage near Shrewsborough, and here I lost every article of clothing I had, except what I had on.

My next tour of duty on detachment was up the Mohawk under Gen. Arnold, Fort Stanwix being besieged by the British and Indians. They had intelligence that Arnold was coming on with a strong party. The Indians left them the breast(?) and they went off when we were within thirty miles. We followed them some distance, but not being likely to come up with them, we returned to the army, which was then at Saratoga under command of Gen. Gates.

The regiment to which I belonged when we joined the army was under Col. Brooks. He then appointed me a captain of a light infantry company. We remained here until Burgoyne was taken. I was in the action of the 19th of September and 7th of October, and all the actions before he surrendered.

We then were ordered to march to the south to join the army under Gen. Washington. The British and American armies were then laying a little distance from each other, expecting an action every day. The British army had come out of Philadelphia for that purpose, but returned again without any fighting. The American army went to a place called Valley Forge and built huts for winter quarters.

The campaign of 1778 began by the British leaving Philadelphia, and the Americans leaving Valley Forge to follow them. On the way, we had an engagement at Monmouth. On the 15th of July, 1779, the light infantry under command of Gen. Wayne were ordered to clean up and put their arms in the best order. The officers were furnished with pontoons, the soldiers with a day's provisions, being then 5 miles from Stony Point. We then paraded, and were ordered to march, no man knowing where to, under the rank of a field officer. We marched by Gen. Washington, paid the

salute and through the woods on a road leading to Stony Point; we arrived within a mile and a half of that place a little after sundown.

The orders were then read which were nearly as follows: That we were to make an attack on Stony Point; that if any man felt afraid or unwilling to go on, he was directed to fall out; after that, if any man hesitated, he was to be put to death on the spot. That we were to go on in two columns, forlorn hope and pioneers in front. Two hundred men in front of the columns with guns not charged. Every man was to have a piece of white paper in front of his cap. We were to pay no regard to the outworks, but to march up to the main work. The first man that got over was to have four hundred dollars and immediate promotion, the second three hundred and promotion, the third two hundred, and the fourth one hundred. All public property taken should belong to the captors. When a man got over the fort, he was to give the watchword,—*The Fort is Our Own*. Death to any man who gave it before he got over.

The attack was made according to orders, and the enemy soon surrendered. In this attack, I was second in command in our regiment.

The light infantry spent the rest of this campaign in New Jersey, and kept the field until the second of December, being then at a place called Second River, sixty miles from West Point. In the morning of that day we struck our tents, and took up our march for King's Ferry on the North River. It began to snow as we commenced our march, and snowed most every day until we came to that place. There was then a passage open across the ferry. We got the baggage over and all the troops excepting two or three companies. The ice then closed and no more could pass. We were then fourteen miles from West Point. We had no way to get there but through the woods, and being no track through the snow, which was three and one-half feet deep. I was the oldest officer in this party.

The next morning, after eating up all our provisions, which afforded us a scanty breakfast, we started for West Point, and with our utmost exertions we reached a small log cabin in the woods about half way, by sundown. This man had a calf-pen near his house and two small stacks of hay in it and a rail fence round them. He had a two-year old bull, which we soon slaughtered. We then took out all the rails of the fence except the upper ones, stuck one end in the snow and the other laid on the upper rails we left in. We then took part of the hay and laid it over these rails, which made us a shed; the other part we put on the snow below for a bed. We then made a large fire where the stack of hay stood. We then examined our beef, but having neither bread nor salt nor any means of cooking, we made but a light supper that night. We then went to bed. Next morning, our beef being frozen, we relished it better and made a tolerable breakfast. I then gave the man a certificate for the bull and other damages, and we took up our march and reached West Point about two hours before sunset. This ended the campaign of 1779.

The next campaign, the light infantry was put under the command of Gen. Lafayette. The regiment my company belonged to was commanded by Col. Guymotte,* a French officer who came over with the Marquis. I recollect of nothing extraordinary that occurred during this campaign, except the treason of Arnold and the execution of Major André.

In February or first of March, 1781, the light infantry companies were ordered to be filled up with good smart active men and furnished with two days' provisions, ready cooked, and then to make a rapid march for Trenton. There we embarked and run down for Philadelphia, then up Bristeea(?) Creek, bounded and crossed over to the head of Elk, marched twelve miles before breakfast, then embarked, run down the bay, being conveyed by the armed brig

*Gimat.

Nesbit, Com. Nicholson, commander; made the harbor in Annapolis that night.

Next morning, two British ships came up a little below the harbor. We were embargoed about three weeks. Our object was to take Arnold, who commanded the British at Portsmouth, Va. The French fleet at Rhode Island were to act in concert with us. When they sailed from Rhode Island, the British fleet sailed from New York. They met at sea, had an engagement and being some disabled, they both returned to their respective stations to repair. We put some heavy cannon on the decks of some sloops and towed them out in a calm, gave the British ships a couple of shot. The wind springing up, they hove up, and stood off.

We then came up to the head of the Elk. Then we received orders to march to the south by land and join Gen. Green's army. The day on which we arrived at Richmond, Va., Gen. Arnold arrived on the opposite shore of James River. Next morning, he took up his march for Petersburg, we followed them down as far as Allsburn. On account of the Marquis having refused a flag from Arnold, his officers petitioned to have him removed. He was recalled and Gen. Phillips sent to take command. Phillips died in Petersburg.

Corwallis came on with his army to Virginia; then we had enough to do, to march and countermarch with him. He finally drove us to the mountains, thinking to take us. He gave up chase and marched back. We followed him to Jamestown, Gen. Wayne came out with a new army from Pennsylvania and joined us. The British lay at Jamestown several days and we lay three miles from them. The Marquis went down to reconnoitre, to see if their position would admit of an attack. The P. guard with Gen. Wayne and one of his regiments went down as a discovery party for the Marquis. They were ordered to keep a little back. Soon as the Marquis left, Gen. Wayne pushed on towards the British camp.

The British paraded and had an engagement. The regiment was very much cut up and would have all been taken, had not the Marquis discovered what was going on and got his whole army down in season to save a part of them. That night the enemy embarked, leaving their wounded and their surgeons. Our wounded men were carried into Jamestown. Next morning, the surgeons from Kingstown and surgeons of the British and American armies dressed the wounded indiscriminately.

On the next day the British took their wounded aboard, and went to Yorktown and fortified it. The American army lay in the region about when the French fleet arrived, and Gen. Washington came on with a French army under Rochambeau and a detachment of the American army; then we laid siege to Yorktown. We broke ground round a breastwork four hundred yards' distance from the main works round there from the river below to the river above. They had two batteries half the distance between us; a detachment of the American army and one from the French stormed these two batteries and took them,—the French one, the Americans the other. The American detachment was commanded by A. Hamilton. I had the honor to be with him. Then every officer and soldier took his shovel and spade and after placing a tier of gabions, went to digging to fill them up as fast as possible. The British had some artillery playing upon us all the night. By next morning, we had a breastwork round them and parallel with the other, and within two hundred yards. Next thing was to erect our batteries and move up our cannon. In a few days after this, we were able to give them a morning salute of a hundred guns. In about eighteen or twenty days after we first broke ground, they surrendered. We embarked for the head of Elk, had a passage of about twenty days, came on to Newburgh and West Point, and quartered about North River for that winter.

In the early part of the summer in the year 1782, before the light infantry was called out, the regiment to which I belonged was

paraded for inspection, my company at its place, twelve paces on the right of the regiment. The general inspector, Baron Steuben, came on upon the right and as I was paying him the salute, remarks "Captain, I am glad to see you at the head of so fine a company." He passed in front of the officers and received their salutes, then marched back in rear of the regiment to the right. Tells me to order my company to search arms. At the word, the soldiers open pans and draw ramrods, let them down the barrels with a little force; they rebound pretty well. The baron lifts up both hands and exclaims, "My God! is it all silver?" He then looks round to the officers, who were standing about, and says, "Come here, officers; all you officers come here and help me to admire this company." The officers drew near. He made some handsome remarks in favor of the company. He then turns to me and says, "You need not take off your packs, you need not show me your book, I will not inspect your company, I will admire it. You will please to march them into the colonnade." This colonnade was a large booth building, elegantly decorated in French style in celebration of the birth of the Dauphin of France.

The baron then goes on with the inspection by companies. He had not proceeded far before he said to a soldier, "For why is your gun so dirty?" The soldier begins to answer. He says, "Hold your tongue." He calls upon the captain, says: "Captain, there be no discipline in your company. A man speak for himself." After he had gone a few steps further, he observes a man in the rear rank step back and seat himself. He turns to the captain and says, "There be no discipline in your company. I do recommend to you to get a parcel of chairs made for your men, and one great big one for yourself." So the inspection went on.

The next day was the general review. When the commander-in-chief and his suite with the inspector-general had taken post for review, as my company was advancing towards him, the Baron speaks low to Gen. Washington: "There comes my company; they

are all twins." This I was told by one of the suite. The general orders of next day mentioned: "The commander-in-chief was well pleased with the appearance of the troops in general, and he does not think he ever saw a company under arms make a more soldier-like and military appearance than did the light infantry company of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment."

The day after another review, a letter from the commander-in-chief was received by the commanding officer of our regiment, stating his regiment as one of the corps alluded to yesterday as not appearing as well as they ought; he writes: "I conjure you and your officers to make every exertion to have them appear better on the next review day, or I shall be under the disagreeable necessity of holding them up to public view. I do not include your light infantry company, for they made a most excellent appearance."

Nothing more took place during this campaign but common camp duty. In January, 1783, I received a major's commission. I then resigned up the command of this beautiful company, which I had commanded for six years, and been with them in every action that was ever fought in any department of the army to which we belonged at that time. Having delivered up all the papers and records of the company to my successor, I went into another regiment as major.

Peace was expected soon to take place. Every grade and branch of the army seemed anxiously concerned how the event should be met. Great exertions had been taken and were still taking to excite dissatisfaction in the army, and to draw them into some hasty measure, before they laid down their arms. But the wisdom of Gen. Washington was adequate to meet every threatening storm or danger with success. When it was understood that peace was concluded on, the army in general was furloughed. A few regiments only were retained until the first of January. The definitive treaty had been ratified. These regiments, to one of which I belonged, were discharged on Jan. 1st, 1784.

LIST OF OFFICERS FROM GLOUCESTER.

Paul D. Sargent, Colonel.

James Collins, Major two first campaigns, a worthy gentleman,
better qualified to command a ship than a regiment.

Winthrop Sargent, Captain of the Artillery.

Ebenezer Cleveland, Captain, of Sandy Bay.

Barnard Dodge, Captain, Pigeon Hill.

John Row.

H. White, Lieutenant.

Nath'l Warner, Captain, two first campaigns, a very brave officer.

John Burnham, Lieutenant.

Daniel Collins, Ensign.

John Foster, Lieutenant.

Joseph Robie, Captain.

John Tucker, Lieutenant.

F. Crowly, Lieutenant.

Shubael Gorham, Ensign.

These are all the officers I can recollect from Gloucester.

DERRY, Jan'y 5th, 1842.

JAMES THOM, ESQR.:

Dear Sir,—Your letter of 28th ult., has been read to me. From a desire to comply with its contents, I turned my mind to the subject of them and found there was but little difficulty in my recollecting any event or occurrence of importance that took place within my knowledge during the Revolutionary war; but not being aware of the difficulty of putting anything on paper, that would be intelligent and useful, by the hand of another, with the assistance of George I began with the intention of being full and particular in my relation. My feeble and broken voice and a defect in my hearing occasioned so much repetition to make us understand each other. On this account we made very slow headway; however, we proceeded as fast as we could, and after all, I fear it will not be intelligent or use-

ful to the purpose for which it was desired; but, bad as it is, I will venture to forward it to you, with this request,—that cast your eye over it and if you discover aught you think would be useful to your friend, take it off and transmit it to him in your handwriting. Otherwise, if you think it would be more useful to him to see the whole that is written, you may forward it to him on this condition, that you inform him by writing that he is not at liberty to make such use of it as would admit belief that I came forward with a relation of my services to bring them or myself into public notice. He is at liberty to speak of my services as of Capt. Warner's, or any other officer who belonged to Gloucester, in his detail of what the town had done in aid of the Revolutionary war.

The documents of the army will place my services on higher ground than they could be by anything said by myself or any other individual in favor of them. By these documents it may be seen that I entered service at the beginning of the war and continued in it until the last regiment was discharged in the year 1784; that I commanded a light infantry company six years, whose duty it is well known to be more severe than that of any other corps, that I never had a furlough or leave of absence for purposes of my own, during the whole time.

But not as Cato said when his son laid dead before him, "What pity it is mankind could not die but once to save his country" rather would I say, what pity it is man can live but once to serve his country. Could we call up the sages, the heroes, the patriotic citizens, who under the propitious smiles of heaven, by their achievements brought this nation into existence, placed her in the chair of independence, prosperity and happiness, what would they say to the politics of the present day?

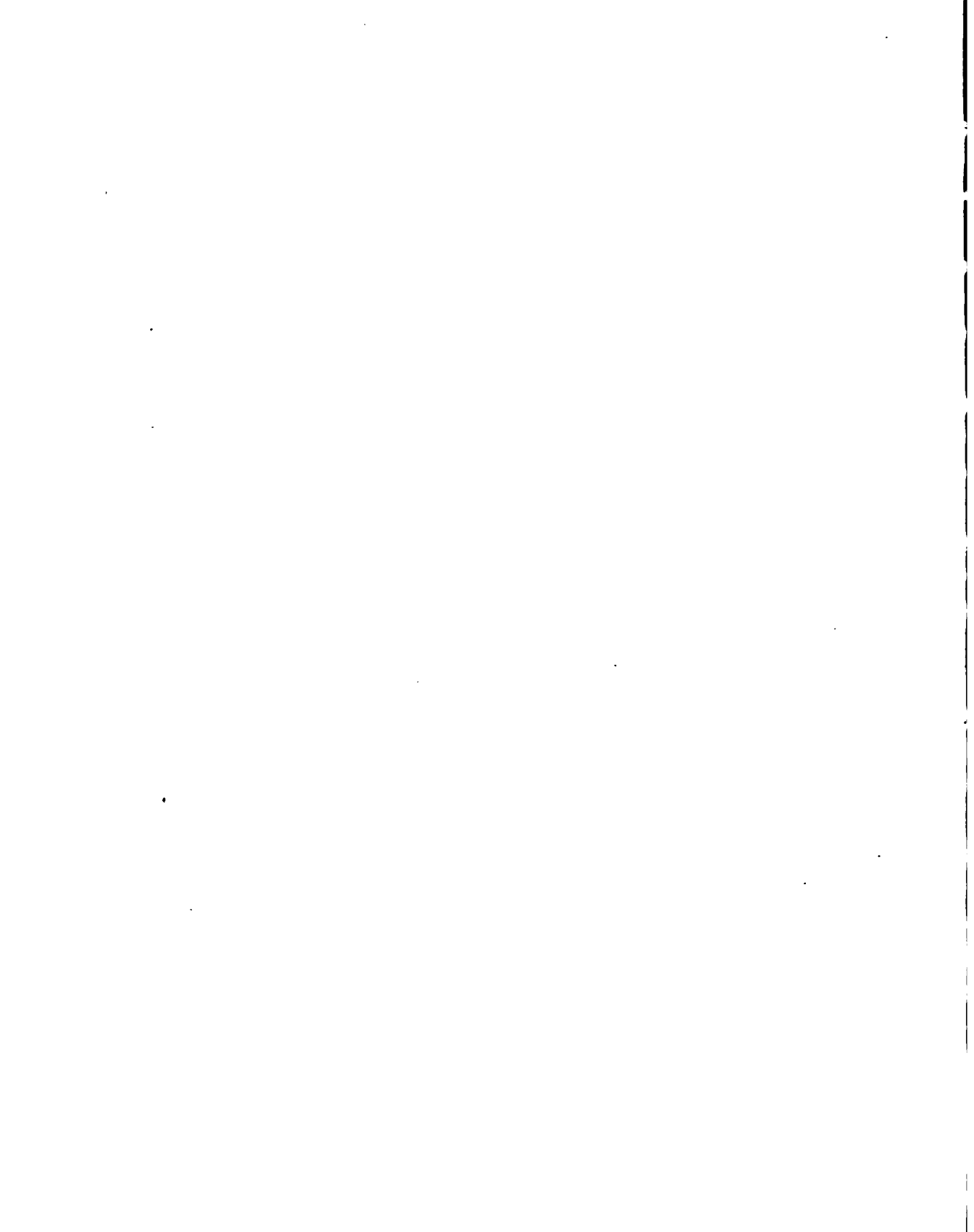
I am now in my ninety-third year of age, in common health but more helpless. I remain as ever your friend,

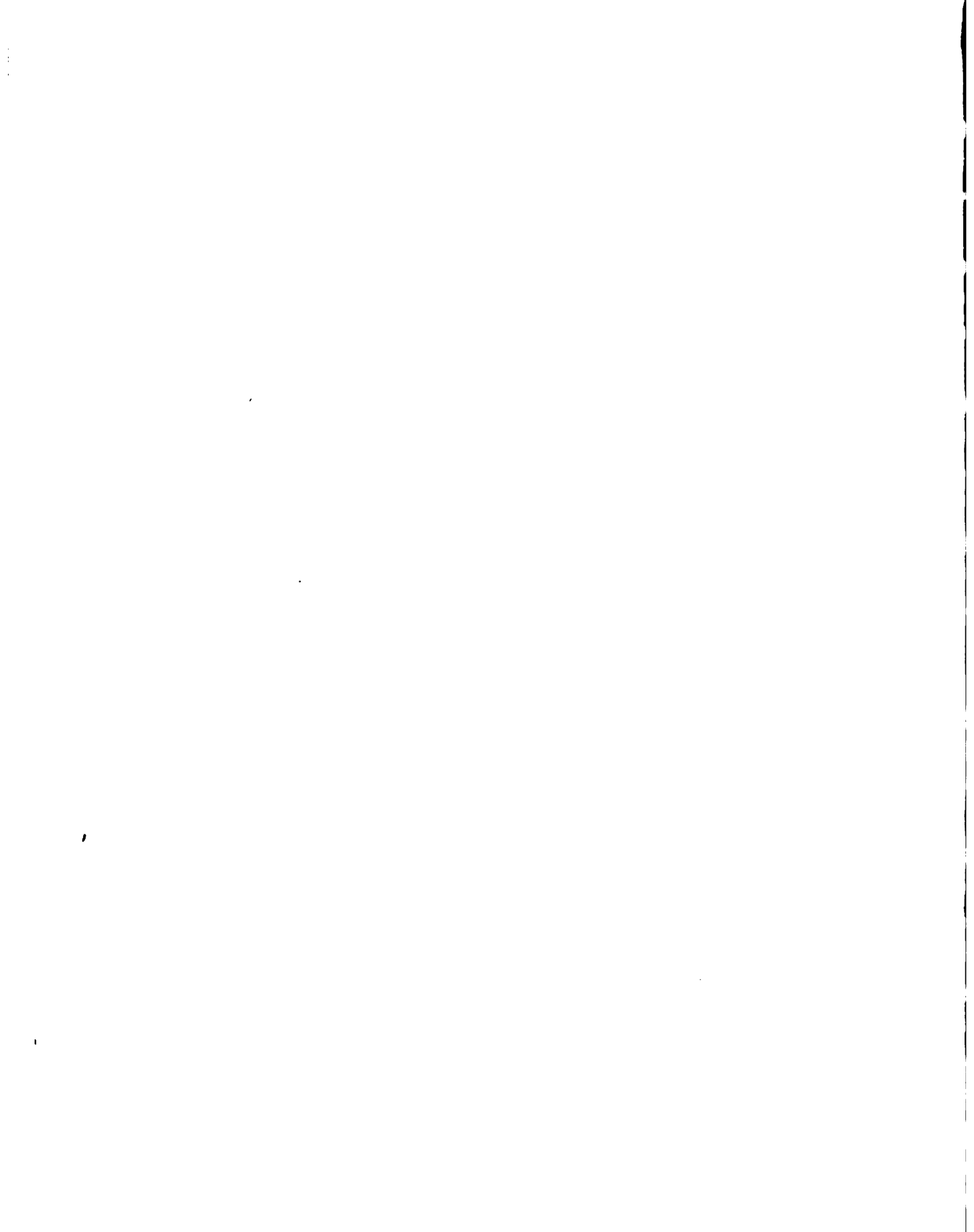
JOHN BURNHAM.

Babson's *History of Gloucester* says that Major Burnham was a native of Chebacco, but here acquired a mechanical trade. After the war he came home and resumed the business in which he was brought up. Upon the resignation of Mr. Sargent, the first Collector of the Customs for this district, the place was offered to Major Burnham; but he declined the offer, and soon after moved to Derry, N. H. The first Pension Act for the relief of Revolutionary soldiers did not include him in its benefits, but his claims were strongly enforced, and among the means used for obtaining a pension for the old soldier was a letter to the Secretary of War from Gov. Brooks, containing the most honorable mention of his services, of which the following is an extract:

"I beg leave to bespeak your attention for a few moments to the case of Major John Burnham, one of the best disciplinarians and gallant officers of the Revolution. I know him well—he was in the Battle of Bunker Hill, in storming the works at Saratoga, at Stony Point, and at Yorktown, besides, being in numerous other actions. If any man is entitled to the benefit of the pension laws for military service, no man in the nation has higher claims than Major Burnham."

He finally succeeded in obtaining a pension of \$500 per annum, and his passage to the grave, through the infirmities and feebleness of a life protracted to unusual length, was undisturbed by the feeling of poverty and dependence. He died in Derry, June 8, 1843, aged ninety-four.





MAR 3 1917

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 55



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Adjutant P. M. Davis

AN ANSWER TO SOME CASES OF CONSCIENCE (1722)

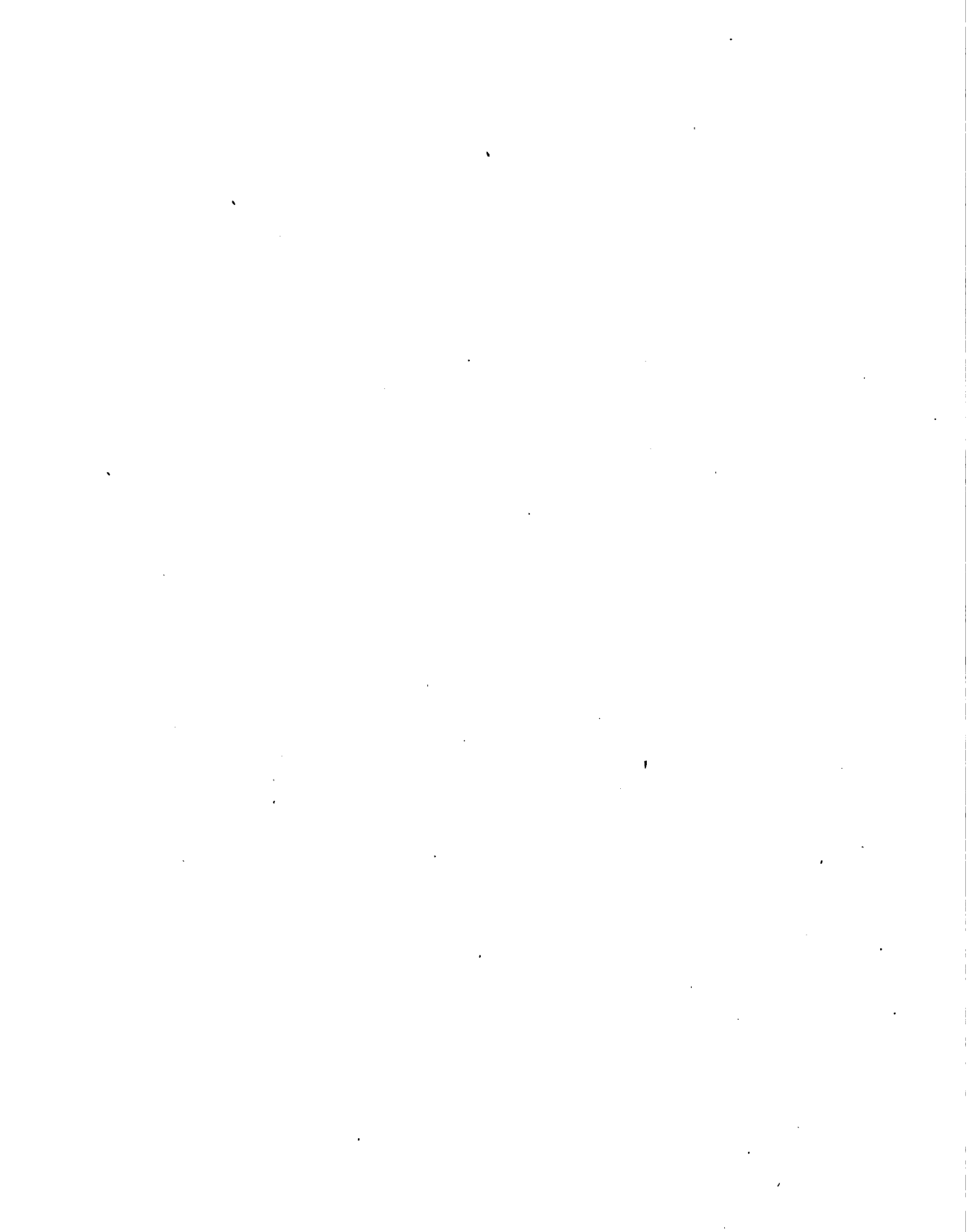
Solomon Stoddard, A. M.

WILLIAM ABBATT

TARRYTOWN

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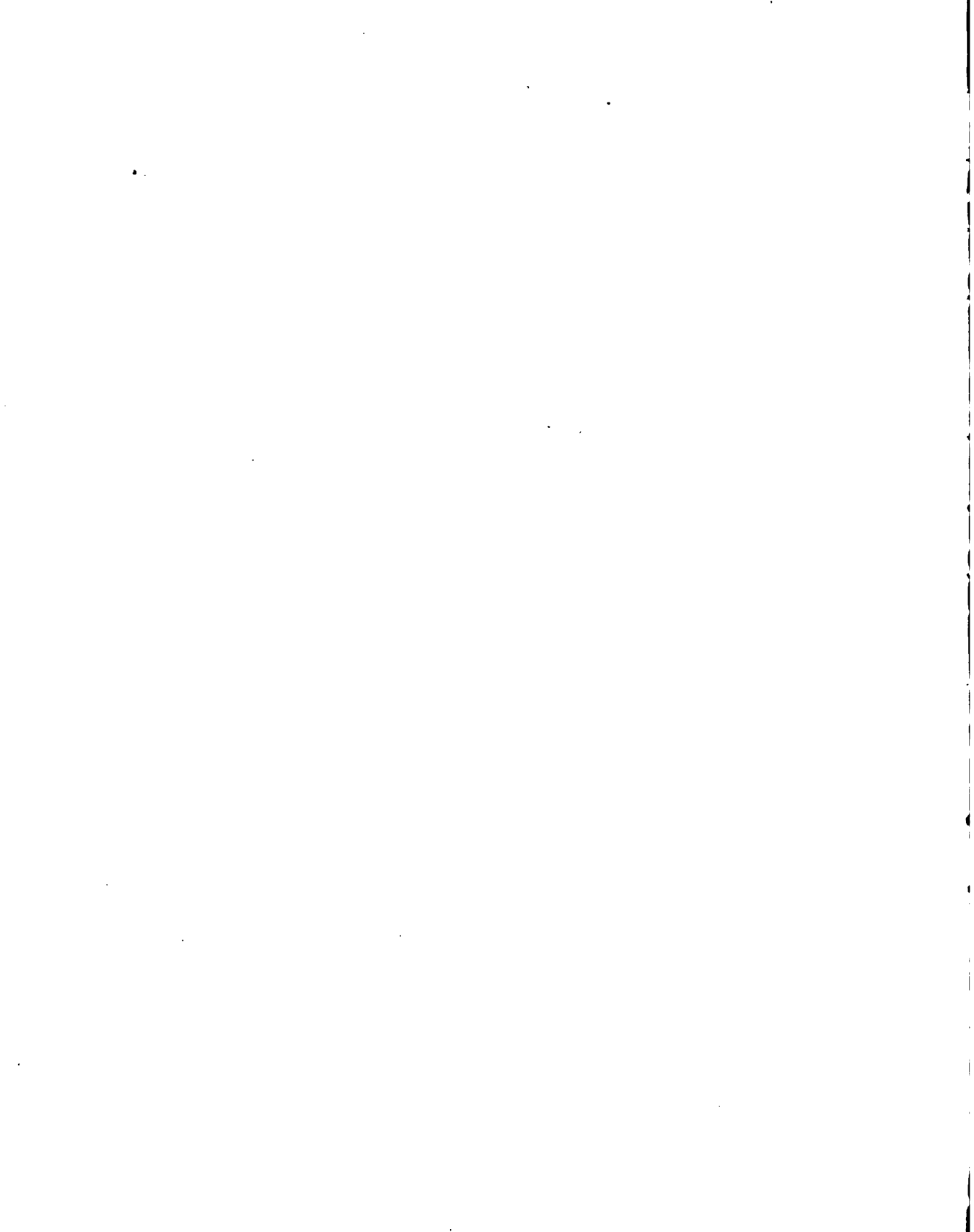
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

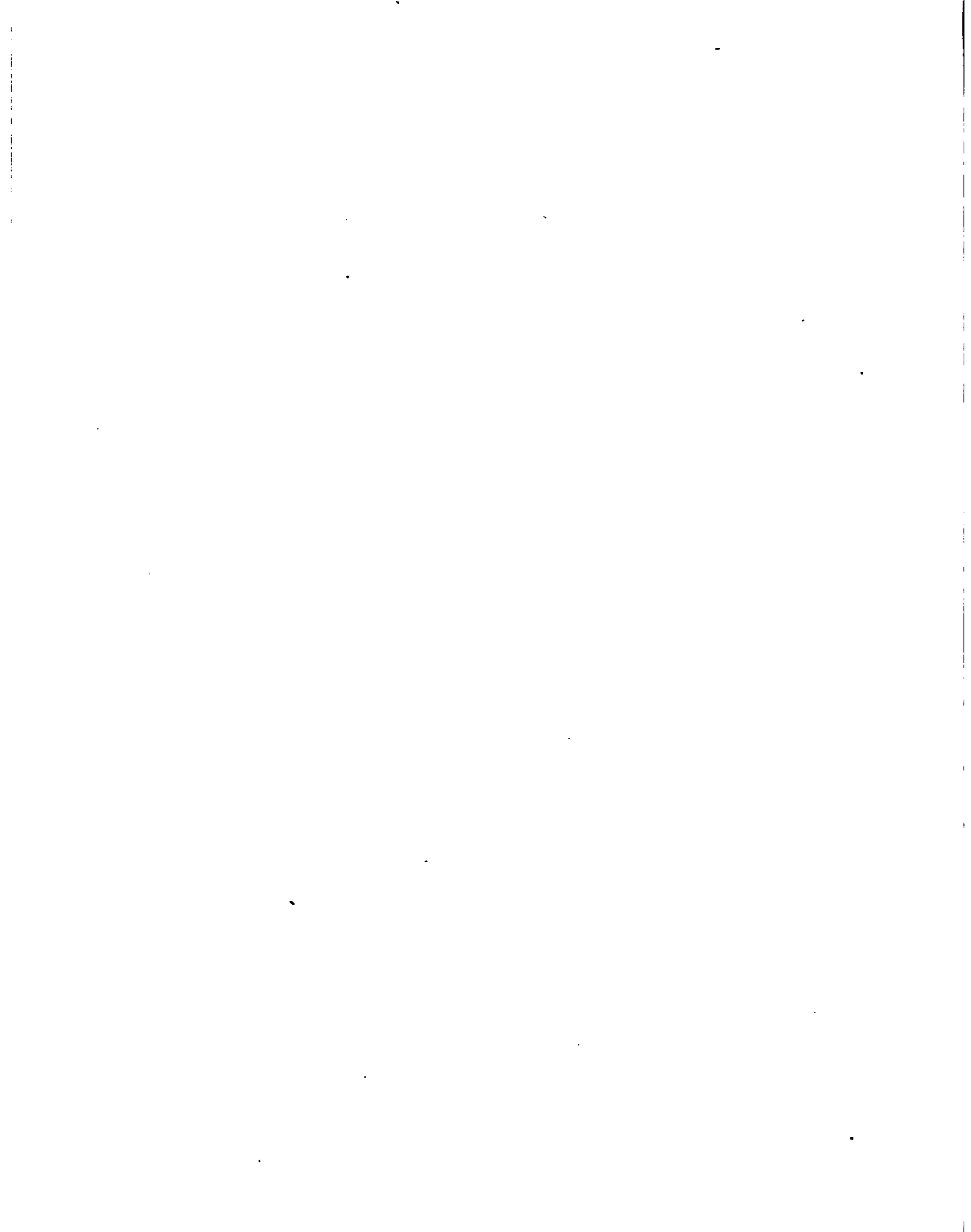
ONE of our present-day writers has seen fit to sneer at the War of 1812 as "an opera-bouffé war."

Had he read the account of the battles of Lundy's Lane (Bridgewater or Chippewa, it is sometimes called) or Niagara, which we reprint herewith, he could not in decency, have so written. Though the American forces engaged were small, and there were none of the apparatus of modern warfare—no barbed-wire entanglements, hand-grenades, machine guns, automatic revolvers, aeroplanes etc., the American forces of 2000 lost two-thirds their number in killed and wounded. Almost every officer of distinction was wounded (three of the four generals) and about seventy of others of lower rank were killed, wounded or taken prisoners. Such a record, out of the small total engaged, speaks for itself of the intrepidity displayed against the enemy, many of whom were veterans of Wellington's army.

The pamphlet which we reprint is very scarce, and has not been republished before.

Our second item is one of the rarest known, and one of the characteristic productions of the New England clergy of its time (1722). Its author, Rev. Solomon Stoddard, was the first librarian of Harvard College (1667-1674). He was pastor of the Congregational church in Northampton, Mass., from 1672 to his death in 1729. In 1729, Jonathan Edwards, his grandson, became his assistant.

All his descendants were distinguished in public or private life, as clergymen, authors, educators, etc.



As near *facsimile* as possible

THE
FOUR PRINCIPAL BATTLES

OF THE

LATE WAR

BEING A FULL DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE

BATTLE OF

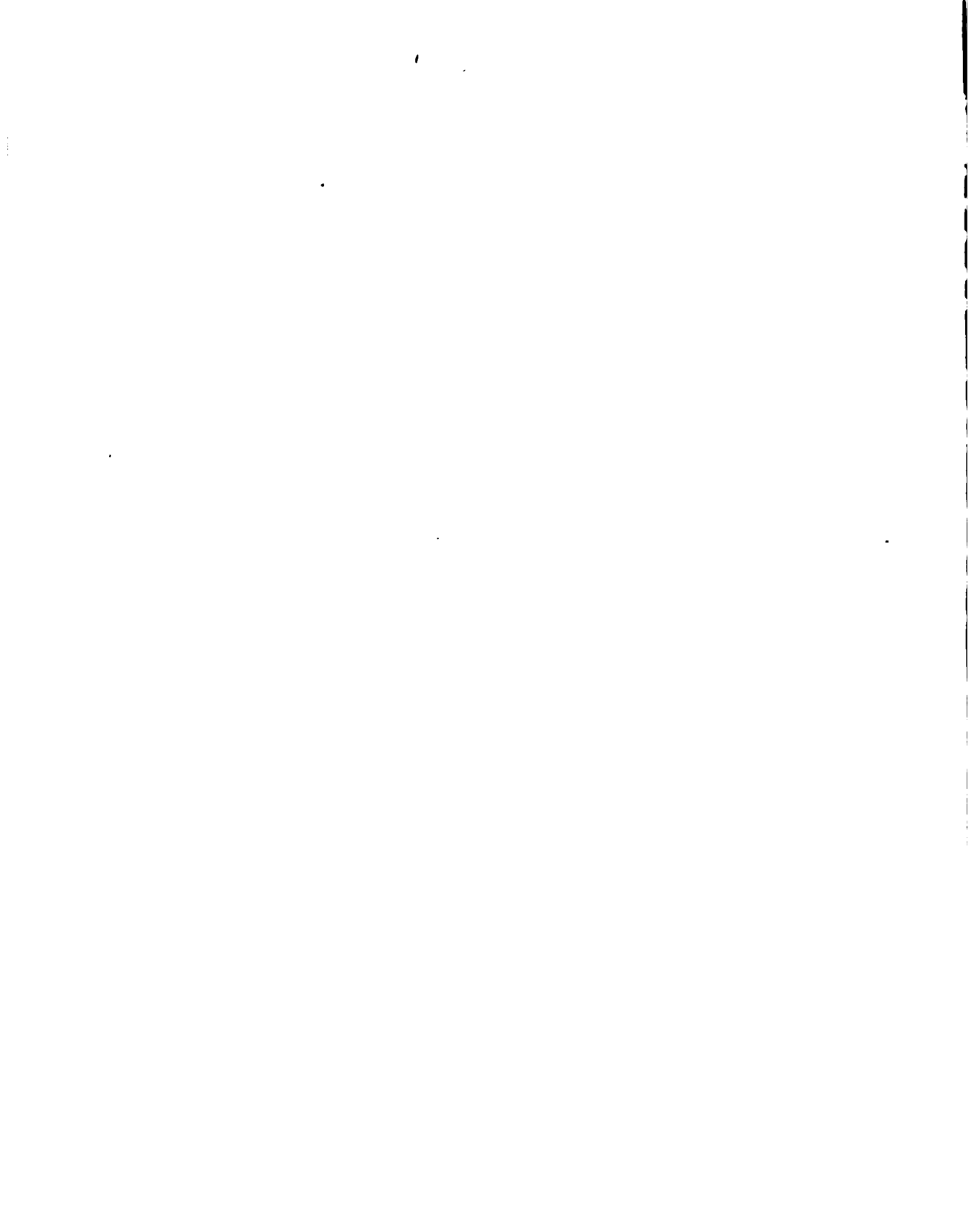
**Chippeway, Fall and Destruction of the City
of Washington, Battles of Balti-
more, and New-Orleans.**

BY ADJUTANT P. M. DAVIS,
LATE OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

HARRISBURG:
PRINTED BY JACOB BAAB.
1832

TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK
REPRINTED
WILLIAM ABBATT
1917

BEING EXTRA NUMBER 55 OF THE MAGAZINE OF HISTORY WITH NOTES AND QUERIES.



BATTLE OF CHIPPEWAY

FROM Fort Erie the American army moved immediately upon Chippeway; General Scott's brigade was in the advance and took up a position within three-quarters of a mile of the enemy, encamped behind the Chippeway, a deep, still stream which runs into the Niagara, nearly at right angles, three miles above the falls. General Brown arrived with General Ripley's brigade about midnight. General P. B. Porter, with the New-York and Pennsylvania volunteers and Seneca warriors, arrived about sunrise on the morning of the 5th. July, 1814.

“The battle of Chippeway has been described as one of the most brilliant spectacles that could well be conceived. The day was clear and bright; the sun still high in the heavens. The plain was such as might have been selected for a parade or a tournament; the troops on both sides, though not numerous, admirably disciplined; the Generals leading on their columns in person, the glitter of the arms in the sun, and the precision and exactness of every movement, were all calculated to carry the mind back to ancient story or poetry, to the plains of Latium or of Troy, and all those recollections which fill the imagination with images of personal heroism and romantick valour.”*

The two armies being encamped within cannon shot distance the morning of the 5th was consumed in skirmishing.

At four o'clock in the afternoon General Porter commenced a circuitous movement on the left, which he concealed from the enemy until he had nearly reached the Chippeway. He met and drove back the light parties of the enemy, and soon found his progress stopped by their whole column, advancing in order of battle; but he engaged them with unshaken resolution.

*See Analectick Magazine.

From the cloud of dust rising and the heavy firing, General Brown very justly concluded that the entire force of the enemy were in march, and prepared for action, whereupon he immediately ordered General Scott to advance with his brigade and Towson's artillery, and meet them on the intervening plain. General Scott advanced with promptitude. In the meanwhile, General Porter's command had given way in spite of the personal gallantry and exertions of this distinguished officer. Captain Harris, with his dragoons, was directed to stop the fugitives behind the ravine fronting the American camp. General Ripley was ordered to advance with the 21st regiment which formed part of the reserve, pass to the left on the route taken by Porter, skirt the woods so as to keep out of view, and fall upon the rear of the enemy's right flank. This movement was promptly made; but the alacrity with which Scott's brigade marched to combat, and an equal eagerness with which the enemy sought the rencounter, accelerated the action and its results, and prevented the co-operation of the other corps of the army.

Of the three battalions of infantry composing the first brigade, the first consisted of the 9th and a detachment from the 22d regiment, under command of Major Leavenworth.* The second battalion, or the 11th regiment, was gallantly conducted towards its place, in order of battle, by Colonel Campbell, who being early wounded, was succeeded by Major M'Niel. Major Jessup commanded the 25th regiment, or the remaining battalion of the brigade. Of these three excellent officers, it would be difficult to say which was the most meritorious or most conspicuously engaged.†

Major Jessup was detached to the left to turn the enemy's right wing: he had a horse shot under him.

The other two battalions with an enlarged interval between

*Henry Leavenworth, Major 9th Infantry, Brevet Brig. Gen'l. died 1834.

†See General Scott's report of the battle of Chippeway.

them, received the enemy in open plain. That under Major Leavenworth paraded to the attack; that under Major M'Niel, with its eft wing thrown forward to take the enemy in front and flank at the same time. Captain Towson, who commenced the fire before the troops were in order of battle, immediately after advanced to the front of the extreme right with three pieces of artillery, and took post on the river. Majors Leavenworth and M'Niel made prompt dispositions to receive the charge. The fire of the corps, including the artillery, produced a prodigious effect upon the enemy's ranks. That of Major M'Niel was the most effective from the oblique position which his corps judiciously occupied. The enemy's batteries were also admirably served; to the fire of which all our troops were exposed, and that of Major Leavenworth more particularly. The cannonade did not prevent the latter from preserving his corps in the most excellent order, at all times prepared to advance or to fire, to give or to receive the charge.

At the crisis of the action "Major Jessup, commanding the left flank battalion, finding himself pressed in front and in flank, and his men falling fast around him, ordered his battalion to "*Support arms and advance;*" the order was most promptly obeyed, amidst the most deadly and destructive fire. He gained a more secure position, and returned upon the enemy so galling a discharge as caused them to retire. At this critical juncture Captain Towson had silenced the enemy's most effective battery, by blowing up an ammunition wagon, which produced great confusion. Turning next a heavy discharge of canister upon their infantry, now nearly in contact with our line, advancing to charge; the enemy could not long sustain this accumulation of fire, they broke and fled to their strong works beyond the Chippeway; as soon as they reached the sloping ground, descending towards the Chippeway Creek, they broke in confusion and ran to gain the bridge. Our troops pressed upon the fugitives until checked by the guns discharged from the British works.

The American loss was 60 killed, 316 wounded, and 19 missing.—Total, 395.*

The British loss, according to their own statement, was 148 killed, 320 wounded, and 44 missing.—Total, 514.†

Five hundred British muskets were picked up the day after the action, upon the field of battle.

Major-General Riall had in his front line, 1,700 men, all regular troops, supported by the 8th regiment, 400 strong. The 100th regiment, which was on the left of the British line, commanded by the Marquis of Tweedale, late Aid-de-camp to Lord Wellington, brought into action 700, and paraded the next day but 264. The other regiments engaged suffered proportionably. General Brown has had in his possession the most unequivocal evidence of these facts.

General Porter's command was never engaged after their first retreat, consequently, the whole action was sustained by Scott's brigade, which, including Towson's artillery, consisted of but 1300 men fit for duty—150 were on the different guards and pickets,

*Among the wounded was Col. Campbell,¹ 11th Infantry, severely, knee fractured, since dead. Capt. King,² 22d Infantry, severely wounded in the abdomen. Capt. Read,³ 25th Infantry, badly, flesh wound in the thigh. Capt. Harrison,⁴ 42d Infantry, doing duty in the 9th regiment, severely, shot in the shoulder. Lieut. Barron⁵, 11th Infantry, severely, shot below the knee, and bone fractured. Lieut. DeWitt,⁶ 25th Infantry, severely. Lieut. Patching,⁷ badly, flesh wound in the thigh. Lieut. Brimhall⁸ slightly.

†In the morning we collected the wounded, and received orders to burn the dead. One of our Indians persisted in throwing one of the wounded Americans on the fire while living—one of our men shot him, and he was burned himself.

We were then ordered to Niagara, but before we marched General Drummond personally thanked us for our conduct in the fight—and the whole army was thanked in General Orders—vis. the Royals (1st) 8th, 49th, 89th and 103rd regiments of which the 89th suffered severely in this engagement.

(Shadrach Byfield, a soldier in the 41st regiment, in his *Narrative*, published as our EXTRA No. 12.)

1 John S. Campbell. 2 Sampson S. King. 3 Thomas M. Read. 4 Thomas Harrison. 5 John V. Barron, 1st Lieut. 6 Henry DeWitt, 1st Lieut. 7 Talcott Patching, 2d Lieut. 25th Infantry. (He rose from the ranks to a commission). 8 Eliza Brimhall, 1st Lieut. 9th Infantry.

and therefore not in the action; so that the American force actually engaged, did not exceed 1200 men.

To the immortal honour of our arms, therefore, it may be safely affirmed that 1200 Americans, many of them raw recruits, under the guidance of the intrepid Scott and equally gallant Leavenworth, M'Niel, Jessup, and Towson, defeated, in *fair field fight*, 1700 veteran British troops; consisting of the Royal Scots, the Prince Regent's and the King's Own, led on and encouraged by the heroick example of General Riall.

Among the officers noticed for bravery and good conduct by General Brown are General Ripley, from whom he received every assistance that he gave him an opportunity for rendering; General Porter, whose conduct was conspicuously gallant; his own family, consisting of Colonel Gardner,¹ Major Jones,² and his aids Austin³ and Spencer, who yield to none in honourable zeal, intelligence, and attention to duty—Captain Biddle of the artillery, who brought a wounded man from the field, who had been abandoned by Captain Treat⁴ Major Camp,⁵ Deputy Quarter-Master General, for great exertions in procuring means for crossing the Niagara, and Captain Deliza, of the Ordnance Department, who rendered every service in his power.

In the report of General Scott many additional officers are named: among these is Captain Ketchum,⁶ who was detached with his company to attack a much superiour force, and who gallantly sustained himself in the execution of his orders until relieved by Major Jessup, who marched to his support, Captain Harrison

1 Charles K. Gardner, Major 25th Infantry, Col. and Adj. Gen. Died 1869. Author of the system of designating companies as "A." "B." "C.", etc.

2 Roger Jones, Captain, Corps of Artillery and Brevet Major-General. Died 1852

3 Loring Austin, Captain 8th Infantry.

4 Joseph Treat, Captain 21st Infantry. He was dismissed from the Army, on the field of battle, by Gen. Brown but was restored by a court martial.

5 John G. Camp, Major 12th Infantry, Dep. Q. M. Gen'l.

6 Daniel Ketcham, Captain 25th Infantry.

was struck by a cannon ball which shattered and carried away a part of his leg; he nevertheless refused any assistance from the ranks until the enemy should be beaten. "To mention them in order of their rank," says the General, "Majors Jessup, Leavenworth, and M'Niel, and Captain Towson,⁷ deserve, in my humble opinion, every thing which conspicuous skill and gallantry can wish from a grateful country." Major Wood⁸ of the engineers, and Captain Harris⁹ of the dragoons could not be restrained from joining during the action; the latter had a horse shot under him. Captain Crooker¹⁰ particularly distinguished himself in a skirmish on the 4th. Major Hindman,¹¹ Captains Hull and Ritchie, Lieutenants Campbell,¹² Randolph¹³ and Smuck are also noticed for their bravery.

The victorious army remained four days near the battle ground and then took up its line of march for Queenstown. The enemy but feebly opposed the passage of the Chippeway. General Riall, with the British forces, fell back to the Twelve Mile Creek and threw a part of his troops into Fort George. The American army advanced to within three miles of the lake. General P. B. Porter reconnoitered the fort and offered battle to the enemy, who declined leaving their defences to risk the doubtful issue of a fight, when they were well informed that the main army under General Brown was at hand.

While the American army remained in the vicinity of Fort George, the enemy were actively engaged in concentrating their forces. The militia was called out *en masse* from Long Point to the bay of Quinte; in short the whole population of the Peninsula were in requisition. General Riall had been re-enforced with the garrison of Burlington Heights, 300 strong, and the Glengary light in-

7 Nathan Towson, Captain Second Artillery (afterwards brigadier-general) died 1854.

8 Eleazer D. Wood, Brevet Lieut. Col. Engineers.

9 Samuel D. Harris, Captain Light Dragoons.

10 Turner Crooker, Captain 9th Infantry.

11 Jacob Hindman, Major 2d Artillery.

12 Henry M. Campbell, Brevet 1st Lieut. Corps of Artillery.

13 Edward B. Randolph, 1st Lieut. 20th Infantry.

fantry from York, 400 strong. The whole regular force in the Peninsula at this period has been stated at from 10 to 15,000 men.

In a justificatory pamphlet published by a friend of General Ripley, it is said that General Scott was for investing Fort George; that General Ripley made a proposition to march on the night of the 14th of July with his brigade and Towson's and Biddle's artillery, to attack General Riall at revilee, (*sic*) so as to bring him to action; and for Generals Scott and Porter to be kept in supporting distance; and Colonel Hindman to bring up the park of artillery of reserve.

The reasons General Ripley assigned for this movement were "that if we moved against Fort George, we could not carry it. To think of storming it was out of the question; and to invest it would be perfectly absurd; for we had only our eighteen pounders to besiege a place where by dismantling Niagara, thirty heavy pieces could be brought to bear upon us. That if we invested Fort George we should waste a few days, which would give the enemy an opportunity to re-enforce from Kingston; and if this were allowed them, as we only had an effective force of twenty-six or twenty-seven hundred men, our movement must resolve itself into a retrograde one for our own security. But on the other hand, if we attack Riall and break him down before he could be re-enforced, the Peninsula was within our power. This proposition was supported by General Porter, Colonel M'Ree, and Colonel Wood. Colonel Hindman gave no opinion. Generals Brown and Scott, and Colonel Gardner, were opposed to it and in favour of investing Fort George. The movement was made on Fort George the 16th of July; and on the 23d, without even opening a single trench, the forces retrograded. They fell back to Chippeway the 24th; and on that evening. General Drummond arrived with three fresh battalions from Kingston; several battalions of militia were concentrated, and General Riall, with a force of about 3000 strong, moved forward his camp to Lundy's Lane."

In the reconnoissance of Fort George, General John Swift,* of the New-York volunteers, fell by the hand of a British soldier. The General, by judicious arrangements, succeeded with a party of volunteers in capturing without the discharge of a gun, a picket consisting of a corporal and five men, one of whom shot the General through the breast after they had surrendered.

The discharge of the gun aimed at the General drew a patrolling party of the enemy to the spot, fifty or sixty strong. But the General was not to be restrained by a mortal wound; he formed his men, and fell exhausted at the very moment he saw the enemy give way. He was borne to camp by his men.

General Swift had served seven years in the Revolutionary war. Every energy of his soul was consecrated to his country. His loss excited general regret.

The army remained two days before Fort George, and then retrograded to Queenstown. General Porter's command succeeded in taking several prisoners from the enemy's light troops who hovered about the Heights.

About this time Captain Stone, of the New-York volunteers, was dismissed the service by a peremptory order of General Brown, for an alleged disobedience of orders, in permitting or conniving at the burning of the village of St. Davids, by a part of his command. Captain Stone declared that he had no agency in the transaction—that his men put fire to the houses when he was not present.

On the 23d of July General Brown received information that the heavy guns which had been previously ordered from Sacket's Harbour, to be employed in the siege of Forts George and Niagara, were blockaded in that port, together with a rifle regiment that had been ordered up with them; and that no prospect then remained of their arriving. He retraced his steps to Chippeway and encamped near the battle ground of the 5th.

*John Swift, brother of Gen. Joseph G. Swift, the first graduate of West Point.

BATTLE OF THE CATARACT.

General Brown's Report of this Battle, to the Secretary of War.

SIR—Confined as I was and have been, since the last engagement with the enemy, I fear that the account I am about to give may be less full and satisfactory than under other circumstances it might have been made. I particularly fear that the conduct of the gallant men it was my good fortune to lead, will not be noticed in a way due to their fame and the honour of our country.

You are already apprized that the army had on the 25th ult. taken a position at Chippeway. About noon of that day Colonel Swift, who was posted at Lewiston, advised me by express that the enemy appeared in considerable force in Queenstown, and on its heights; and four of the enemy's fleet had arrived during the preceding night and were then lying near Fort Niagara, and that a number of boats were in view moving up the strait. Within a few minutes after this intelligence had been received I was farther informed by Captain Denman, of the Quarter Master's department, that the enemy was landing at Lewiston; and that our baggage and stores at Schlosser, and on their way thither, were in danger of immediate capture. It is proper here to mention, that having received advices as late as the 20th from General Gaines that our fleet was then in port, and the Commodore sick, we ceased to look for co-operation from that quarter, and determined to disencumber ourselves of baggage and march directly for Burlington Heights. To mask this intention and to draw from Schlosser a small supply of provisions, I fell back upon Chippeway. As this arrangement, under the increased force of the enemy, left much at hazard on our side of Niagara, and as it appeared by the before-stated information, that the enemy was about to avail himself of it, I conceived that the most effectual method of recalling him from this object was to put myself in motion towards Queenstown. General Scott, with the first brigade, Towson's artillery and all the

dragoons and mounted men, were accordingly put in march on the road leading thither, with orders to report if the enemy appeared and to call for assistance, if that was necessary. On the General's arrival at the Falls, he learned that the enemy was in force directly in front; a narrow piece of woods alone intercepting his view of them. Waiting only to give this information, he advanced upon them. By the time Assistant Adjutant General Jones had delivered his message, the action began; and before the remaining part of the division had crossed the Chippeway, it became close and general between the advanced corps. Though General Ripley with the 2d brigade, Major Hindman with the corps of artillery, and General Porter at the head of his command, had respectively pressed forward with ardour, it was not less than an hour before they were brought to sustain General Scott, during which time his command most skilfully and gallantly maintained the conflict. Upon my arrival I found that the General had passed the wood and engaged the enemy on the Queenstown road and on the ground to the left of it, with the 9th, 11th, and 22d regiments, and Towson's artillery. The 25th had been thrown to the right to be governed by circumstances. Apprehending that these corps were much exhausted, and knowing that they had suffered severely, I determined to interpose a new line with the advancing troops, and thus disengage General Scott and hold his brigade in reserve. Orders were accordingly given to General Ripley. The enemy's artillery at this moment occupied a hill, which gave him great advantages, and was the key of the whole position. It was supported by a line of infantry. To secure the victory it was necessary to carry this artillery, and seize the height. This duty was assigned to Colonel Miller, while to favour its execution, the 1st regiment under the command of Colonel Nicholas,* was directed to menace and amuse the infantry. To my great mortification this regiment, after a discharge or two, gave way and retreated some distance before it could be rallied, though it is believed the officers of the regiment ex-

*Robert Carter Nicholas, Lieut.-Col. 1st Rifles.

erted themselves to shorten this distance. In the meantime Colonel Miller,* without regard to this occurrence, advanced steadily and gallantly to his object and carried the height and the cannon. General Ripley brought up the 23d (which had also faltered) to his support, and the enemy disappeared from before them. The 1st regiment was now brought into line on the left of the 21st, and the detachments of the 17th and 19th, General Porter occupying, with his command, the extreme left. About this time Colonel Miller carried the enemy's cannon. The 25th regiment, under Major Jessup, was engaged in a more obstinate conflict with all that remained to dispute with us the field of battle. The Major, as has been already stated, had been ordered by General Scott, at the commencement of the action, to take ground to his right. He had succeeded in turning the enemy's left flank; had captured, by a detachment under Captain Ketchum, General Riall and sundry other officers, and showed himself again to his own army, in a blaze of fire which defeated or destroyed a very superior force of the enemy. He was ordered to form on the right of the 22d regiment. The enemy rallying his forces, and as is believed, having received re-enforcements, now attempted to drive us from our position and regain his artillery. Our line was unshaken, and the enemy were repulsed. Two other attempts having the same object had the same issue. General Scott was again engaged in repelling the former of these; and the last I saw of him on the field of battle, he was near the head of his column, and giving to its march a direction that would have placed him on the enemy's right. It was with great pleasure I saw the good order and intrepidity of General Porter's volunteers from the moment of their arrival; but during the last charge of the enemy, those qualities were conspicuous. Stimulated by the example set them by their gallant leader; by Major Wood, of the Pennsylvania corps; by Colonel Dobbin, of New-York, and by their officers generally, they precipitated themselves upon the enemy's line, and made all the prisoners which were taken at this point of the action.

*James Miller, Colonel 21st Infantry and Brevet Major-General.

Having been for some time wounded, and being a good deal exhausted by loss of blood, it became my wish to devolve the command on General Scott, and retire from the field; but on inquiry I had the misfortune to learn, that he was disabled by wounds: I therefore kept my post, and had the satisfaction to see the last effort repulsed. I now consigned the command to General Ripley.

While retiring from the field I saw, and felt that the victory was complete on our part, if proper measures were promptly adopted to secure it. The exhaustion of the men was, however, such as made some refreshment necessary. They particularly required water. I myself was extremely sensible of the want of this necessary article. I therefore believed it proper that General Ripley and the troops should return to camp, after bringing off the dead, the wounded, and the artillery; and in this I saw no difficulty, as the enemy had entirely ceased to act. Within an hour after my arrival in camp I was informed that General Ripley had returned without molestation, and in good order. I now sent for him, and after giving him my reasons for the measure I was about to adopt, ordered him to put the troops into the best possible condition; to give to them the necessary refreshments; to take with him the piquets and camp guards, and every other description of force; to put himself on the field of battle as the day dawned, and there to meet and beat the enemy, if he again appeared. To this order he made no objection, and I relied upon its execution. It was not executed. I feel most sensibly how inadequate are my powers in speaking of the troops, to do justice either to their merits, or to my own sense of them. Under abler direction, they might have done more, and better.

From the preceding detail, you have now evidence of the distinguished gallantry of Generals Scott and Porter, of Colonel Miller and Major Jessup.*

*Thomas S. Jessup, Major 25th Infantry, Brevet Major-Gen. Died 1860.

Of the 1st brigade, the Chief, with his Aide-de-Camp Worth, his Major of brigade, Smith, and every commander of battalion, were wounded.

The 2d brigade suffered less; but as a brigade, their conduct entitles them to the applause of their country. After the enemy's strong position had been carried by the 21st, and the detachments of the 17th and 19th, the 1st and 25th assumed a new character, they could not again be shaken or dismayed. Major M'Farland, of the latter, fell nobly at the head of his battalion.

Under the command of General Porter, the militia volunteers of Pennsylvania and New-York stood undismayed amidst the hottest fire, and repulsed the veterans opposed to them. The Canadian volunteers, commanded by Colonel Wilson, are reported by General Porter as having merited and received his approbation.

The corps of artillery, commanded by Major Hindman, behaved with its usual gallantry. Captain Towson's company, attached to the 1st brigade, was the first and last engaged, and during the whole conflict maintained that high character which they had previously won by their skill and their valour. Captains Biddle and Ritchie were both wounded early in the action, but refused to quit the field. The latter declared that he never would leave his piece; and true to his engagement, fell by its side, covered with wounds.

The staff of the army had its peculiar merit and distinction. Colonel Gardner, Adjutant-General, though ill, was on horseback, and did all in his power; his assistant, Major Jones, was very active and useful. My gallant Aids-de-Camp, Austin and Spencer, had many and critical duties to perform, in the discharge of which the latter fell; I shall ever think of this young man with pride and regret; regret that his career has been so short; pride, that he has been so noble and distinguished. The Engineers, Majors M'Ree* and

*William McRee, Colonel of Engineers. Died 1838. Fort Mc Ree, Pensacola, is named for him.

Wood, were greatly distinguished on this day, and their high military talents exerted with great effect; they were much under my eye, and near my person and to their assistance a great deal is fairly to be ascribed. I most earnestly recommend them, as worthy of the highest trust and confidence. The Staff of Generals Ripley and Porter, discovered great zeal and attention to duty. Lieutenant E. B. Randolph, of the 20th regiment, is entitled to notice, his courage was conspicuous.

I enclose a return of our loss; those noted as missing may generally be numbered with the dead. The enemy had but little opportunity of making prisoners.

I have the honour to be, sir, &c. &c.,

JACOB BROWN.

Hon. J. Armstrong, Secretary at War.

Report of the killed, wounded and missing, of the Left Division of the army, commanded by Major-General BROWN, in the action of the afternoon and night of the 25th July, 1814, at the Falls of Niagara.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
FORT ERIE, July 30, 1814.

General Staff—wounded, 1 Major-General, 1 Aid-de-Camp.

Light Dragoons—killed, 1 corporal; wounded, two privates.

Artillery—killed, 1 Captain, 1 Corporal, 8 privates; wounded, 1 Captain, 2 subalterns, 1 Sergeant, 2 Corporals, 1 musician, 29 privates; missing, 1 private.

First, or Brig. Gen. Scott's Brigade.

Brigade Staff—wounded, 1 Brigadier-General, 1 Aid-de-Camp, 1 Brigade Major.

Ninth Infantry—killed, 1 Captain, 2 subalterns, 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 11 privates; wounded, 1 Major, 1 Quarter-Master,

1 Paymaster, 1 Captain, 5 subalterns, 7 Sergeants, 5 Corporals, 69 privates; missing, 1 subaltern, 1 Sergeant Major, 2 Sergeants, 11 privates.

Eleventh Infantry—killed, 1 Captain, 2 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 2 privates; wounded, 1 Major, 1 Captain, 5 subalterns, 1 Sergeant-Major, 1 chief musician, 7 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 1 musician, 83 privates; missing, 1 subaltern, 2 privates.

Twenty-second Infantry—killed, 2 Sergeants, 1 Corporal, 33 privates; wounded, 1 Colonel, 2 Captains, 4 subalterns, 9 Sergeants, 11 Corporals, 1 musician, 62 privates; missing 3 subalterns, 2 Sergeants, 12 privates.

Twenty-fifth Infantry—killed, 1 Captain, 1 subaltern, 26 privates; wounded, 1 Major, 1 Adjutant, 1 Quarter-Master, 1 subaltern, 6 Sergeants, 6 Corporals, 50 privates; missing, 1 Sergeant, 2 Corporals, 19 privates.

Second, or Brig. Gen. Ripley's Brigade.

First Infantry—killed, 11 privates; wounded, 2 subalterns, 18 privates; missing, 1 Corporal, 1 private.

21st Infantry—killed, 1 subaltern, 2 Sergeants, 1 Corporal, 11 privates; wounded, 1 Captain, 5 subalterns, 1 Sergeant, 53 privates; missing, 19 privates.

23d Infantry—killed, 1 Major, 2 Sergeants, 7 privates; wounded, 1 Captain, 6 subalterns, 1 Sergeants, 1 Corporal, 43 privates; missing, 3 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, 22 privates.

Brig. Gen. Porter's Command.

Brigade Staff—1 Brigade Major missing.

Canadian Volunteers—killed, 2 privates; wounded, 2 privates; missing 8 privates.

Pennsylvania Volunteers—killed, 1 Adjutant, 1 Sergeant, 9 privates; wounded, 1 Major, 1 Quarter-Master, 1 subaltern, 21 privates; missing, 1 Captain.

New-York Volunteers—killed, 1 Captain, 1 Corporal, 2 pri-

vates; wounded, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 subaltern, 2 Sergeants, 1 Corporal, 9 privates; missing, 1 subaltern.

Grand Total—Killed, 1 Major, 1 Adjutant, 5 Captains, 4 subalterns, 10 Sergeants, 10 Corporals, 140 privates—Total, 171.

Wounded, 1 Major-General, 1 Brigadier-General, 2 Aids-de-Camp, 1 Brigade Major, 1 Colonel, 1 Lieut. Colonel, 4 Majors, 1 Adjutant, 3 Quarter-Masters, 1 Paymaster, 7 Captains, 32 subalterns, 1 Sergeant-Major, 1 Chief Musician, 34 Sergeants, 29 Corporals, 3 musicians, 449 privates—Total, 572.

Missing, 1 Brigade Major, 1 Captain, 6 subalterns, 1 Sergeant-Major, 8 Sergeants, 5 Corporals, 95 privates—Total, 117.

C. K. GARDNER, Adjutant-General.

Officers Killed.—Major M'Farland,¹ 23d infantry. Captain Ritchie,² corps of artillery. Captain Hull,³ 9th infantry. Captain Kinney,⁴ 25th do. Captain Goodrich,⁵ 11th do. First Lieutenant Bigelow,⁶ 21st do. First Lieutenant Turner,⁷ 9th do. Second Lieutenant Burhardt,⁸ 9th do. Ensign Hunter,⁹ 25th do. Captain Hooper, New-York volunteers. Adjutant Poe,¹⁰ Pennsylvania volunteers.

Officers Wounded.—Major-General Brown, severely wounded through the thigh and in the side.

Captain Spencer,¹¹ Aid to the Major-General, through the body, supposed to be mortal.

1. Daniel Mc Farland, Major 23d (not 25th) Infantry.
2. John Ritchie, Captain 2d Artillery.
3. Abraham F. Hull, (son of Gen. William Hull of the Revo. Army) Captain 9th Infantry.
4. Joseph Kinney, Captain 25th Infantry.
5. Valentine R. Goodrich, Captain 11th Infantry.
6. Aaron Bigelow, 1st Lieut. 21st Infantry.
7. Stephen Turner, 1st Lieut. 9th Infantry.
8. Adolphus Burhardt, 2d Lieut. 9th Infantry.
9. William C. Hunter, Ensign 25th Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.
10. Adjutant Thomas Poe, Pa. Vol. (killed).
11. Ambrose Spencer, Jr., Captain 29th Infantry.

Artillery, Captain Biddle,¹¹ slightly, shot wound in the neck and arm.

Second Lieutenant Campbell, badly, shot through the leg.
Second Lieutenant Schmuck,¹² severely.

First Brigade.

Brigadier-General Scott, severely, shoulder fractured and wounded in the side.

Lieutenant J. D. Smith,¹³ 6th infantry, Brigade Major, badly, through the leg.

Lieutenant Worth, 23d infantry, Aid-de-Camp, severely, grape shot in the thigh.

Ninth infantry, Major Leavenworth, slightly, contusion in the side.

Captain W. L. Foster,¹⁴ slightly in the shoulder.

Lieutenant and Paymaster Fowle,¹⁵ slightly in the foot.

Lieutenant and Quarter-Master Browning,¹⁶ slightly, in the face.

Second Lieutenant Fisher,¹⁷ severely, shot in the head and wrist.

Third Lieutenant Cushman,¹⁸ slightly, in the thigh and shoulder.

Ensign G. Jacobs,¹⁹ severely, shot in the knee.

Ensign J. P. Jacobs,²⁰ slightly, in the shoulder.

Ensign Blake,²¹ slightly, in the knee.

11. Thomas Biddle 2d Artillery. He was killed in a duel in 1831.

12. Jacob Schmuck, 1st Lieut. Corps of Artillerists. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

13. J. D. Smith, Lieut. 6th Infantry

14. William L. Foster, Captain 9th Infantry.

15. John L. Fowle, Lieut. 9th Infantry

16. William Browning, Captain 9th Infantry.

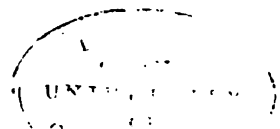
17. Otis Fisher, 1st Lieut. 9th Infantry.

18. Caleb Cushman, 2d Lieut. 9th Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

19. George W. Jacobs, Ensign 9th Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

20. Joseph K. Jacobs, Ensign 9th Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

21. Chealey Blake, Ensign 9th Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.



Eleventh infantry, Major M'Niel,²² severely, canister shot in the knee.

Captain Briss,²³ badly, shot in the leg.

First Lieutenant Hall, slightly, shot in the thigh.

Second Lieutenant Cooper,²⁴ slightly, contusion in the breast.

Third Lieutenant Stephenson,²⁵ slightly, in the thigh.

Ensign Bedford,²⁶ slightly, hurt in the abdomen by a splinter.

Ensign Thompson,²⁷ (26th, doing duty in the 11th,) severely, shot wound in the side.

Twenty-second infantry, Colonel Brady,²⁸ severely, shot wound in the side and hip.

Captain Pentland,²⁹ severely wounded and a prisoner.

Captain Foulk,³⁰ severely, shot wound in the side.

First Lieutenant Culbertson,³¹ severely, shot wound in the leg.

First Lieutenant Ferguson,³² severely, shot in the hand from a canister.

Second Lieutenant Armstrong,³³ dangerously, shot wound in the shoulder.

Third Lieutenant Bean,³⁴ slightly, shot in the foot.

Twenty-fifth infantry, Major Jessup, severely, shot wounds in the hand and shoulder.

22. John Mc Neil, Major 11th Infantry.

23. John Bliss, Captain 11th Infantry. He became Lieut. Col. of the 6th Infantry and died in 1854.

24. Enoch Cooper, 2d. Lieut. 11th Infantry.

25. Benjamin Stephenson, 3rd. Lieut. 11th Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

26. Elias Bedford, Ensign 11th Infantry.

27. Festus L. Thompson, Ensign 26th Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

28. Hugh Brady, Colonel 22d. Infantry, and Brevet Major-General. Died 1851. At eighty he served in the Mexican War. Fort Brady, Michigan is named for him. He was fifty-nine years in the army.

29. John Pentland, Captain 22d. Infantry.

30. Willis Foulk, Captain 22d. Infantry.

31. John Culbertson, 1st. Lieut. 22d. Infantry.

32. George W. Ferguson, 1st. Lieut. 22d. Infantry.

33. John Armstrong, 2d. Lieut. 22d. Infantry. He died from his wounds.

34. Robert Beans, 3d. Lieut. 22d. Infantry.

Lieutenant and Adjutant Shaylor,³⁵ severely, shot wounds in the arm and side.

Lieutenant and Quarter-Master M'Glassin,³⁶ badly, shot wound in the shoulder.

Third Lieutenant Glafford, severely, shot wound in the hip.

Second Brigade.

First infantry, 1st Lieutenant Vasquez,³⁷ slightly, shot in the thigh, and bayoneted in the leg.

First Lieutenant Bissel,³⁸ slightly, in the leg.

Twenty-first infantry, Captain Burbank,³⁹ severely, shoulder fractured.

First Lieutenant Cilley,⁴⁰ severely, thigh fractured.

Second Lieutenant Fiske,⁴¹ of the 19th attached, slightly, in the breast.

Ensign Jones,⁴² slightly, flesh wound in the wrist.

Ensign Camp,⁴³ 2d rifle regiment, serving with the regiment attached, flesh wound in the ankle.

35. Ephraim Shaylor, Lieut. and Adjutant, 25th. Infantry.

36. George Mc Glassin, Lieut. and Q. M. 25th. Infantry.

37. Barony Vasquez, 1st. Lieut. 1st. Infantry.

38. Lewis Bissell, 1st. Lieut. Infantry.

39. Sullivan Burbank, Captain 21st. Infantry.

40. Joseph Cilley, 1st. Lieut., 21st. Infantry. Died 1887.

His grandfather, Joseph Cilley (1735-1799) was a Revolutionary soldier, serving from 1775 to 1783. He was appointed to the 11th Infantry in 1812 and promoted to lieutenant in 1814.

In the battle here described he was wounded, and every other officer in his company was killed or wounded. He was brevetted captain for gallantry on the field. He resigned from the the army in 1816. In 1846 he was elected to the U. S. Senate, and died at his birth-place, Nottingham, N. H., (where his great-grandfather, Captain Joseph, had settled in 1727) in 1887, seventy-three years after his experience at Lundy's Lane. His brother Jonathan was the victim in the Graves-Cilley duel of 1838. His two nephews, Greenleaf and Jonathan P., attained distinction during the Rebellion, in the Navy and Army respectively and Col. John K., another of the family and War veteran, died in New York, 1917,

41. Abram J. Fisk, 2d. Lieut., 19th. Infantry.

42. Levin Jones, Ensign 21st. Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

43. William G. Camp, Ensign 2d. Rifles. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

Ensign Thomas,⁴⁴ slightly, contusion in the back.

Twenty-third infantry, Captain Odell,⁴⁵ severely, shot wound in the arm.

First Lieutenant H. Whiting,⁴⁶ severely, in the neck.

Second Lieutenant Ingersoll,⁴⁷ slightly, in the foot.

Second Lieutenant Tappan,⁴⁸ slightly, in the head.

Third Lieutenant Abeal,⁴⁹ slightly, in the leg.

Third Lieutenant Deidreich,⁵⁰ slightly, in the arm.

Third Lieutenant Lamb,⁵¹ severely, in the leg.

Brig. Gen. Porter's Command.

New-York volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel Dobbin, slightly, shot in the breast.

Lieutenant O'Fling, slightly, spent common shot in the shoulder.

Pennsylvania volunteers, Major Wood,⁵² severely, musket shots in the arm and foot, and bruised by his horse being shot and falling on him.

Quarter-Master Maclay,⁵³ severely, musket shots in the head and twice through the leg.

Lieutenant Dick,⁵⁴ severely, shot in the hand.

Brigadier-General Porter was slightly wounded, but declined being reported.

44. Jeremiah Thomas, Ensign 21st. Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

45. Azariah Odell, Captain 23d. Infantry.

46. Henry Whiting, Captain 23d. Infantry.

47. Justus Ingersoll, 1st. Lieut. 23d. Infantry.

48. Samuel Tappan, 2d. Lieut. 23d. Infantry.

49. James S. Abeel, 3d. Lieut. 23d. Infantry. Captain and Ordnance storekeeper 1866. Retired in 1869—died in 1870—was 57 years in the Army.

50. John P. Dieterich, 3rd. Lieut., 23d. Infantry.

51. Dudley Lamb, 3d. Lieut., 23rd., Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission.

52. James Wood. Major Pa. Vols. wounded.

53. Quartermaster John McClay, Penn. Vols. wounded.

54. Lieut.—Dick, Pa. Vols. wounded.

Officers Missing.

First Lieutenant Perry,⁵⁵ 9th infantry, a prisoner.

Third Lieutenant Webster,⁵⁷ 11th do. severely, shot in the head, and taken prisoner.

Lieutenants Sturgis,⁵⁷ Keps, and Davidson,⁵⁸ 22d infantry, supposed to be killed.

Volunteers, Brigadier Major Stanton, of New-York, taken prisoner.

Captain Roberts,⁵⁹ of Pennsylvania, taken prisoner.

Lieutenant Hunt, of New-York, supposed to be killed.

No battle of the war, perhaps none in the annals of the world can compare with this in the horror and awful grandeur of its character. If the great battles of Austerlitz, Jean,* and Mount St. Jean surpass that of the Cataract in the number of the combatants and of the slain, it must be recollected that those actions were fought in open day, and by armies forming a line of many leagues extent—that in no instance did the defeated party return three several times to the charge, over the dead bodies of their companions; and this in the gloom of night.

Here the conflicting armies closed at the moment the light of day was yielding to the empire of darkness, which gave an indescribable effect to the blaze of the guns and terrors of the fight. In no other action ever recorded was the loss in killed and wounded so great, in proportion to the number engaged. Nearly two thirds of the American troops were either killed or wounded. Almost every officer of distinction was wounded. An equal, probably a greater loss, fell on the enemy. What a scene of carnage must the

55. David Perry. 1st. Lieut. 9th. Infantry.

56. Humphrey Webster, 3rd. Lieut. 11th. Infantry. He rose from the ranks to a commission,

57. William Sturgis, 1st. Lieut. 22d. Infantry. He was killed.

58. Robert M. Davidson, 2d. Lieut. 22d. Infantry. He was killed.

59. Captain John Roberts, 5th Detachment Penn. Militia, Prisoner.

*Jena

battle ground have presented! No parallel can be found in history where both parties fought with such determined bravery, and suffered such a horrible loss. Of more than 2000 Americans who went into battle, not more than 700 escaped unhurt. The superior numbers of the enemy enabled them to renew the attack until our troops were diminished to about one third of their original number. Yet, like a wall of granite they remained immovable amid repeated shocks and surrounding horrors, with their feet inundated with the blood of their enemies, they waded in gore to victory. In the intervals of the charges, darkness veiled the appalling spectacle, but their ears were stunned with the cries of the wounded and dying, while the tremendous force of the cataract shook the astonished earth beneath their feet; for it is here that Nature appears in all the majesty of her power. Never was human firmness put to so severe a trial. Where is the cold-hearted ingrate that can withhold his admiration from such intrepid defenders! Can the Republic tarnish her glory by forgetting the services of the heroes of Niagara?

The official censure of General Ripley's conduct in not renewing the action on the morning of the 26th of July, which appears in General Brown's statement of the battle, has drawn from the officers* friendly to the reputation of General Ripley, a voluminous series of letters and statements, in which they not only exonerate him in the most pointed manner from all blame in the transaction, but ascribe to his prudent foresight, bravery, and consummate military skill the salvation of the wreck of the army put in jeopardy of total annihilation by the temerity of General Scott and the injudicious dispositions of General Brown!

In armies, as in courts and politicks, there will be courtiers

Among the long list of officers who have come forward in defence of General Ripley's military character, we observe the names of General Miller, Colonels Leavenworth and Hindman, Majors Noon, Foster, Browning, Burbank, Marston, Odell and Romayne, Captains Clark, Perry, M'Donald &c.

*(Darby Noon, Major 41st. Infantry. Morrill Marston, Captain 5th. Infantry. William McDonald, Captain 19th. Infantry. James T. B. Romayne, Captain Corps of Artillerists.)

and factions; and brave men may be allowed to be jealous of military glory, obtained by privations, fatigue, and an almost constant exposure of life. The best officers may for once endanger the success of a battle by a premature movement and an erroneous impression as to the force or intention of his enemy. Caesar was not always victorious. The great Napoleon was fairly foiled in his attempts upon St. Jean d'Acree; and but for the opportune arrival of the immortal Des Suix,* he would have lost the battle of Marengo. Bulow saved Blucher and Wellington at Waterloo. A single ball sometimes decides the fate of battles, by prostrating the leader of a charge, the success of which would have determined the victory.

No battle perhaps in the annals of the world was more obstinately contested, or attended with greater or more frightful carnage according to the number engaged. The scales of victory for many hours were doubtfully suspended; sometimes vibrating on one side and sometimes on the other; alternately promising and threatening to either party the glory of triumph or the disgrace of defeat, until at length the God of battles and the divinity of fortune crowned our arms with glorious success. The American soldiers, flushed with the pride of recent triumphs over the boasted conquerors of Europe and animated with the spirit of liberty and a love of glory peculiar to freemen, distinguished themselves by daring achievements, worthy the heroes of a Grecian band or a Roman legion in the proudest days of those republicks. They showed to tyrants and to the world how unavailing is the most perfect order of slavish discipline, opposed to the resistless impetuosity of republican valour. They may venture to assert without the imputation of vanity or weakness, that the heights of Bridgewater, and the plains of Chippeway, will remain to the latest posterity as lasting monuments of human greatness and human glory, as those of Thermopylae and Marathon. Commanders in after ages of our republick will refer to them for the most brilliant examples of patriotick devotion and heroic achievement, to rekindle the expiring flames of independence,

*Dessaix.

liberty, and glory in the bosoms of their degenerate and disanimated legions. Their bare recital will relume the dying fire of patriotism and valour in their languid souls, and prompt them to a glorious and successful emulation of their fathers.

The number and situation of the enemy was not precisely known upon the day of the engagement, though it afterwards appeared that he was about 4000 strong and had advanced to the heights of Queenstown. The number of our respective corps was as follows:

The first brigade, under General Scott, consisted of about 700 effective men; and the second brigade, under General Ripley, amounted to about the same number. The volunteers, under General Porter, did not exceed 500 capable of duty. The number of artillerists and dragoons is not precisely ascertained; they probably amounted to 200 fit for service; making in the whole, a force of 2500 men, rank and file.

Upon the 25th, about 6 o'clock, P. M., General Scott, with the first brigade, marched from camp on the high road to Fort George, without sending in advance any reconnoitering party of light troops to ascertain the position, number, or approach of the enemy, to guard against a surprise or to facilitate a retreat to the main body of the army, if occasion should require. Whether he moved from the order of the Commander, or his own inclination, with an expectation of battle or for parade and drill, was unknown to camp at that time. If he went out to give the enemy battle agreeably to orders, why was not our whole disposable force directed to accompany or follow him? If the enterprise was only for ostentation, why was he permitted to jeopardize his gallant band and the whole army, exposing himself to be surprised and attacked alone so far from camp by the whole British army? These are things yet involved in impenetrable mystery, which time, the retrospective and prospective expounder of events, only

can reveal. If the Commander-in-Chief ordered the movement of General Scott, he must be deservedly suspected of military incapacity; if he only permitted it, he must be justly considered guilty of notorious imprudence. If General Scott made the movement without orders, he is justly chargeable with rashness or folly, which we shall see in the progress of events would inevitably have destroyed the whole army, and blasted the glories of the day, if they had not been fortunately retrieved by the superior ability, skill, enterprise and valour of General Ripley. When General Scott had proceeded about two miles from camp he was attacked by the whole British forces, by a discharge of musketry from their whole line. Upon this signal our camp was alarmed, and General Ripley ordered his brigade to be formed. In the meantime the thunder of artillery announced the reality, fury and inequality of the contest, and excited in every bosom the most painful apprehensions for the fate of the first brigade, before we could arrive to support them. Orders were soon received from General Brown, through Captain Spencer, his Aid, for the second brigade to repair to the scene of action for the relief of General Scott's corps, whose ranks were now frightfully thinned and reluctantly recoiling from the unequal contest. General Ripley instantly obeyed the order by directing us to march; and when we had proceeded to within half a mile of the field of battle, he was ordered to form his brigade in line near the skirts of a wood to the right of General Scott's, and advance upon the enemy. But from the difficulty, if not impracticability of proceeding in line through the woods, he resolved to advance within reach of the foe before he formed. Although this was taking upon himself a high responsibility, yet the order was so absurd that he dared to disobey; and the success attending his after movements seems clearly to justify the measure. Though a scrupulous obedience to the orders of superiors in an army is generally a sacred duty and a sure pledge of victory, yet the incompetency or mistake of a commander may sometimes allow and require a partial defection from them. It would have been admis-

sible, and even meritorious for the officers of General Hull, at the capture and surrender of Detroit; and seems tolerable, and even laudable for General Ripley on this occasion.

In performing the proposed movement of General Ripley, we suffered great annoyance and sustained considerable loss from the constant and destructive fire of the enemy's battery, which was chiefly directed at General Scott's mutilated and almost exhausted corps, which we were about passing to form in line upon their left.

The enemy's artillery was placed upon an eminence, and from its destructive effect upon our advancing columns, the General was sensible unless they were taken, we should be compelled to retire or to be overpowered. He accordingly asked Colonel Miller if he could storm and take them. The intrepid though modest hero replied, "I can try;" an answer truly worthy a Leonidas and a Miltiades, and shows the striking difference between real magnanimity and empty daring.

At this time General Scott's corps was about a quarter of a mile in the rear, having ceased firing; the volunteer corps under the command of General Porter, was not yet marshalled in the field; and our artillerists and dragoons were not then nor afterwards advantageously engaged in the action, on account of the peculiar situation of the contending armies.

Agreeably to the orders of General Ripley, Colonel Miller formed his regiment directly in front of the batteries, and with a quick step advanced to storm and take them, under a tremendous fire which supplied the light of day and produced most frightful chasms along his line; yet it did not in the least repel, disorder, or check the rapid and steady march of the assailants; like the Gallick chief and his brave companions at the bridge of Lodi, or the Spartan chief and his chosen band at the straits of Thermopylae, they had resolved to conquer or to die. In the meantime the 23d regiment was ordered to move in column to the left, for the purpose of annoying the enemy in flank. In the execution of this or-

der they were partially repulsed by a discharge of musketry from the enemy's right wing; but they were soon rallied by their General in person, and proceeded to attack the enemy as first directed. By this time the gallant Miller had taken the enemy's batteries, consisting of nine pieces of cannon, and after a stubborn and bloody contest had forced him to abandon his position. The two lines were not more than twenty yards distant from each other, during the transaction. The darkness of night was by turns dispelled, and the light of day resumed, by the incessant and tremendous fire of the contending armies. During these operations of the 21st regiment, the 23d was attacking the enemy's right wing, and compelled it to fall back with the centre. Previous to the success of the 23d, the 21st was almost overpowered by superior numbers; but at this trying crisis was seasonably and happily relieved by the arrival of the 22d, and the enemy was completely driven from the heights. Soon after, the three regiments were formed in line forward of the captured batteries, together with 200 men of the first regiment, waiting with impatience another charge of the enemy. A considerable interval succeeded, in which General Ripley and General Brown met and conferred together some time. The former requested the latter to give orders and provide means to remove the captured cannon from the field, which seemed to be the principal object of contention, and which we shall see in the course of events, induced several desperate charges of the enemy to retake them. Time and means were then in our power, and should have been improved. The superfluous horses of our artillery, and all our volunteer corps might have been employed for the purpose. The first were never engaged in the action, and the last only at the close of the engagement. General Brown however, disregarded the request at this time, and soon after destroyed the means by ordering the artillery horses to camp. And those trophies, so dearly won and expensively defended, finally fell into the hands of the enemy when we returned to our encampment. The exhausted men could not drag them; and if they could, they had no ropes for

for the purpose. However painful or invidious the task may be of canvassing the conduct of illustrious men in civil or military life, it becomes our duty in recording their actions, for the instruction and advantage of the world, impartially to state their capacity and incapacity, their virtues and their faults. It serves, like a beacon to the mariner, for future statesman and commanders to avoid the rocks and quicksands to which they are exposed. Therefore we cannot avoid the expression of our opinion that General Brown, in this affair, is chargeable with an unpardonable improvidence, if not with criminal neglect; and that General Ripley, so often but mistakenly blamed in the business, should be acquitted of remissness or imprudence. After this interview and conference of the two Generals concerning the removal of the captured artillery the battle was soon renewed. The 25th regiment of the first brigade, under the command of the able and gallant Colonel Jessup, joined the second brigade, and was formed on the right to flank and annoy the enemy in his after attacks; which disposition was attended with the most brilliant success. They not only distressingly annoyed the enemy, but succeeded in capturing Major General Riall and a greater number of other officers and men than was taken during the whole conflict.

The peculiar honour of capturing General Riall is due to Captain Ketchum, which justly entitles him to the attention of his government, and will inevitably procure him the just confidence and grateful plaudits of his country.

While the line was thus formed upon the eminence, the enemy advanced and made a most violent charge upon our whole force. General Ripley ordered our men to reserve their fire until the enemy approached within reach of our bayonets, and firstly to receive their fire. The advantage of distance and light afforded to take aim, rendered our volleys more certain and tremendously destructive; while the enemy, from the lowness of his position in ascending the heights from which he had been driven, and the darkness of his

view, generally fired over our heads. The order of the General was promptly obeyed, and with the most desired success; for after a few discharges in this way the enemy was again routed and compelled to retire. An interval of half an hour ensued, when the enemy again advanced and impetuously attacked our whole line, now extended by General Porter's corps of volunteers upon the left, and three battalions of General Scott's brigade upon the right. The contest was now longer, more stubborn, and attended with greater carnage; but by observing the precautions adopted in the last charge, it terminated in the entire discomfiture and retreat of the enemy. Our right and left were partially repulsed, but they were rallied before the engagement ended. A cessation for three-quarters of an hour now followed before a renewal of the contest, which, like a conflagration quenched for a while by scanty showers of water, soon re-kindled with more appalling and destructive fury, ruthlessly consuming what its violence had spared.

During this interval ancient night resumed her fearful empire and spread her shroud of gloom over the horrors of the carnage-covered field, still trembling with the convulsions of the conflict. The terrific silence that prevailed was only interrupted by the agonizing groans of the dying, and the tremendous sound of Niagara's caratact, stilled for a while by the deadly cannon's more awful roar. The intermitted beams of the pale-faced moon and affrighted stars from behind their passing clouds, by turns exposed to view the frightful desolation of the scene, crimsoned with the blood and strewed with the mangled bodies of the dead. At length the martial clangour and exulting shouts of the advancing hosts proclaimed the renewal of the doubtful and long contested fight; which after several impetuous charges and repulses, terminated in the complete discomfiture of the enemy, and a decisive triumph of our arms. After remaining undisputed masters of the field for some time, General Ripley retired to camp with all his forces, in pursuance of the orders of the Commander-in-Chief, in perfect order, unpursued or unmolested by the enemy.

BATTLE OF BLADENSBURGH, AND FALL OF
WASHINGTON CITY.

THE British divided their forces of shipping and men; the greater part ascended the Patuxent as high as Benedict village, preceded by the American flotilla; the residue ascended the Potomack; the main force of the enemy, led on by General Ross, advanced to Upper Marlborough. On the 22d August, Commodore Barney blew up his flotilla to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, and joined the American army under the command of General Winder. The enemy were now left to proceed in an uninterrupted march, the distance of about sixty miles along a road that might have been flanked, and their troops harassed and defeated without a general engagement, by two regiments of well officered men. Thus they arrived at Bladensburgh without molestation, where the American army was drawn up to receive them. It was principally composed of militia and volunteers without much discipline, and who had not the least confidence in their officers, from the circumstances of their long march through the richest country in the United States without food; and when arrived, were served with dry wheat flour, which was mixed in muddy water and baked on fence rails, camp kettles, or in the fire. This circumstance, together with that of the uninterrupted march of the British, gave rise to a suspicion of treachery, which suspicion seemed generally to rest on Armstrong, the then Secretary of War. In this situation of things the British arrived at Bladensburgh; the fire of their infantry, preceded by a storm of Congreve rockets, caused the American line to falter; and the left, under General Stansberry, gave way on about the third, and the right, on the fifth fire; the British then commenced outflanking the centre, who of course were compelled to retreat, which they did in tolerable order, and formed on the right of Commodore Barney's flotillamen; the Commodore¹ had formed across the road leading directly from Bladens-

1. Commodore Joshua Barney, (1759-1818). The ball which wounded him in the thigh, at Bladensburg, was never extracted, and caused great suffering all his life.

burgh to Washington city; here the enemy met with their principal resistance, and were swept down several times by whole columns rank and file. They then commenced outflanking on the right, which compelled the Commodore to retreat, which he did four different times, and formed in good order, as if determined to dispute every inch of ground, until he had five horses killed under him, and received three wounds, when he ordered his men to make a final retreat. He fell into the hands of the enemy who, contrary to their usual custom, treated him well, giving him a parole and ordered him to be carried into Bladensburgh on a litter, leaving two of their surgeons to attend him. They pushed on for the city, which in a short time was in flames; the capitol, President's house, the printing office, one of the former residences of Mrs. Washington, and all the other publick buildings, except the general Post-Office.)

"This is my statement; and being in the action and twice wounded in near the close of it, I think I had an opportunity of observing the different circumstances attending this disastrous day.")

Previous to the 2d of July, this district formed a part of military district No. 5. Early in June the Cabinet assembled for purposes extraneous to the defence of the district. A plan was however suggested by the Secretary of the Navy relative to its defence, which was adopted. The effective force of district No. 5. was, on the 7th June, 2154 effective, stationed at various points. On the 1st July a Cabinet council was again convened by the President, from a variety of considerations, and a plan of defence proposed by him, which was adopted. On the 2d July the 10th military district was created, and General Winder² appointed to command it. On the 4th of July a requisition of 93,500 men was made. Of this requisition, 2,000 effectives from the State of Virginia, 5,000 from Pennsylvania, 6,000 from Maryland, and 2,000 from the District

2. Levin Winder, Brigadier-General, Md. militia—a veteran of the Revolution.

of Columbia, were put at the disposal of General Winder; making a total of 15,000 men, exclusive of the regular force, estimated at 1,000 more. The committee states that the Secretary of War, on the 12th July enclosed to General Winder a circular addressed to the Governors of certain States, requiring a body of militia to be organized, equipped, and held in readiness for future service, and authorizes him to call for a part or a whole of the quota assigned to Maryland; and on the 17th the Secretary authorizes him to draw from Virginia her quota of 2,000, from Pennsylvania 5,000, and informed him that the district militia were at his disposal; making 6,000 from Maryland, the estimate of 15,000 men.

(In a letter of the 13th of August, from General Winder to the Secretary of War, he states that in consequence of the acceptance of the 2d regiment of General Smith's division, and the impracticability and impropriety of taking any portion of the militia from the eastern shore of Maryland, and the necessity of leaving the men upon the bay for local defence, instead of 3,000 he would not get as many hundred at Bladensburgh. He suggests the propriety of taking the troops, about 1,000, drawn out under the State authority, into the service of the United States, and to call on Pennsylvania for one regiment which would make his militia between 2 and 3,000, besides the 2d regiment from General Smith's division. In answer the Secretary authorizes him to take them into the service of the United States. On the 27th July the Governor of Maryland, in a letter to the Secretary of War, states that the requisition of the President was complied with, and that the requisition of General Winder for the 3,000 drafts, was ordered to embody. On July 30th General Winder made a requisition on the Governor of Maryland for 3,000 militia; and on the 5th of August the Governor informs him that his demand could not be complied with. On the 14th of July Mr. Boileau, Secretary of State of Pennsylvania, writes to the Secretary of War to the same effect, already mentioned, in relation to the difficulties, &c. resulting from the non-exis-

tence of the militia laws of that State; but relies on the patriotism of the people. On the 14th of July the Deputy Adjutant General, in answer to the communication from the War Department, containing the requisition of the 4th July, states that orders had been issued by the Governor of Virginia, placing a provisional force of 15,000 in readiness for defence, &c. to be organized for three months only; he also states that the whole militia would be furnished with arms, &c. by Virginia; and on the 18th, the Secretary of War informs the Governor that 2,000 of the Virginia militia would be placed at the disposition of General Winder.)

In relation to General Winder, the committee states that on the 4th or 5th of July he received notice of his appointment to the 10th military district, and proceeded to Washington, when the Secretary of War enumerated the regular force, and showed him the requisition of the 4th. He then proceeded to explore the 10th military district generally. On the 17th, at Nottingham, he was informed that the enemy was ascending the Patuxent, wrote to the Secretary and General West, advising him to collect the militia. The 36th and 38th regiments were ordered to Nottingham, and three companies of city militia were sent to him. On the 18th August information was received that the enemy's fleet had on the 17th, been considerably re-enforced. Immediately requisitions were made on the Governors of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Various officers and the district militia were ordered out *en masse*. On the 19th General Winder submits several propositions relative to the defence of the City, which the Secretary of War informs him had been submitted to the President, and refers him to the Navy Department in relation to the means in that department. His call on the militia *en masse* is approved, and advised that the cavalry be pushed immediately into the neighbourhood of the enemy. On the 20th information was received of the arrival of the enemy at Benedict, in force; and the same day Colonel Tilman and Captain Caldwell were despatched to annoy the enemy, impede his march, and remove and destroy his forage and provisions.

On Sunday morning the 21st, the troops were mustered, and the articles of war read to them. At 12 o'clock the marines under Captain Miller joined the army; the regulars of the 36th and 38th also joined at the Wood Yard, seven miles in advance, to which the main body of our troops were marched, and encamped on Sunday night. Two letters from Colonel Monroe, on the 21st, one stating that he had viewed the enemy near Benedict, enumerated 27 square rigged vessels, some bay craft and barges; the other dated at Nottingham, stating the advance of the enemy upon that place by land and water; and recommending the commanding General to despatch 5 or 600 men to fall upon the enemy. Colonels Monroe and Beall³ both joined the army at night, and gave an account that the enemy had been viewed by them. Colonel Beall calculated that he had seen 4,000, without supposing he had seen all. Colonel Monroe estimated the enemy at about 6,000; Captain Herbert joins with his troops; Colonel Lavall had joined with two companies of cavalry on the day previous; the enemy remained at Nottingham, except an advanced detachment about three miles from town. Monday the 22d, early in the morning a light detachment was ordered to meet the enemy, composed of the 36th and 38th, Lieutenant Colonel Scott, Colonel Lavall's cavalry, and three companies from the brigade of General Smith, under Major Peter, viz., his own company of artillery, Captain Stull's corps, Captain Davison's light infantry. This detachment marched on the road to Nottingham, about nine o'clock; the remainder of the army marched about one mile in advance to an elevated position; the commanding General with his staff, accompanied by Colonel Monroe, proceeded in advance to reconnoiter the march of the enemy. Commodore Barney had joined the army with his flotillamen, besides the marines under Captain Miller; the horse preceded the advanced detachment of our forces, met the enemy, and retired before them. This induced the advance corps to take a position to impede the march of the enemy; but the advance detachment was ordered to

3. William D. Beall (1755-1829) Colonel 5th Infantry—a veteran of the Revolution.

retrograde and join the main body of the army that had remained some hours in line of battle, expecting the enemy to come that route to the city, but they were disappointed, for he took the road to Upper Marlborough, turning to his right after having come within a few miles of our forces; upon which the commanding General fell back with his whole forces to the battalion's old field, about eight miles from Marlborough, and about the same distance from the city of Washington. At this time heavy explosions in the direction of Marlborough announced the destruction of the flotilla under command of Commodore Barney. The enemy arrived at Upper Marlborough about 2 o'clock, and remained there until late next day, to be joined, it is presumed, by the detachment of the enemy which had been sent against the flotilla.

The commanding General proceeded to Marlborough and found the enemy encamped; several prisoners taken gave information that the enemy would remain in that position until the next day, and after making observations of the enemy until the close of the day, General Winder returned to the army*. Late in the evening of this day, the President, with the Secretaries of War and Navy, and the Attorney General, joined General Winder at the battalion old fields, and remained with him till the evening of the 23d. In the morning the troops were drawn up and reviewed by the President. The most contradictory reports prevailed as to the movements and force of the enemy, and it was doubted in camp whether Annapolis, Fort Washington, with a view to cooperate with his naval forces, or the city of Washington, was his object. As to numbers, rumours vibrated from 4 to 12,000; the best opinion was from 5 to 7,000. Our forces at this time at the old fields, are variously estimated, with no material difference, at about 3,000 men, in the following corps: about 400 horse under the command of the following officers: Lieutenant Colonel Lavall, Colonel Tilghman, Captains Caldwell, Thornton, Herbert, Wil-

*He might have been much better employed in flanking and obstructing the roads.

liams, &c.; 400 regular troops, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Scott, viz. 36th, 38th, and Captain Morgan's⁴ company of the 12th infantry; 600 marines and flotillamen under Commodore Barney and Captain Miller, with five pieces of heavy artillery, two 18 pounders, and three 12 pounders, 1,800 militia and volunteers, General Smith's brigade of Georgetown and city militia, and Maryland militia under Colonel Kramer, of which there were two companies of artillery under Captain Burch and Major Peter, with 6 pounders each, making an aggregate of 3,200, with 17 pieces of artillery. The enemy was without cavalry, and had two small field pieces and one howitzer, drawn by men; and the whole country well calculated for defence, skirmishing, and to impede the march of an enemy)

(The enemy remained at Upper Marlborough till after 12 o'clock; about which time General Winder again ordered the detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Scott and Major Peter to advance and meet the enemy if he should be found advancing, or to attack his positions. About this time, 12 o'clock, some prisoners were taken; and from the information given by them, and the observations of the videts, General Winder was induced to believe that the enemy intended to remain stationary for the day, which induced him to think of uniting with him the forces at Bladensburgh, and despatched orders to General Stansbury, and other corps at Bladensburgh, to move direct for Upper Marlborough, and proceeded himself towards Bladensburgh, to meet and hurry on the forces to form a junction.) When General Winder left the command with General Smith and proceeded towards Bladensburgh with several troops of cavalry, he left orders that the advanced corps should march upon the enemy and annoy him by all possible means, if in march, or if not, then in his positions; and if he advanced upon Bladensburgh General Smith, with the main body, should fall upon his flank, or be governed by circumstances in other movements.

4. Captain Willoughby Morgan, (Col. 1st Infantry, 1830).

Captain Caldwell joined the advanced corps at two o'clock, P. M. An express brought intelligence that the enemy had left Upper Marlborough; that our advance had met the enemy about six miles in advance of our forces, and after a skirmish, in which Captain Stull's company had about four or five rounds, was compelled to retreat; and that the enemy was advancing. One of the Aids of General Smith was despatched for General Winder, who had arrived some time previous, ordered the army to march to the city of Washington. The enemy was about three miles distant, and remained there that night. Having remained till the going down of the sun, the retreat to the city was induced by several considerations, stated by the commanding General. (1st. To effect a union of his whole forces. 2d. The fear of a night attack, from the superiority of the enemy and want of discipline in his troops. And 3d. In a night attack, his superiority in artillery could not be used. The march of our army to the city was extremely rapid and precipitate, and orders occasionally given to Captains of companies to hurry on the men, who were extremely fatigued and exhausted before the camping ground was reached near the Eastern branch ridge, within the district of Columbia.)

General Stansbury had arrived at Bladensburgh on the 22d, and the 5th Baltimore regiment, including the artillery and rifle corps, on the evening of the 23d; and at 12 o'clock at night, Colonel Monroe, in passing through Bladensburgh to the city of Washington, advised General Stansbury to fall upon the rear of the enemy forthwith, as it was understood that he was in motion for the city. General Stansbury having been ordered to take post at Bladensburgh, did not think he was at liberty to leave it; but independent of this consideration, the fatigue of the troops under Colonel Sterret made it impracticable.

It is here proper to state that on the 22d, the Secretary of War, in a letter to General Winder, which closes their written communications previous to the 24th, except a short note of that morning,

states that he had ordered General Douglass to march with his command to the district without seeking a rendezvous with General Hungerford; that a detachment of the 12th infantry had arrived; that it should be armed, equipped and marched to the Wood Yard; that the Baltimore brigade would arrive at Bladensburgh that day; and suggests the propriety of throwing Barney's seamen and some other troops on the right of Nottingham, a demonstration which would menace the rear of the enemy, and his communication with shipping, which would, if not stop, much retard his progress. On the morning of the 24th, in a short note to the Secretary of War, General Winder says the information up the river is threatening; Barney or some other force should occupy the batteries at Greenleaf's Point and Navy Yard, and wishes counsel from the government or Secretary of War. Upon this note is an endorsement in the handwriting of General Armstrong, to this effect: "Went to General Winder, saw no necessity for ordering Barney to Greenleaf's Point or Navy Yard—advised the Commodore to join the army at Bladensburgh, and ordered Minor's regiment to that place."

On the 21st, late at night, Colonel Taylor arrived in the city from the Northern Neck, where he had been charged with orders in relation to Virginia drafts, and reported himself to General Armstrong, who issued the following general order:

WAR DEPARTMENT, 22d August, 1814.—12 o'clock.

General Order.

General Douglass will assemble his brigade at Alexandria, and hold it there subject to orders.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

Colonel Taylor executed this order, and Tuesday night, the 23d, again reported himself to General Armstrong, who issued the following orders:

WAR DEPARTMENT.

General Order.

Lieutenant Colonel Minor will repair to Washington with the regiment under his command, with the utmost despatch; he will report on his arrival to Colonel Carberry of the 36th regiment, and make a requisition for arms and ammunition.

(Signed)

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

WAR DEPARTMENT, August 23, 1814.

General Order.

All the militia now in and marching to Alexandria, besides Colonel Minor, will march immediately to Washington; these orders will be communicated by Colonel Taylor.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.

On the 18th of August, General Van Ness ordered General Young to call out, *en masse*, the brigade under his command, including the Alexandria militia; the same day two troops of cavalry attached to the brigade were ordered to rendezvous at Bladensburg on the 19th, at 4 o'clock in the morning, to accompany Colonel Monroe, Secretary of State, and to be subject to his order. On the 20th in the afternoon, General Young's brigade was ordered by General Winder to cross the Potomack opposite Alexandria, and encamp in the best positions and wait further orders, which was effected. The brigade consisting of 454 men, two brass six pounders, and one brass four pounder. On the 22d early, General Young, by orders of General Winder, marched his brigade and took a position on a height near the head of Piscataway creek, about 3 miles in the rear of Fort Washington, where the ground was favourable for a small detachment to defend the country against a much greater force, and remained in this position until the morning of the 24th, when several orders were given to him; first to march towards the Eastern Branch bridge; second to cross the Potomack to the Virginia side, &c. This brigade was intended

in its dispositions to aid Fort Washington, the town of Alexandria, and to be in a situation to join General Winder.

(On the morning of the 24th, General Winder established his head quarters near the Eastern Branch bridge; detachments of horse were out in various directions as videts and reconnoitering parties, and arrangements made to destroy the Eastern Branch bridge. Colonel George Minor with his regiment of Virginia militia, composed of 600 infantry and 100 cavalry, arrived at the city of Washington in the twilight of the evening of the 23d; he called on the President, who referred him to the Secretary of War for orders; the Secretary informed him that arms could not be had that night, but gave orders to report himself to Colonel Carberry⁵ early in the morning, who would furnish him with arms and ammunition, as he was charged with that duty by General Winder. From early in the morning till late in the afternoon, Colonel Minor sought Colonel Carberry diligently, but he could not be found. He rode to head quarters and obtained an order from General Winder upon the arsenal for arms, &c. marched to the place with his regiment, and its care he found committed to a young man whose caution in giving out arms, &c. very much delayed the arming and supplying this regiment. An instance is here given—when the flints were counted out by the officers of the regiment, to expedite business at this crisis, the young man would count them over before they could be obtained.)

Colonel Carberry arrived at this moment, apologized for his absence, and informed Colonel Minor that he had the evening previous ridden out to his country seat.* Colonel Minor was again delayed some length of time in having to remain to sign receipts. &c. His men were ordered to Capitol Hill; in the mean time various reports were brought into headquarters as to the movements

5. Henry Carberry, Colonel 58th Infantry. A veteran of the Revolution. Died 1822*

*What must be thought of an officer having choice of all the arms at such a trying crisis, to be off on a visit? Villain! you are welcome to your own conscience.

and intentions of the enemy; the President and heads of departments collected at headquarters, in the following order: The President, next Secretary of State, next the Attorney General, next the Secretary of the Navy, and last the Secretary of War and Treasurer together. Colonel Monroe had left headquarters upon a rumour that gained ground, that the enemy was marching upon the city by way of Bladensburgh, with a view of joining General Stansbury, advising him of the rumour and to aid him in the formation of a line of battle to meet the enemy. General Stansbury, for reasons given in his report, had marched from his position in advance of Bladensburgh, and occupied the ground west of that village on the banks of the Eastern Branch. Here the front line of battle was formed by General Stansbury and his officers, with the aid of Colonel Monroe, on the presumption that General Stansbury's brigade and the command of Colonel Sterret, including (included?) the command of Major Pinkney⁶ and Baltimore artillery.

There is a bridge over the Eastern Branch at Bladensburgh, and a large turnpike road leading direct to the city of Washington. About four hundred yards from this bridge, some small distance to the left of the road, the Baltimore artillery, six pieces of six pounders, occupied a temporary breastwork of earth, well calculated to command the pass over the bridge. Part of the battalion of riflemen, under Major William Pinkney, and one other company, took position on the right of the artillery, partially protected by a fence and brush; and on the left of the battery, leading to the rear of a barn, two companies from the regiments under Colonel Shutz, and the other part of the riflemen from Baltimore. Colonel Ragan⁷ was posted in the rear of Major Pinkney, his right resting on the road; Colonel Shutz continuing the line on the left, with a small vacancy in the centre of the two regiments; and Colonel Sterret formed the extreme left flank of the infantry. At this moment Colonels Beall and Hood entered Bladensburgh with the Mary-

6. Ninian Pinkney, Major 5th Infantry.

7. John Ragan, Captain Rifles 1808-11. Lt. Col. Baltimore Vols.

land militia from Annapolis, crossed the bridge and took a position on a most commanding height on the right of the turnpike, about 300 yards from the road, to secure the right flank. In the meantime, (about 11 o'clock) certain intelligence was received at headquarters, that the enemy was in full march towards Bladensburgh; which induced General Winder to put in motion his whole force, except a few men and a piece of artillery left at the Eastern Branch bridge to destroy it. The day was hot, and the road dusty; the march was rapid to Bladensburgh. The cavalry and mounted men arrived, and were placed on the left flank, and some small distance in its rear. General Winder now arrived, and told General Stansbury and Colonel Monroe that his whole force was marching for Bladensburgh, and approved the dispositions which had been made of the troops; at which moment it had become impracticable, in the opinion of the officers, for the two armies were now coming to the battle ground in opposite directions; and the enemy appeared on the opposite heights of Bladensburgh, about a mile distant, and halted fifteen or twenty minutes. This was about 12 o'clock. The above was the exact disposition of the two armies. The reader has the issue of this fatal day on the title page of this battle, if it is not a disgrace to call it such.

BATTLE OF BALTIMORE.

THE British army immediately after the destruction of the city of Washington, began to make preparations for an attack on Baltimore, a city for which they held the most fiend-like hatred. And being elated with that success which treachery had imparted to them on a late occasion. The city of Baltimore was doomed in their diabolical calculations to share the fate of Hampton, where the watchword was "Booty and Beauty;" & it is a fact well known, that the same promise was made to the British Army when landed before Baltimore; and nothing else expected by its devoted citizens, should they fall into the hands of these

modern cannibals, but slaughter, rapine, blood and murder. The alarm in fact, was so great on account of the savage, dishonorable warfare of the British, that as soon as the alarm guns were fired on the observatory, thousands of females with their children were to be seen, making their way with fear and wretchedness depicted on their countenances, through fields and woods, not knowing where they were going; while the male population were rapidly forming their regiments and marching to the attack of their invading foes. On the 10th of Sept. intelligence was received that 50 hostile sail were ascending the bay; a part of that formidable expedition touched at North Point, fourteen miles below Baltimore, and disembarked their land forces. The citizens of Baltimore turned out *en masse*. A part of General Winder's force had repaired to that city, in anticipation of an attack. The Militia of the vicinity came in. The whole were under the command of a veteran officer of the Revolution, General Samuel Smith of Baltimore. General Stricker took a position at the junction of the two roads leading from the city to North Point; his right flanked by Cove Creek and his left by a marsh. Here he awaited the approach of the enemy. A reconnoitering detachment met the enemy's advance, skirmished and retreated to the line. Between 2 and 3 o'clock the enemy's whole force came up and commenced battle by some discharges of rockets; and soon after the action became general along the whole line. General Stricker gallantly maintained his position against a great superiority of numbers, for the space of one hour and twenty minutes, when the 51st Regiment on his left gave away, which obliged him to fall back on his reserve. He then formed his brigade, but the enemy having lost their commander in chief General Ross, did not renew the attack, and the General fell back to the entrenchments near the city. The enemy made some further demonstrations; but finding our troops on the alert at all points, and the entrenchments strong and well manned, silently withdrew his troops in the night. General Smith states the British loss, as nearly as he could ascertain, at between six and seven hundred. General

Stricker's brigade lost alone about one hundred fifty killed and wounded. At the same time the British were advancing by land, their fleet made its approach by water, and commenced a discharge of rockets and bombs, as soon as it came in range of Fort M'Henry. The situation of Major Armistead,⁸ the commander of the fort, was peculiarly trying; the enemy having taken his position at such a distance as to render offensive operations on his part entirely fruitless while the bombs and rockets were every moment falling in and about it; the officers and men being at the same time exposed. The vessels, however, had the temerity to approach somewhat nearer. They were as soon compelled to withdraw. During the night, while the land forces of the enemy were retreating, and whilst the bombardment was the most severe, two or three rocket vessels and several barges succeeded in getting up the ferry branch; but they were soon compelled to retire, by the forts and batteries in that quarter. These forts also destroyed some of the barges with all on board. The loss in Fort M'Henry was four killed and twenty-four wounded. The enemy finding that there was little to be expected from their attack but hard blows, disappeared on the morning of the 11th. Among the distinguished citizens of Baltimore, who fell on the 11th, was James Louny Donaldson, a representative in the State Legislature from that city. The British Admiral, Sir Peter Parker, was killed in one of the enemy's predatory* excursions. When it was ascertained on the morning of the 12th, that the British had retreated, orders were given (I believe by General Smith) for the baggage wagons to go down the whole length of the battle ground, and bring up the dead and wounded who had unavoidably been left on the field. The orders were scarcely given, when it was known in the city; and by the time they had returned, from five to ten thousand women and children were collected; their business was too plainly depicted in their countenances, to be misunderstood. When the dead were laid along on

8. George Armistead, Major Corps of Artillery.

*Predatory.

the green inside of the entrenchments that those who had relatives could receive them, and the work of examination commenced, then was a scene which baffles the pen of the historian to describe; even at this late day the screams, the groans, the faintings among the females and aged part of the population, with the frequent exclamations of, "Oh! my husband! oh! my child!" are, as it were, distinctly heard. The author was at all times prepared for the sight of death and destruction in the field of battle, but not for the awful heartrending scene which was here manifested by the lovely daughters of America, in the loss of all they held dear on earth. The author will conclude his account of the battle by mentioning two circumstances which transpired near him while the dead were about to be disposed of; the first of which was an old gentleman, he would think to be from seventy to eighty years of age, who trembled from head to foot, as an aspen leaf; and stooping down, was in the act of viewing two young men, when the question was asked him whether he had lost a connexion? With tears streaming down his cheeks, he replied, "Yes sir, in the Revolution I lost my father and two brothers, and here lie my two sons, but (said he) they have died in a good cause." Turning to disguise my feelings, I observed a young lady I supposed to have been lately married. She was stooping and in the act of viewing a man who from appearance had been shot for some time. She examined his coat, his waistcoat, and still seemed undetermined; at last she opened the breast of his shirt and exclaimed, clapping her hands together "Oh God!" and fainted. The feelings of the author were so agitated by an observance of these circumstances—he immediately left the field of weeping, lamentation and woe.

BATTLE OF NEW-ORLEANS.

ENTRANCE INTO PENSACOLA.

THIS place had long been a principal rendezvous for the Indians and British, much to the prejudice of the United States.

In November 1814, General Jackson, indignant at the barefaced violation of the neutrality of the place, determined to enter the place and seize on its defences. On his approach he sent an officer with a flag to the Governor, who was fired upon from Fort St. George. This outrage produced a resolution in the Commander in-Chief to storm the place, which was defended by British and Spanish troops, and seven English ships of war in the harbour. Our troops advanced for this purpose; as they were entering the town they were saluted with a shower of ball and grape from a battery and the musketry from the houses and gardens. The Governor met the officers in advance with a flag, begged for mercy, and surrendered the town and fort unconditionally. The British blew up the principal fort, called the Baruncas, which commands the entrance into the bay. After this General Jackson repaired to New-Orleans, which was then menaced with an attack from a most formidable naval and military expedition.

On the 12th of December, the British fleet, with the expedition on board, arrived at Ship Island in the bay of St. Louis, and about seventy miles N. E. of New-Orleans. On the 13th they landed at Pass Christianne, which communicates with Lake Ponchartrain, with one hundred and six barges, manned by upwards of a thousand men and officers from the squadron, and proceeded directly in quest of the American flotilla, commanded by Lieutenant Jones, which they engaged on the 14th. The American force consisted of two light schooners, five gun-boats carrying twenty-three guns, manned with 182 men. The sanguinary character of this contest has few parallels. Several of the barges were sunk. Our little force was finally overpowered and taken; not, however, until they had killed or disabled nearly four hundred of their en-



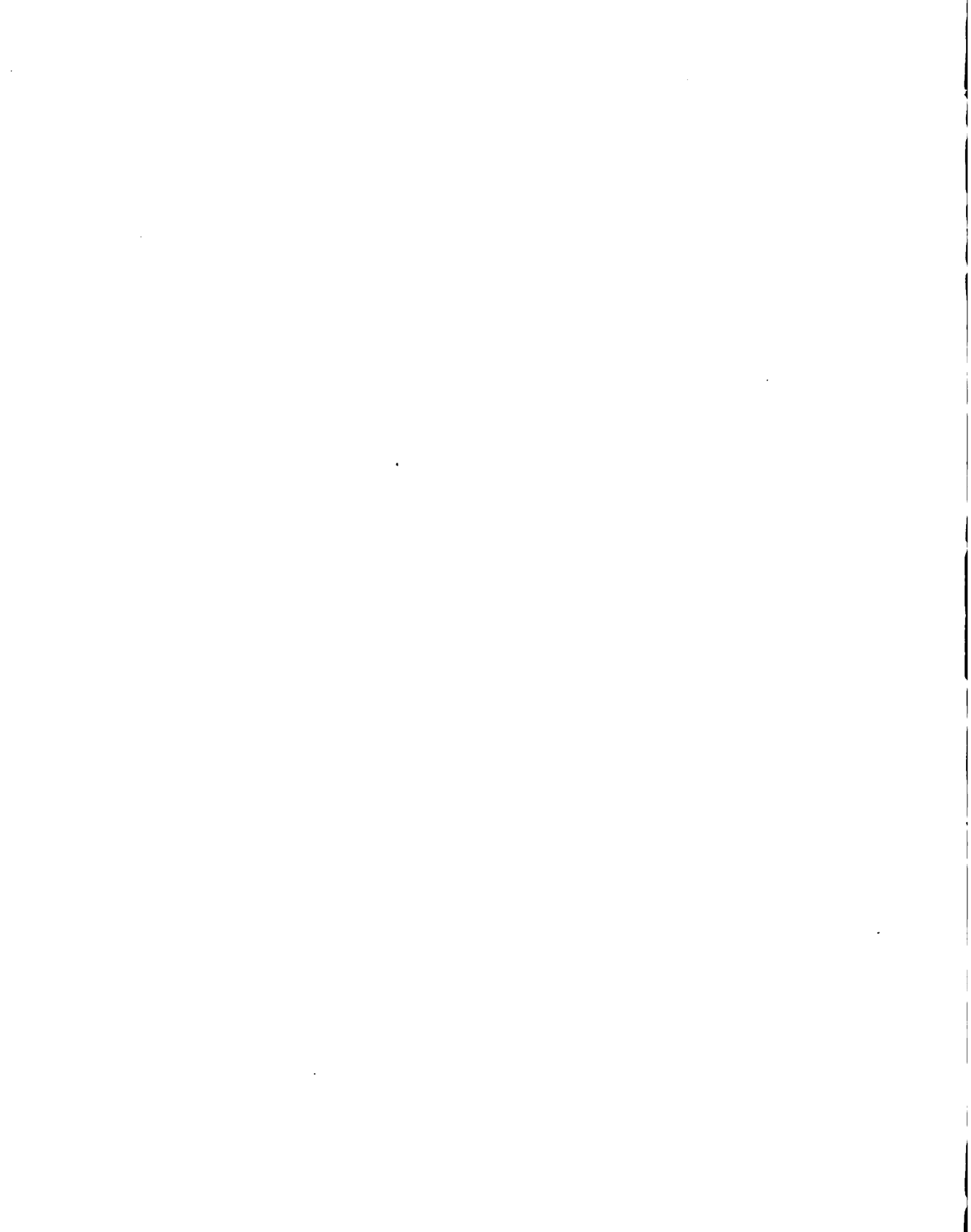
Gen'l Gibbs

Gen'l Packingham

Gen'l Lambert

BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS

8th of January, 1815



emies.* The capture of our flotilla gave the enemy command of the lakes, and enabled him to choose his point of attack.

But it was yet doubtful at what point the enemy would strike the contemplated blow; whether he would approach through the lakes, or attempt to ascend the Mississippi by the way of the Balize and Fort St. Phillip. General Jackson was indefatigable in his preparations to receive him. Large bodies of Tennessee and Kentucky militia were on their way for the defence of the city. The numerous approaches from the side of the lakes, were carefully guarded. The eyes of the Union were directed to this new theatre of war.

The enemy approached the city by the way of the lakes, and on the 23d of December succeeded in reaching the Mississippi six miles below New-Orleans, undiscovered by any one disposed to give the intelligence. The artillery and baggage were conveyed in boats up the Bayou and canal which passes from the Levee to Lake Borgne, and through the farm of Mr. Villeré. Had it not been for the fortunate escape of the son of Mr. Villeré, they would have reached the city before it was known that they had disembarked at the mouth of the Bayou. This unexpected appearance of the enemy is not to be attributed to any want of precaution in the commanding General. He had guarded all the approaches; a picket had been stationed at the mouth of the Bayou, which was completely surprised.

It was about 12 o'clock when the news of their arrival reached the General, who, apprehending a double attack by the way of Chef Monteau, left General Carroll's and the militia of the city to guard the canal of Carondelet, and at 5 o'clock marched with five hundred men to meet the enemy, at that time about three thousand strong, occupying a line upon the river of half a mile extent and leisurely employed in cooking their suppers. Commodore Patterson, in the *Carolina* schooner, was ordered to drop

*See the official account.

down the river and open a fire upon their camp, which he executed about half past seven. His fire was the signal for our troops to attack, which they executed with great spirit. General Coffee's brigade rushed into the enemy's camp. Several other corps did the same. The city riflemen penetrated to the enemy's centre, were surrounded, and fought their way out again, bringing off a number of prisoners. One hour after the commencement of the action a thick fog arose which produced some confusion. It became prudent to recall the troops from a murderous conflict of doubtful result. Our men lay on their arms during the night, and in the morning took a stronger position two miles nearer the city. General Jackson lost about one hundred men killed, wounded and prisoners. The enemy must have suffered severely from the certain aim of the riflemen.* Colonel Lauderdale of General Coffee's corps fell, nobly fighting at the head of his regiment. Colonels Dyer and Gibson, of the same corps, were wounded.

On the 27th, the enemy succeeded in blowing up the *Carolina* schooner, which had become becalmed. The enemy fired her by hot shot from a land battery. The crew escaped by swimming.

The next day the enemy marched up the Levee for the purpose of forcing the American lines. At the distance of half a mile he opened upon our works with bombs and rockets. They continued to advance in solid column until they were saluted with a shower of canister and grape, when they fell on their bellies and laid still until it was dark, and retired under cover of the night. Their loss on this occasion was about one hundred.

The *New Year* opened by a discharge from the enemy's batteries; the principal fire was on the left, near the cypress woods. Twelve Americans were killed—many of the enemy were killed and wounded.

*A journal found upon one of the British officers killed in the assault of the 8th of January, mentioned that they lost on the night of the 23d of December, 224 killed, and an immense number wounded.

On the 2d, General Jackson ordered a sortie of four hundred men, half of them mounted, to go and reconnoiter the enemy's batteries which had fired so briskly on the preceding day. It was found by the sallying party that our fire had dismounted several of their guns, which they had taken off, razed their redoubts, and retreated to their first lines.

General Adair from Kentucky, arrived with four thousand men, and encamped three miles above the city. Considerable inconvenience was experienced for the want of arms, in consequence of the continual arrival of the militia.

At this time the enemy received a re-enforcement of three thousand men, under General Lambert. On the 7th they were disembarked at the Bayou Bienvenu. The same evening they dug through the Levee to admit the river into the canal, through which they dragged twenty-five of their boats and thus transported six hundred of their men to the opposite side of the river, for the purpose of attacking the batteries and a party of Kentucky militia entrusted with their defence. These troops under the command of Colonel Thornton, were intended to create a diversion on that side of the river, while the main attack was carried on the east side.

Accordingly, before day-light on the morning of the 8th, they moved in silence upon the American intrenchments, Let us first introduce the official account of the various fortunes of the day:

Camp, 4 miles below Orleans, 9th Jan. 1815.

SIR—During the day of the 6th and 7th, the enemy had been actively employed in making preparations for an attack on my lines. With infinite labour they had succeeded on the night of the 7th in getting their boats across from the lake to the river, by widening and deepening the canal on which they had effected their disembarkation. It had not been in my power to impede these operations by a general attack; added to other reasons, the nature of

the troops under my command, mostly militia, rendered it too hazardous to attempt extensive *offensive* movements on an open country, against a numerous and well disciplined army. Although my forces, as to number, had been increased by the arrival of the Kentucky division, my strength had received very little addition; a small portion only of that detachment being provided with arms. Compelled thus to wait the attack of the enemy I took every measure to repel it when it should be made, and to defeat the object he had in view. General Morgan, with the New-Orleans contingent, the Louisiana militia, and a strong detachment of the Kentucky troops, occupied an intrenched camp on the opposite side of the river, protected by strong batteries on the back, erected and superintended by Commodore Patterson.

In my encampment every thing was ready for action, when, early on the morning of the 8th, the enemy after throwing a heavy shower of bombs and Congreve rockets, advanced their columns on my right and left, to storm my intrenchments. I cannot speak sufficiently in praise of the firmness and deliberation with which my whole line received their approach; *more* could not have been expected from veterans inured to war. For an hour the fire of the small arms was as incessant and severe as can be imagined. The artillery, too, directed by officers who displayed equal skill and courage, did great execution. Yet the columns of the enemy continued to advance with a firmness which reflects upon them the greatest credit. Twice the column which approached me on my left, was repulsed by the troops of General Carroll, those of General Coffee, and a division of the Kentucky militia, and twice they formed again and renewed the assault. At length, however, cut to pieces, they fled in confusion from the field, leaving it covered with their dead and wounded. The loss which the enemy sustained on this occasion, cannot be estimated at less than fifteen hundred in killed, wounded and prisoners. Upwards of three hundred have already been delivered over for burial; and my men are still engaged in

picking them up within my lines and carrying them to the point where the enemy are to receive them. This is in addition to the dead and wounded whom the enemy have been enabled to carry from the field during and since action, and to those who have since died of the wounds they received. [We have taken about five hundred prisoners, upwards of three hundred of whom are wounded, and a great part of them mortally.] [My loss has not exceeded, and I believe has not amounted to ten killed, and as many wounded.] [The entire destruction of the enemy's army was now inevitable, had it not been for an unfortunate occurrence which at this moment took place on the other side of river. Simultaneously with his advance upon my lines, he had thrown over in his boats a considerable force to the other side of the river. These having landed were hardly enough to advance against the works of General Morgan; and what is strange and difficult to account for, at the very moment when their entire discomfiture was looked for with a confidence approaching to certainty, the Kentucky re-enforcements ingloriously fled, drawing after them, by their example, the remainder of the forces; and thus yielding to the enemy at the most fortunate position. The batteries which had rendered me for many days the most important service, though bravely defended, were of course now abandoned; not, however, until the guns had been spiked.]

This unfortunate rout had totally changed the aspect of affairs. The enemy now occupied a position from which they might annoy us without hazard, and by means of which they might have been enabled to defeat, in a great measure, the effects of our success on this side of the river. It became therefore an object of the first consequence to dislodge him as soon as possible. For this object all the means in my power which I could with any safety use, were immediately put in preparation. [Perhaps, however, it was somewhat owing to another cause that I succeeded beyond my expectations. In negotiating the terms of a temporary suspension in hos-

tilities to enable the enemy to bury their dead and provide for their wounded, I had required certain propositions to be acceded to as a basis; among which this was one: that although hostilities should cease on *this* side the river until 12 o'clock of this day, yet it was not to be understood that they should cease on the *other* side; but that no re-enforcements should be sent across by either army until the expiration of the day. His excellency Major General Lambert begged time to consider those propositions until 10 o'clock of to-day, and in the mean time re-crossed his troops. I need not tell you with how much eagerness I immediately regained possession of the position he had thus hastily quitted."

After the signal defeat of the enemy on the 8th, they showed no disposition to renew the attack. But General Jackson did not long permit them to remain undisturbed; a constant cannonade was kept up from all our batteries, and on the night of 18th of January the enemy silently withdrew to their boats on lake Borgne. They left on the field sixteen pieces of cannon, their equipments, and an immense quantity of ball. Seventy of their wounded were mangled to such a degree that it was impossible to remove them. These they recommended to the humanity of the American commander.

The British ships of war which attempted to ascend the Mississippi, found themselves completely checked to Fort St. Phillip. They bombarded the fort for nine days; during which time they threw about one thousand shells at our works. They withdrew on the 17th of January. This fort has forty-four cannon, and is considered bomb proof. It was defended by five hundred men under the command of the brave Major Overton.*

*Walter Overton, Major Corps of Artillerists.

[1]



An ANSWER

TO SOME

Lies of Conscience

Respecting the COUNTRY.

By SOLOMON STODDARD, A. M. Paftor in *Northampton*.

BOSTON in *New-England* :

Printed by *B. Green*: Sold by *Samuel Gerrish*: at his Shop near the
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AN ANSWER
TO SOME
CASES OF CONSCIENCE

Quest. I. *W*HEREIN doth the oppression of the Country principally consist?

Answ. THERE is an oppression of Rulers often spoken of in Scripture: But besides that, there is an oppression contrary to commutative Justice: this is committed principally in these three ways.

I. WHEN they take the advantage of the ignorance of others. Men that are otherwise knowing Men, are ignorant of the worth of some Commodities; and Men take that opportunity to extort from them. Men that are ignorant of the worth of things, have a dependence on the Integrity of the Seller, who thereby hath an Advantage to gain more than is meet. Sometimes they get twice the value of it. Men's ignorance doth expose them to become a prey to greedy Men. The Seller knows that he could sell it cheaper, but the Buyer is ignorant, and so is defrauded. Sometimes Men sell that which is trash at the price of that which is commendable. The Apothecary sells his Drugs that have lost their vertue through age, to ignorant Men. It is an easy thing for crafty Men to abuse those that are ignorant. And in Country-Towns, Men sometimes give a shilling for that, which at the Market Town, might be had for six pence.

2. WHEN they make their advantage of the Necessities of particular Men: When there is a general Scarcity, the Market-price will inavoidably rise; but where there is no Market, particular persons may be in great necessity; there be few in that Town that can supply them. If they go to another Town to buy the charge will be considerable; the Man is also in a strait because strangers will not trust him, and the Seller takes that advantage

to oppress him; the Scripture takes notice of the oppressing the poor, *Prov. 22. 16. Prov. 14. 31.* It may be Lawyers may be guilty of taking excessive Fees.

3. WHEN they take the advantage on the good nature and ingenuity of other Men, by lying in Debt beyond the proper time of payment. Multitudes of people in the Country are not beforehand, they spend their Money before they have it; the extravagancy of their expences forces them to lie in Debt; the inevitable Providence of GOD casts some Men behind hand; in that case they should compound with their Creditors: but some through a profuse way of living, can't conveniently pay their Debts: Hereby the Creditor is reduced to straits, loses the improvement of his own Estate and sometimes the Debt is lost; the Debtor dies, and there is no Estate; the Creditor dies, and the Children can never recover their Father's dues. GOD was very strict in requiring to pay the hireling his wages. *Lev. 19. 13.*

Q. II. *IS it lawful for Men to set their Dwelling Houses at such a distance from the place of Publick Worship, that they and their Families cannot well attend it?*

Answ. It is lawfull to do it when a few make a beginning of a new Plantation under a prospect of obtaining the Ordinances in a little time. But it is quite Unwarrantable where there is no such prospect.

WE read in Scripture of a *Sabbath day's journey*: *Acts 1. 12.* but that was a tradition, not an injunction. Some take it to be a Mile; some two Miles, according to the different sort of Cubits. It is tho't that the Armies of *Israel* incamped in the Wilderness at that Distance from the Tabernacle, *Num. 2. 2.* They are ordered to pitch over against the Tabernacle, we read it, far off about the Tabernacle. This is thought to be 2000 Cubits; because there was to be that distance between the Tabernacle and the People, when they passed over *Jordan*, *Josh. 3. 4.* But supposing this to be, it

will not prove that two Mile was a Sabbath day's journey. For there is reason to think that when the Children of *Israel* encamped in the Wilderness, they took up the space of Twelve Miles square; so that some of them would be six Miles off from the Tabernacle.

Object. 1. THE Prophet, *2 Kings* 8. 1, 2. directed the woman of *Shunem* to remove out of the Country, because of an approaching Famine; and she sojourned in the land of the *Philistines* seven years. And it is very probable that tho the *Israelites* were cut off from worshipping at the Temple, being commanded to sacrifice at *Dan* and *Bethel*, yet they had places near, where the law was publickly read, and publick Prayers made: yet she is directed to live else where.

Answer. THE Land of the *Philistines* joined to the Land of *Israel*, and she might have opportunity by going two or three Miles, to join with some of *Israel* in Worship; yea the north-east parts of the Land of the *Philistines* was not very far from the Temple at *Jerusalem*, and she might have better opportunity for Worship, than in her own Land.

Obj. 2. IT seems the Woman of *Shunem* was wont to travel on the Sabbath to Mount *Carmel*, which was twelve Miles, *2 Kings* 4. 25.

Answer. IT doth not appear that it was ordinary for her to go thither on the Sabbath; tho possibly she might on some extraordinary occasions.

Q. III. IS not the depreciating the Bills of Publick Credit matter of Provocation?

Answer. IT must needs be; for great wrong is done to many Persons who have received them according to their denomination; and have been forced to put them off as if they were of less Value. Some Men are able to help themselves, by getting greater wages for their Work, and advancing the price of what they bring to the Mar-

ket; but others have been great Sufferers by this practice; and if ever the Bills are called in such as are in debt, either to the Publick, or to particular Persons, will be great losers. It may be some of them will be undone thereby. The temptation to the Merchants was to get the Money into their own hands, that thereby they might make Returns to *England*. They would give thirty shillings in *Bills*, for twenty in *Silver*. And they may afford it, that have Sold, and do sell their Goods at excessive Rates. They are under no necessity to do thus; for they have the command of the Market, and might buy the produce of the Country at such prices, that they might make as profitable Returns, as now they do.

Q. IV. *Is it Lawfull to wear long Hair?*

Answ. It was the Custom in *England* to cut their Hair all off, in imitation of King *Henry* the Eighth, who out of an humour, as *Dr. Fuller* says, cut off his Hair. This custom continued for about threescore years: but by degrees, Men took a greater liberty; thô some Men placed Religion in it yet in length of time, they were not so scrupulous as formerly. And some wore their Hair very long. And many of those that wear Periwigs, use such as are of a very great length. And the custom doth now prevail among Pious People. But it seems utterly Unlawful to wear their Hair long; It is a great Burden and Cumber; it is Effeminacy, and a vast Expence.

ONE Scripture that condemns it, 1 Cor. 11. 14. *Doth not even nature itself teach you, that if a man wear long hair, it is a shame to him?* That which the light of Nature condemns, is a Moral Evil. The light of Nature is to be our Rule in ordinary cases. The reason why it is a shame to wear long Hair is, because it is a Sin: the light of Nature doth condemn it; therefore it is sinfull.

THE principal Objection that is brought to evade the Authority of this Place, is, That by *Nature*, Custom is meant. So *Dr. Hammond* expounds it: I judge he doth it that he may strengthen

himself in his *Arminianism*, that he may have the better pretence to expound it so, *Eph. 2. 3.* where it is said, *We are by nature children of wrath, even as others.* His Exposition there is contrary to the Rule of *Faith*; and in this Place, contrary to the Rule of *Life*. We sometimes say that Custom is a second nature: yet it is never so used in the Scripture: the Interpretation is without precedent: and the Apostle being presently after to speak of Custom, useth another word: *1 Cor. 11. 16.* He saith, We have no such *Custom*. The Apostle's Expression is very remarkable, He saith, *even Nature itself*, as if he had foreseen that Men would put a false interpretation on his words. He doth not content himself to say, *Nature*; but that they may not suppose he meant *Custom*. He saith, *Even Nature itself*. Undoubtedly he was guided therein by the Spirit of GOD. Besides, it was not true that *Custom* taught them that it was a shame for a Man to wear long Hair: for it was the *Custom* of the *Greeks* to wear their Hair *long*: The *Romans* wore their Hair *short*; but the *Greeks* wore their Hair *long*. *Homer* calls the Grecians *Comati Achivi*. And when *Alexander* was in a rage with *Cassander* one of his Nobles, he took him by the Hair and knocked his head against the wall. Moreover in the next verse, *1 Cor. 11. 13.* The Apostle to shew, that Nature teaches Women to wear their Hair *long*; He saith, *If a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering.* GOD gave it to *Women* for a covering, but not to *Men*.

ANOTHER Scripture doth also condemn it, *viz. Ezek. 44. 20.* *Neither shall they shave their heads, nor suffer their locks to grow long, they shall only poll their heads.* Here are two Extrems forbid; *Shaving the head*, and *suffering their locks to grow long*. This must either signify some spiritual thing; but no Man can devise what; or some Gospel Institution; and if so, why is it not enjoyed unto Ministers in the New Testament, or else it is a Moral Law: and so it must be. One part of it is surely Moral; *They shall not shave their heads*; therefore the other part is Moral also; *They shall not suffer their locks to grow long*.

THE Command of GOD requiring the Nazarites to nourish their Hair, is no vindication of long Hair; but a forcible reason against it; which will appear if we consider two things.

1. SUCH Actions as under their *ordinary* circumstances, are Moral Evils; under *extraordinary* circumstances, be very good: So for *Brothers* and *Sisters* to joyn in Wedlock, as *Adam's* Children did: For the *Brother*, among the *Jews*, to Marry his *Brother's* Wife: So for a Physician, to give an intoxicating Potion: to do that which ordinarily is contrary to a Rule of Modesty. One Command, in many cases, must give way to another.

2. THE Nazarites were to deny themselves many comforts, to shew us that we should be mortified to the things of this World. Upon a Religious account, they were to abstain from Wine & Raisins, etc., and upon that account, they were to deny themselves of that neatness and comeliness in wearing their Hair that was a duty in other Men.

IT was a part of the Calamity that came upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, that his Hairs were grown like Eagle's Feathers, and his Nails like birds' claws, Dan. 4. 33.

[The following Letter, written by the same learned Author many years ago, may be here inserted.]

SIR,

In compliance with your desire, I now send you my Thoughts concerning *Periwigs*. I cannot see sufficient Reason to condemn them Universally. GOD does allow Man by *Art* to supply the defects of *Nature*. Hair artificially prepared may supply as fully and innocently, the want of Hair, as any other matter artificially prepared.

But yet I judge that there is abundance of Sin, in this Country, in wearing *Periwigs*. Particularlly, in these two things;

First, When Men do wear them needlessly, in compliance with

the Fashion. Their own Hair is sufficient for all those Ends that GOD has given Hair for. One Man's Hair is comelier than another's. And so it is with their Faces and Bodies. Some cut off their Own because of the Colour; it is *Red* or *Grey*; Some, because it is *Streight*; Some, because it is *Frizel'd*; and some only because it is their *Own*.

Secondly. When those that may have just occasion to wear them, doe wear them in such a Ruffianly way, as it would be utterly unlawfull to wear their own Hair in. Some of them are of an unreasonable *Length*; and generally, they are extravagant as to their *Bushyness*.

We have no certain way to pass a Judgment upon this *Practice*, but by comparing it with such general Moral Rules as we are bound to Observe. It renders it somewhat *Suspicious*, that the *Practice* did at first take its rise from very *Corrupt* Men; and that it was long before it did obtain among those that were *godly*. But if it disagree with Moral Rules it is altogether to be Condemned.

The *Practice* seems, to me, to have these four *Evils* in it:

1. It is an *Uncontentedness* with that Provision that GOD has made for Men. GOD has generally given Men such Hair as is comely; and a sufficiency of it. And when it is so Men have cause to be well satisfied. When GOD has given to Men such Hair as is suitable to answer the Ends of Hair It seems to be a *Despising* of the Goodness of GOD to cut it off, in compliance with a Vain Fashion. If GOD lay Affliction upon them, they may use lawfull Methods, to moderate the Affliction: But these Men, thô GOD be Bountifull to them, *are not Contented to be at His Finding*.

2. It is *Wastefulness*. Abundance of Money is *needlessly* spent in maintaining this *Practice*. Some of the Men that use it, have need enough of the Money other ways; and lay themselves under Temptation by this *Extravagancy*; either to oppress Men in their Dealings or to be more Pinching in other Cases, than they

ought to be. And those Men that have more plentiful Estates, have no Liberty to use them according to their own Pleasure. That Money that may be laid out to *Advantage*, should not be spent *Unprofitably*.

3. It is *Pride*: they do it to make a great *Shew*; It is from an Affection of *Swaggering*; it is an Affecting of *Finery* that there is no just occasion for. They count it *Brave* to be in the Fashion; crave the honour of being counted as *Gallant* as others. It is too much *Flaunting*.

4. It is *contrary to Gravity*. There is a Masculine Gravity that should appear in the Countenances of Men, discovering a Solemnity of Spirit. But this *Practice* is *Light* and *Effeminate*. Tho' it make a *Shew* yet it takes much away from the Presence of Men. Such *Curiosity* discovers much *Vanity* in the Mind; and makes others to esteem the more lightly of them and not to shew that Respect to them. This *Practice* makes them look, as if they were more dispos'd to *Court a Maid*, than to bear upon their Hearts the weighty Concernments of GOD's Kingdom.

But I am fearful that the Stream runs so strong this way that no Endeavours will work a Publick Reformation, until GOD does give Men another Spirit, or lay them under other Dispensations. Yet it may not be without good Effect on some particular Persons, if a Testimony be borne against the *Practice*; if not to *Reduce* any, yet to *Prevent* some that were in danger.

Thus Sir, I have endeavoured to give some Satisfaction to your Desires; which I hope you will take in good part, from your Servant.

N—H. July, 29. 1701.

Q. V. *WHAT Night doth belong to the Sabbath?*

Ans. THE Night before the Sabbath-day. These two Considerations clear it.

1. **THAT** from the Beginning, the Sabbath began in the Evening. That Text, *Lev. 23. 32.*—*From evening to evening, ye shall celebrate your Sabbath,* doth immediately respect the day of Expiration; but that is to be kept as a Sabbath, from evening, to evening. But this doth further evidence it, because the First Sabbath began in the evening. When the Evening and the Morning had made the Sixth Day, as soon as the Sixth day was past the Sabbath began: and so it continued, during the Time of the Old Testament. And if the Christian Sabbath began in the Morning, the seventh part of time is not kept.

2. **THO'** the Resurrection of **CHRIST** made a change of the day, yet there is no reason that the Time of the day when He rose, should make a change of the Time of the day wherein the Sabbath should begin.

(1.) **BECAUSE** the Scripture doth not assure us in what exact Time **CHRIST** rose: if **GOD** had appointed that we should begin the Sabbath then, He would have given us light to know when that Time was: for the Scripture is a perfect Rule. But none of the Pen-men do design to tell us the Exact Time when **CHRIST** Rose.

(2.) It is not the manner of Men, when Solemnities are kept in Memory of some great thing that hap'ned on such a day, to have a regard to the Time of the day; as in keeping Princes' Birth-days. So among the *Jews*, they had no regard as to the Circumcising of their Children, to the Time of day when they were born. If a Child were born on the Sabbath, an hour *before* Sun-set, it might be Circumcised the next Sabbath an hour *after* Sun-rise, when it was not compleatly seven days old.

(3.) **WE** have no reason to think that in the first Institution of the Sabbath, **GOD** had respect to the very Moment of Time when He ceased from the Work of Creation. The Woman was the last Creature that was made on the Sixth day; but we have no ground to think that She was made the last hour of that day. The

sixth day was a working day: but we have no reason to think that GOD was creating all that day.

Q. *AT what Time of the Evening doth the Sabbath begin?*

Ans. JUST at Sun-set. There be some in this Country that begin the Sabbath in the dusk of the Evening, when the Darkness prevails over the Light. They ground their Opinion on that Scripture, Neh. 13. 19. *And it came to pass when the gates of Jerusalem began to be dark before the Sabbath, I commanded that the gates should be shut, &c.* But this place doth not prove their Opinion; For the word in the Original is, *When the gates of Jerusalem began to be shaded;* which might be some considerable time before the Sabbath, *Jerusalem being compassed with Mountains**.

**Quum obumbrarentur porta Jeruschalaimorum ante sabbatum—i. quum sol vergens ad occasum, diaperet a portis Jeruschalaimorum, hoc est, tempestive admodum; quia sol propter adversos montes, celerius illorum conspectui occultabatur. Hoc autem præcepit, rationem habens legis, Lev. 23. 32. Tremel. & Jun.*

—*Come prima le porte di Jerusalem erano adombrate.*—Italian Bible.

—*dando l'ombre de monti vicini*—Margin.

—*als de poorten van Jerusalem schaduw gaven, voor den Sabbath*—Dutch Bible.

Nebemie se reglait sur l'ombre des portes de la ville. Par David Martin.

Quia Moses primo, vesperam hic, et in coeteris diebus, commemorat; Videtur sane vespera seu nox, prima suisse; ut et Hebræi putant, et deinceps supputare jubentur suas serias & dies passim, a vespera in vesperam.—Eugubinus, cum plerisque nostrorum putat in hoc primo die suisse tantum vesperam, non mane, ut in aliis quia mane sit finis noctis, nox autem non præcesserit, quia initium distinctionis rerum est a luce.—Sed hoc aperte est contra expressa verba Mosis, qui ita non secus in primo dicit quam in aliis diebus.—Chrysostomus iniquior est Judæis contentibus a vespera diem auspicandum, quasi omnino a luce primus hic dies inceperit: sed rationibus non agit. Sane cum Judæi hunc a patribus morem habuerint diem exordiendi & supputandi a vespera et Moses a Domino ita illos jubeat; sic Mosen putarim a patribus didicisse diem primum sic capisse, et hunc deinceps morem servatum.—

MERCERUS in Gen. 1. 5. p. 14, 15.

BUT it is very manifest that the Sabbath begins at Sun-set. The World being made in the time of the Equinoctial; the first time of Darkness, and the first time of Light, made the first Day †.

†—*Est ergo Synecdoche in vespera & mane: et utrumque intelligitur, non ut terminus simplex, sed ut terminus continuatus. Vespera igitur et mane pro tota duratione ac vicissitudine prima tenebrarum et lucis, hic accipitur: ut sit idem, ex vespera & mane, quod ex tenebris et luce, ex nocte et die factum esse diem unum.—Queritur, Cur vespera ponatur ante mane, cum nox die sit*

indignior. Respondeo; Non est causa, quam multi afferunt, quod vespera sit finis diei: mans finis noctis: quasi dicat Moses, Ex vespera, id est, ex die terminata per vesperam; et ex mane, id est, ex nocte terminata, per mane, fuit dies primus. Neque enim dies prima artificialis præcessit noctem: sed contra, nox præcessit diem: quia tenebræ præcesserunt lucem: ut docet contextus. Causa vero aperta est, quin tunc vespera, hoc est, initium tenebrarum & noctis præcessit mane, hoc est, initium lucis & diei primæ artificillidis. Tenebra enim præcesserunt lucem; nox diem, non Contra. Non igitur mirum, quod prius fuit tempore, id etiam prius nominari. At que hac, sine dubio, prima et antiquissima est diei naturalis dispositio a vespera ad vesperam, seu ob occasu ad occasum lucis. Levit. 23. 32. A vespera usque ad vesperam quiescitis Sabbatho vestro. Quam Judæi, et plurimi populi alii, Itali, Bohemi, Silesii, hodie retinent.——Iisdem plane terminis, vespera et mane, tam primus, quam sequentes dies definiuntur. At dubitari non potest, dies reliquos habuisse noctem, et diem artificialem: fuisse horis 24. definitos. Easdem igitur partes, idemque spatium primus dies habuit. Nox vero alia ejus dari non potest, præter tenebras abyssi. Has enim Deus vocavit noctem. Ergo sine dubio dies primis cæpit ab initio tenebrarum, id est, a primo puncto Creationis terra et abyssi: et in lucis prima terminatione desist; quod spatium cum fuerit 24. horarum: Consequens est, tenebras seu noctem primam duodecim horis durasse; et lucem seu diem primam artificialem, nocti æqualem fuisse. Est enim mundus, omnium consensu in æquinocio verno vel autumnali conditus. DAVID PAREUS in Gen. 1. p. 41, 42.

See Mr. William Prynne's Dissertation concerning the true Time of the Inchoation and Determination of the LORD'S DAY SABBATH, which was compiled in the Year, 1633—and Printed at London, 1655.

AND when the Sun set on the sixth Day there were six days compleat, and the Sabbath began. And it is determined by GOD that then it is Even, when the Sun is set. Lev. 22. 6. 7. *The Soul which hath touched any such shall be unclean until even, and shall not eat of the holy things unless he wash his flesh with water; and when the Sun is down he shall be clean.* The like is Deut. 23. 11. *When evening cometh on, he shall wash himself with water; and when the Sun is down, he shall come into the camp again.* And it was counted both by the Jews & Heathens, that when the Sun was down the Day was at an end. Judg. 14. 18. *The men of the city said to him on the seventh day before the Sun went down, What is sweeter than honey? Had the Sun been down, they had lost their wager.* 2 Sam. 3. 35. *David sware, saying, so do God to me, and more also, if I taste bread or ought else, till the Sun be down.* Exod. 22. 3.

Q. VI. *IS not Unfaithfulness in Officers and private Persons, a Provocation?*

A. Undoubtedly it is. We may suppose that Magistrates

and Ministers, were they informed, would bear a due Testimony against Drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and other sins. But such things are seldom punished, for want of information. Many persons are bound by Church-Covenant to watch over others, and Officers are bound by Oath, to inquire into Disorders, and give information. But many times there is a fame of such things, but seldom Complaint is made to Authority. Possibly some Persons are obnoxious themselves, and are afraid that if they bring out others, that they shall be brought out.

BUT the great Reason of this is the want of a Spirit of Religion. Men are not concerned for the Honour of GOD, the preventing of Judgments, and the Recovery of their Brethren. They are afraid that others will be disgusted, that it will be a foundation of ill-will and Contention. Officers don't consider the solemn Bonds that they are under, and the Account they must give to GOD of their Oaths. It may be they Pray that Sin may be purged out of the Land; and that Religion may flourish; but they are notoriously negligent of doing what GOD and Man expect from them.

Q. VII. *IS not the neglect of bringing others to the Profession of Religion, a Provocation?*

A. It must needs be. It was foretold of CHRIST, that *all nations shall call him blessed*, Psal. 72. 7. GOD promised to Him that He *would give Him the Heathen for his Inheritance*, Psal. 2. 8. And it is a part of that Love and Duty which we owe to JESUS CHRIST, and to the Souls of Men, as we have opportunity, to be prevailing with other People to give entertainment to the Gospel. Great pains were taken that way in the first Ages of Christianity. and with great Success. But there is great reason to fear that we have not answered GOD'S expectations this way.

1. THERE has been a neglect of bringing some of our own Nation to the Profession of the Gospel. Many in and about *Rhode Island*, and in the *Naraganset-Country*, have fallen into Heresy,

and some almost into Heathenism. And we have been too much unconcerned about reducing them unto the Right way. We have reason to reflect on those Words to the Shepherds of *Israel*, Ezek. 54. 4. *The diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick; neither have ye bound up that which was broken; neither have ye sought that which was lost.* There has been something done of late Years, at *Rhode Island* & the places adjacent; and it has not been without Effect. But it was too long before it was taken in hand, and has not been followed with sufficient Application. If we had done much more it would have been more Acceptable to GOD. When the Kingdom of CHRIST doth not flourish, Satan's Kingdom will prevail. Our Diligence might have prevented the growth of Atheism and Prophaneness, and have preserved many from falling in with the Apostacy.

2. THERE has been a neglect to bring the *Indians* to the Profession of the Gospel. Something has been done through the Piety of particular Men, and at the Cost of some in *Old-England*; But we are reproached abroad for our Negligence. Many Men have been more careful to make a Prey of them, then to gain them to the Knowledge of CHRIST. The King in the CHARTER says, that the Undertakers did profess it to be their principal design to bring the Natives to the Knowledge of GOD. But we have very much failed of prosecuting that Design to Effect. We must bring them to Civility and to learn our Language. *Paul* says to the *Corinthians*, *I seek not yours but you*, 2 Cor. 12. 14. The Reverse is too true of *New-England*. It may be on that account GOD hath made them to be a scourge to us. GOD says to *Ezekiel*, *Thou art not sent to a people of a strange speech, and of an hard language;— Surely had I sent thee to them, they would have hearkened unto thee*, Ezek. 3. 5, 6. We have reason to fear that we are much to blame for their continuance in their Heathenism.

3. WE have Neglected to bring *Servants* to the Profession of Religion. Some Men are careful to make their Servants learn

their Catechism, to make them attend Family and Publick Worship. But Servants should be brought to the Profession of Religion; they need to practice Religion, as well as their Masters; and their Masters are bound to take care of their *Souls* as well as their *Bodies*. GOD required *Abraham* to circumcise his *Servants*, as well as his *Children*, Gen. 17. 12, 13. Here you may observe two things. 1. GOD says, *They must needs be circumcised*. 2. GOD makes this to be a Token of his Covenant with *Abraham* & his Posterity. If they had proper Helps, they might be as forward in Religion as the *English*. It has been the misery of *New-England*, that under a fear of polluting the Ordinances, they have neglected proper means to make Men godly.

Q. VIII. *DID we any wrong to the Indians in buying their Land at a small price?*

A. 1. THERE was some part of the Land that was not purchased, neither was there need that it should; it was *vacuum domicilium*; and so might be possessed by vertue of GOD's grant to Mankind, Gen. 1. 28. *And God blessed them, and God said unto them, Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.* The *Indians* made no use of it, but for Hunting. By GOD's first Grant Men were to subdue the Earth. When *Abraham* came into the Land of *Canaan*, he made use of vacant Land as he pleased: so did *Isaac* and *Jacob*. (a)

(a) Gen. 1. 28. Subdue) *By keeping it in a state of subjection, and service to Man.* Annot. *The three first Verses of the Ninth Chapter of Genesis, are the best Commentary on this place.* And GOD blessed Noah and his sons, and said unto them. Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth. And the Fear of you, and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth upon the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered. Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things.

The Indians did eat the Beasts of the Forrest, and cloathed themselves with their Skins. Thus they used the very Wild-Cats, and Wolves, and Bears; as well as the Deer, and Bever, and other Animals. With their Bows & Arrows and divers Stratagems, they subdued them, and kept them under. By Fowling, and Fishing they got a great part of their Livelihood. The Shell-Fish were

their standing Dish. They also made Meals of Chestnuts, Beech-nuts, Walnuts, Acorns, Strawberries, Whortleberries, and Groundnuts.

They made themselves comfortable Houses or Tents, covering them with Mats, or Barks of Trees. These humble Houses were adorned with the Pictures of Animals ingeniously drawn. But the chief Ornament of them was Hospitality, which was truly excellent. They were Orbicular; and the Fire being in the Middle, conveyed Warmth to the Inhabitants round about, and helped to supply the defects of their Cloathing. That they might pass the Rivers, and Bays; they made themselves convenient Boats or Cannoos with the Rind of Birch-Trees, rib'd with Cedar.

Moreover they had pleasant Fields of Indian Corn and Beans, and Squashes; which being purchased by the English at their first Coming, was a Relief to them. They had no Oxen, nor Horses, nor Iron: so that it may be rather wondered at, that they went so far in their Tillage; than that they proceeded no further. Their sorrowful Circumstances demanded Pity. Whoso mocketh the Poor, reproacheth his Maker. (Prov. 17. 5.) The Obligation Men are under to subdue the Earth, must be consistent with the Rule Recorded, Mat. 20. 15. Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with my own? Is thine eye evil because I am good? It would be very Bad husbandry indeed, for an industrious Man to oust his slothful Neighbor, and seise upon his Field for himself, under a pretence of Manuring it better. The Owners of Forests, and Parks of Great Britain would be offended, if poor People should offer to enter upon them, and Plough them up; and then plead that they were well Entitled so to do by reason of their Better Improvement of them.

2. THE Indians were well contented that we should sit down by them. And it would have been for great Advantage, both for this World and the Other; if they had been wise enough to make use of their Opportunities. It has been common with many People in planning this World since the Flood, to admit Neighbours to sit down by them.

3. THO' we gave but a small Price for what we bought, we gave them their demands, we came to their Market and gave them their price; and indeed it was worth but little and had it continued in their hands, it would have been of little value. It is our dwelling on it, and our Improvements, that have made it to be of Worth.
(b)

(b) The Manner of purchasing many of the Indian Lands, may be illustrated by the Answers to the first Question. Abraham gave four hundred Shokels of Silver for a Burying place; Which might be about the value of Thirty Pounds, Sterling Money of England. But where shall we find such a Noble Pair for Buying and Selling, as Abraham, and Ephron were?

The Land was very valuable before the Arrival of the English. They indeed by their Furniture, and Culture made it to be much greater Value. The Land was a good Land, a Land of Rivers of Water, of Fountains, and depths that spring out of Valleys and Hills; a Land that nourished and maintained perhaps as many or more Thousands of the Aborigines, Men, Women, and Children, of Comly proportion and Features; as there are English now dwelling upon it. It would be good for White Men to follow the Poet's Advice.

Nimium ne crede Colori.

Q. IX. IS not the Multiplying of Suits at Law a Provocation?

A. It must needs be so. It is a *Sign* of Contention, and a *Cause* of Contention. *Moses* complains of it, *Deut.* 1. 12. *How can I myself alone bear your cumbrance, and your burden and your strife?* And it occasions a great deal of *Expence* and great *Lost of Time*. It is in this case generally as it is in War, that one party, if not both, are to blame, *1 Cor.* 6. 6.

1. **SOMETIMES** it rises from the Injustice or Unmercifulness of the Plaintiff. The King of the *Ammonites* challenged what was not his due, *Judg.* 11. 13. And the Servant did very ill, that took his fellow-servant by the throat for a small debt, *Mat.* 18. 28.

2. **SOMETIMES** from Dishonesty, or Disingenuity of the Defendant. Many Men lie shamefully in Debt, and break their Promises, which is a just Provocation to others to Sue them. They bring others under such necessity that they will be great sufferers, if they do not seek their Remedy at the Law. The Rule is, *That we owe no man any thing but Love*, *Rom.* 13. 8.

4. **SOMETIMES** through the greediness of *Lawyers*: the more Men contend at Law, the more *they* gain, and they stir up strife among Neighbours and when Persons are Cast, perswade them to Appeal; say to them, as *Absalom* on another case, *2 Sam.* 15. 3. *See, thy matters are good and right.*

Quest. X. IS not a spirit hankering after Ceremonies that are not Instituted by GOD, a Provocation?

A. **YES**, because it is contrary to the Second Commandment: *Exod.* 20. 4. *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven Image, &c.*

1. **THIS** is an Arrogating a Power that GOD hath not given to Men. It may be said to them that do it, *Who gave you this Authority?* Decency and Order may be without any new Ceremonies: *Jeroboam* was taxed for assuming a Power that did not belong to him: *1 Kings* 12. 33. *So he offered upon the altar which he had*

made in Bethel, the fifteenth day of the Eighth Month, even in the Month which he had devised of his own heart——.

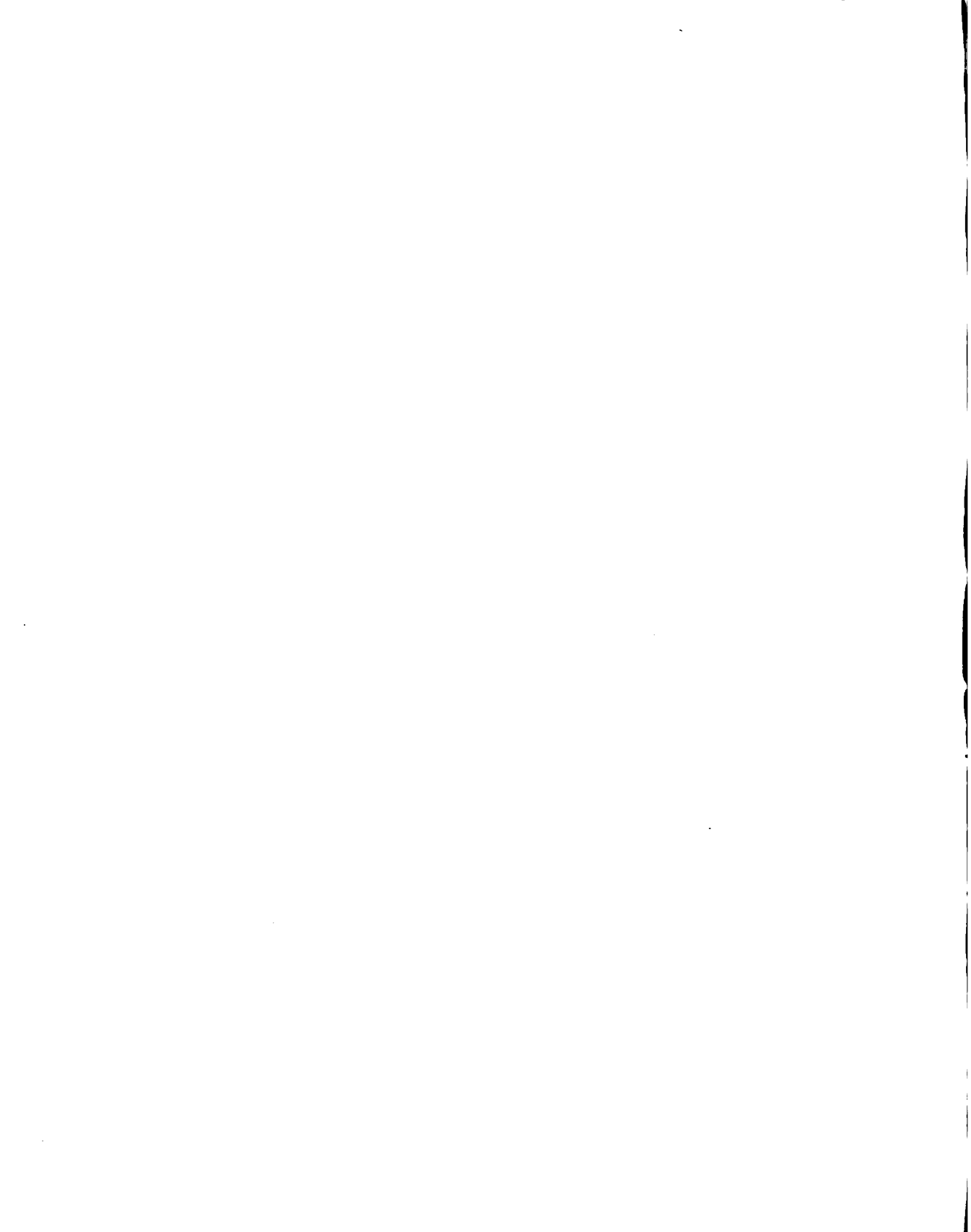
2. IT is a Reflection on the Wisdom of GOD; as if they could Mend His Institutions. As if they could find out a Better way of Worship, than He hath Appointed, *Col. 2. 23.*

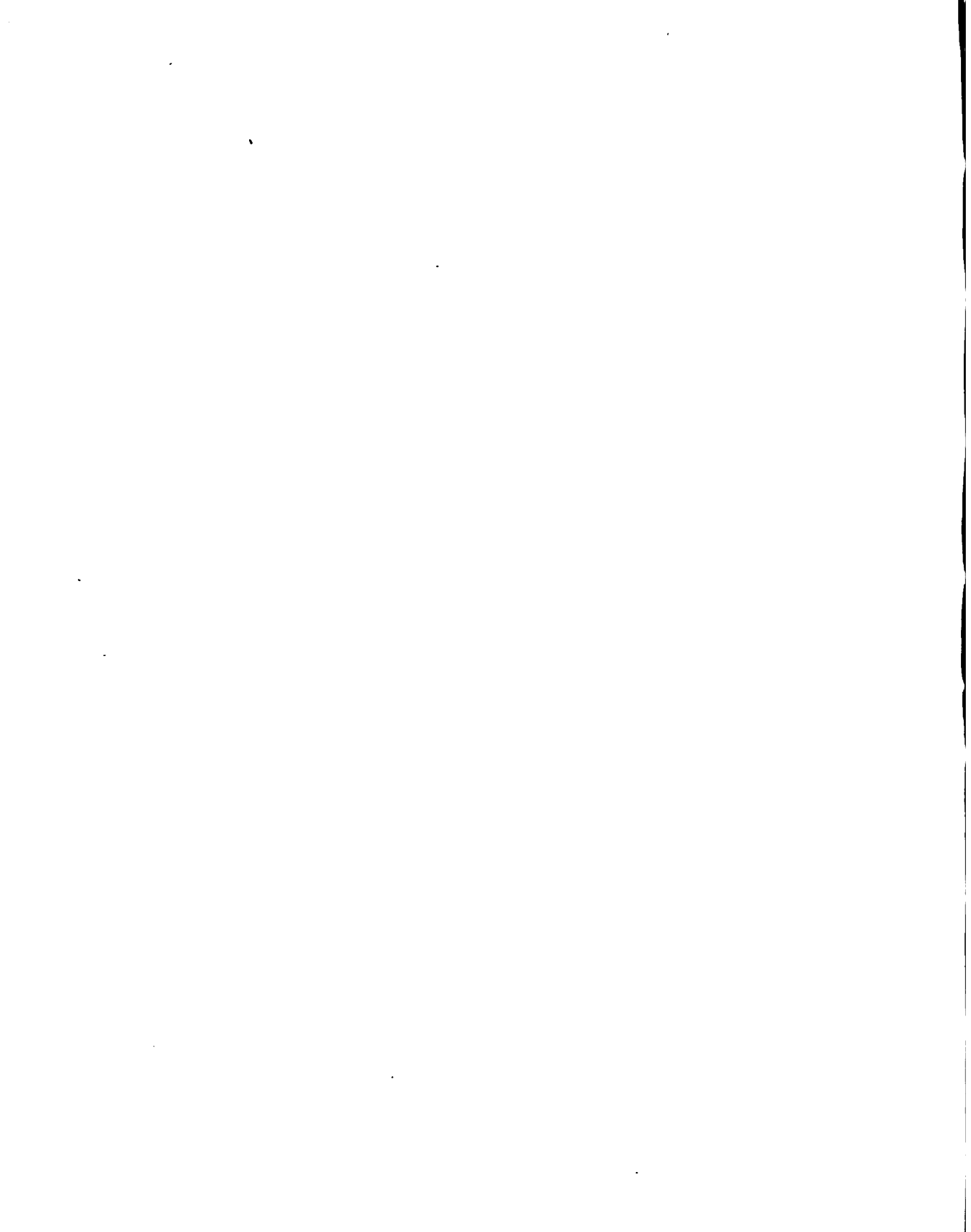
3. IT is a Presuming on a Blessing without a Divine Warrant: *Math. 15. 9.* Teaching doctrines [*which are*] commandments of men.

THERE be many other Practices that are plainly Contrary to the Light of Nature.

HOOPED Petticoats have something of Nakedness; Mixt Dancings are incentives to Lust; Compotations in Private Houses is a Drunken Practice.

FINIS.





APR 25 1917

THE
MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

Extra Number—No. 56



COMPRISING

A TOUR THROUGH UPPER AND LOWER CANADA (1799)

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AND FAMILY (1784) - - - - - *Arthur Bradman*

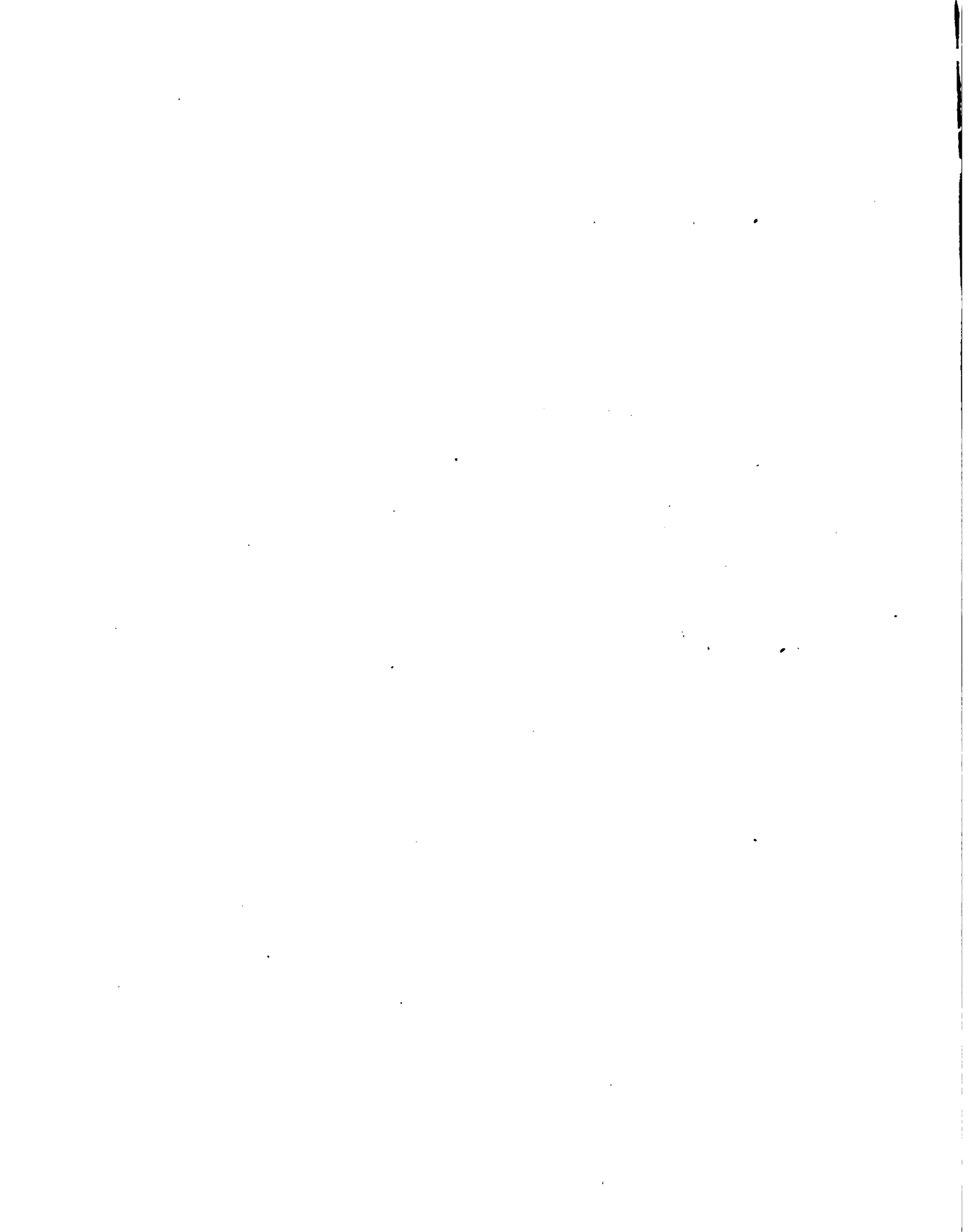
A NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY OF MRS. FRANCES SCOTT
(1785)

WILLIAM ABBATT

TARRYTOWN

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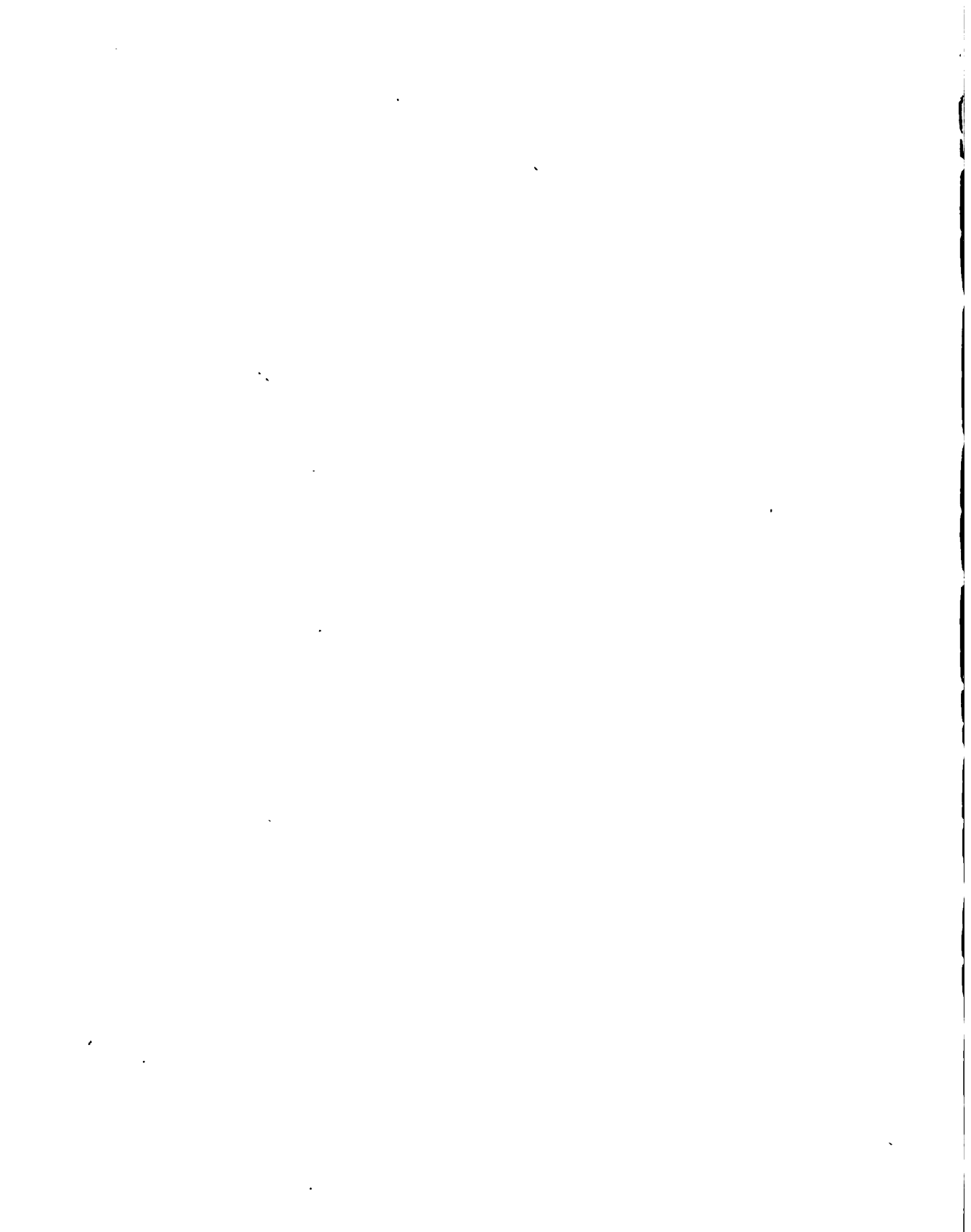
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EDITOR'S PREFACE

THESE three items, so unlike each other, are equally rare. In the Bradman Narrative, those who are familiar with the story of Arnold's famous march through precisely the same wilderness, only nine years before Forbes' family essayed it, will at once recognize the three great obstacles he had to contend against—famine, flood and rugged country.

Rev. John Cosens (Cozens-Cozzens) Ogden was a son of Moses Ogden (1723-1768) of Elizabeth, N. J., and Mary Cozzens, of Martha's Vineyard, Mass. He was born at Elizabeth, Nov. 15, 1751, and died at Chestertown, Md., Sept., 1800.

He was graduated from Princeton, 1770, and removed to New Haven, Conn., where he married, in 1775, Mary, daughter of General David Wooster of Stratford. Entering the Episcopal Church, he was ordained in January, 1788, and was rector of Queen's Chapel (now St. John's Church), Portsmouth, N. H., from 1789 to 1793. Afterwards we lose sight of him until the record of his death. He was a very active and zealous missionary, and founded many churches.

He had three children—David and Aaron, both of whom died young, and Mary Wooster (1776-1839) who lived and died in New Haven.

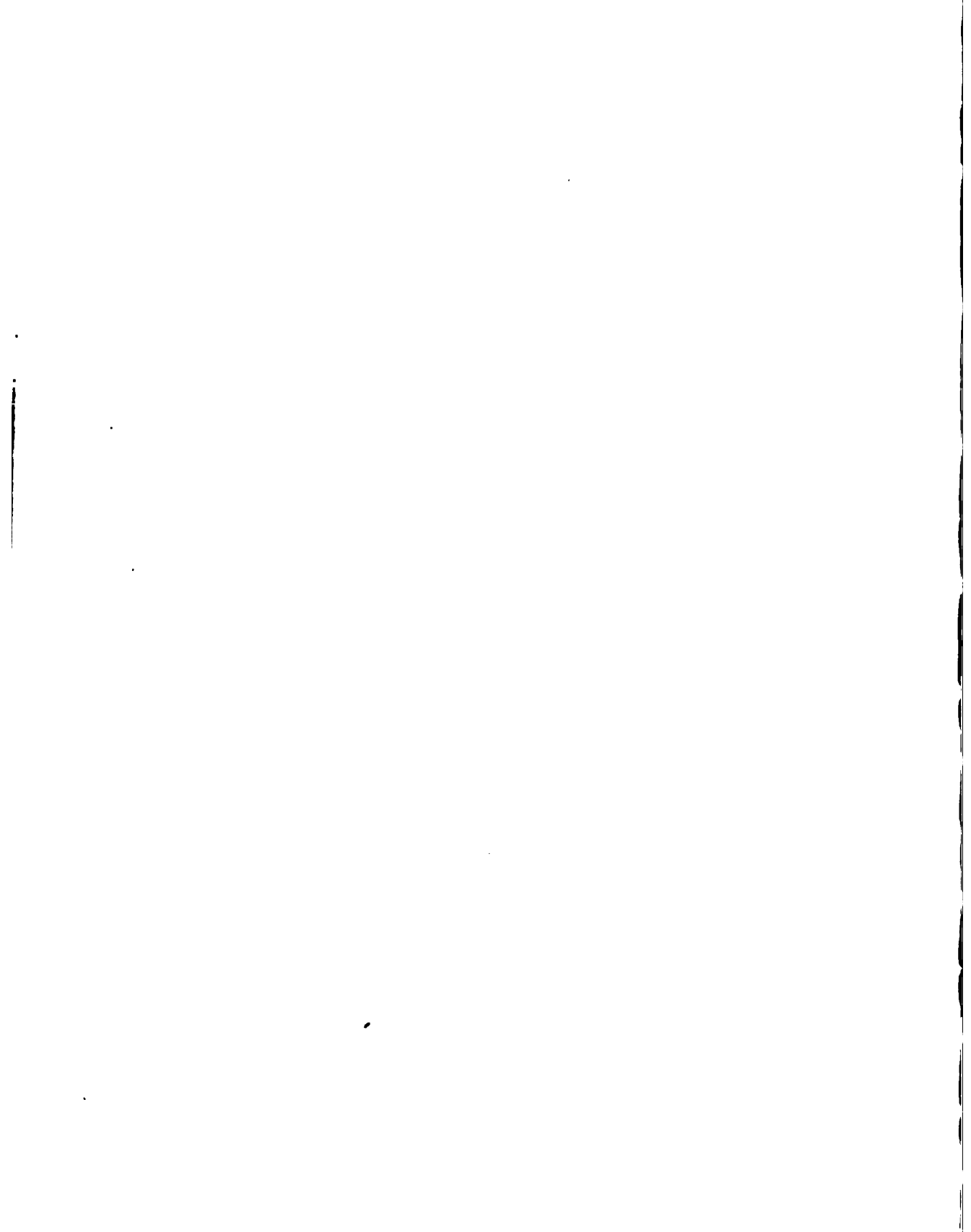
He published a number of minor writings and two books—"An Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania, with a history of the Moravians," Phila. 1800, new ed., 1805 and the "Tour Through Upper and Lower Canada" (Litchfield, Conn., 1799).

Neither Appleton nor Sabin mentions the latter work.

A second Edition, with his name on the title-page, was printed at Wilmington, Del., in 1800.

We regret not being able to find a portrait of him.

The Scott narrative, though so brief, is an excellent example of pioneer hardships. It has not been reprinted before, and in the original forms a part of the Bradman pamphlet.



As near facsimile as possible

A
T O U R,
THROUGH
Upper and Lower Canada.

By a Citizen of the United States

CONTAINING,
A View of the present State of Religion, Learning, Commerce, Agriculture, Colonization, Customs and Manners, among the English, French, and Indian

SETTLEMENTS.

Printed at Litchfield, (according to Act of Congress)

1799.

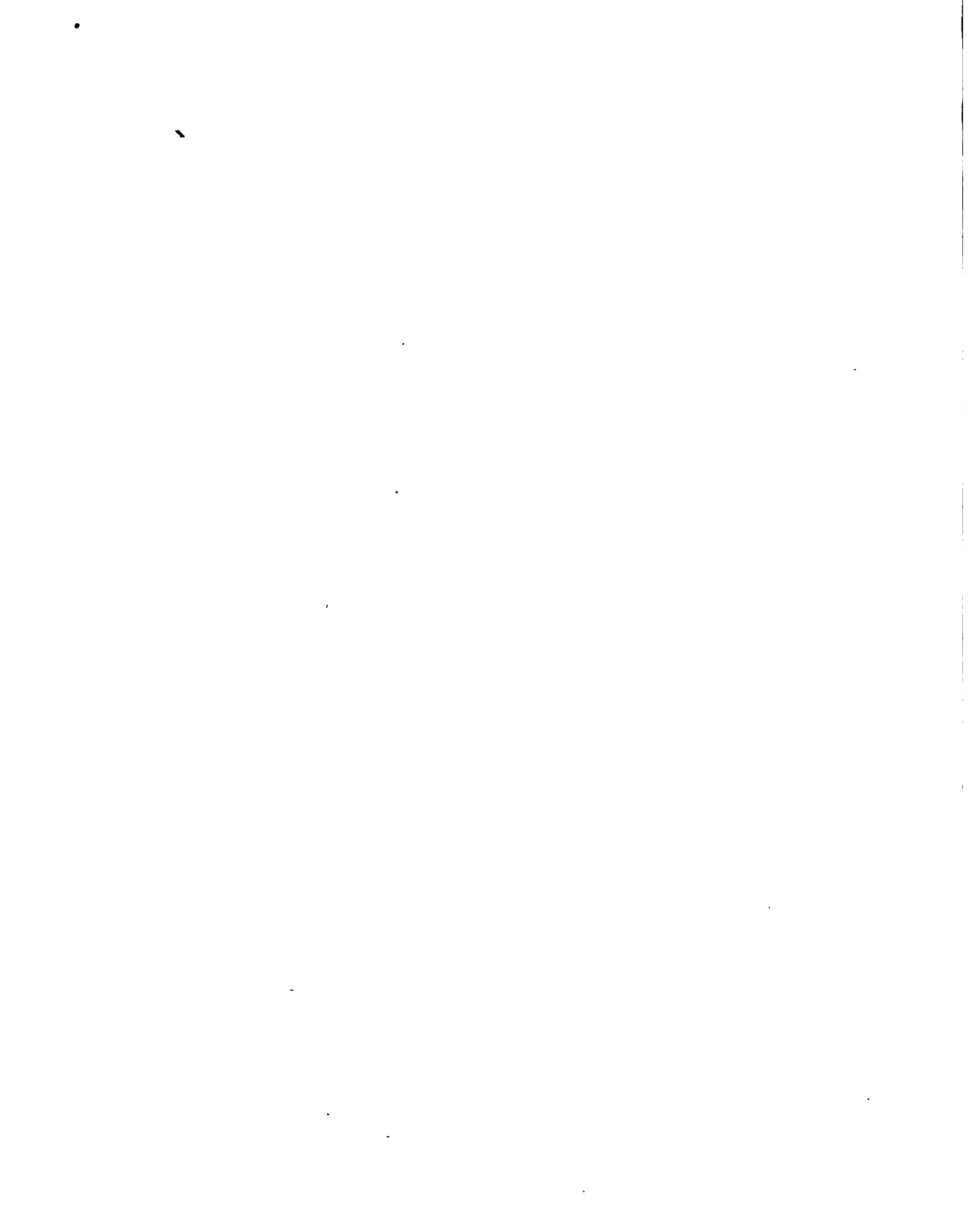
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Introduction



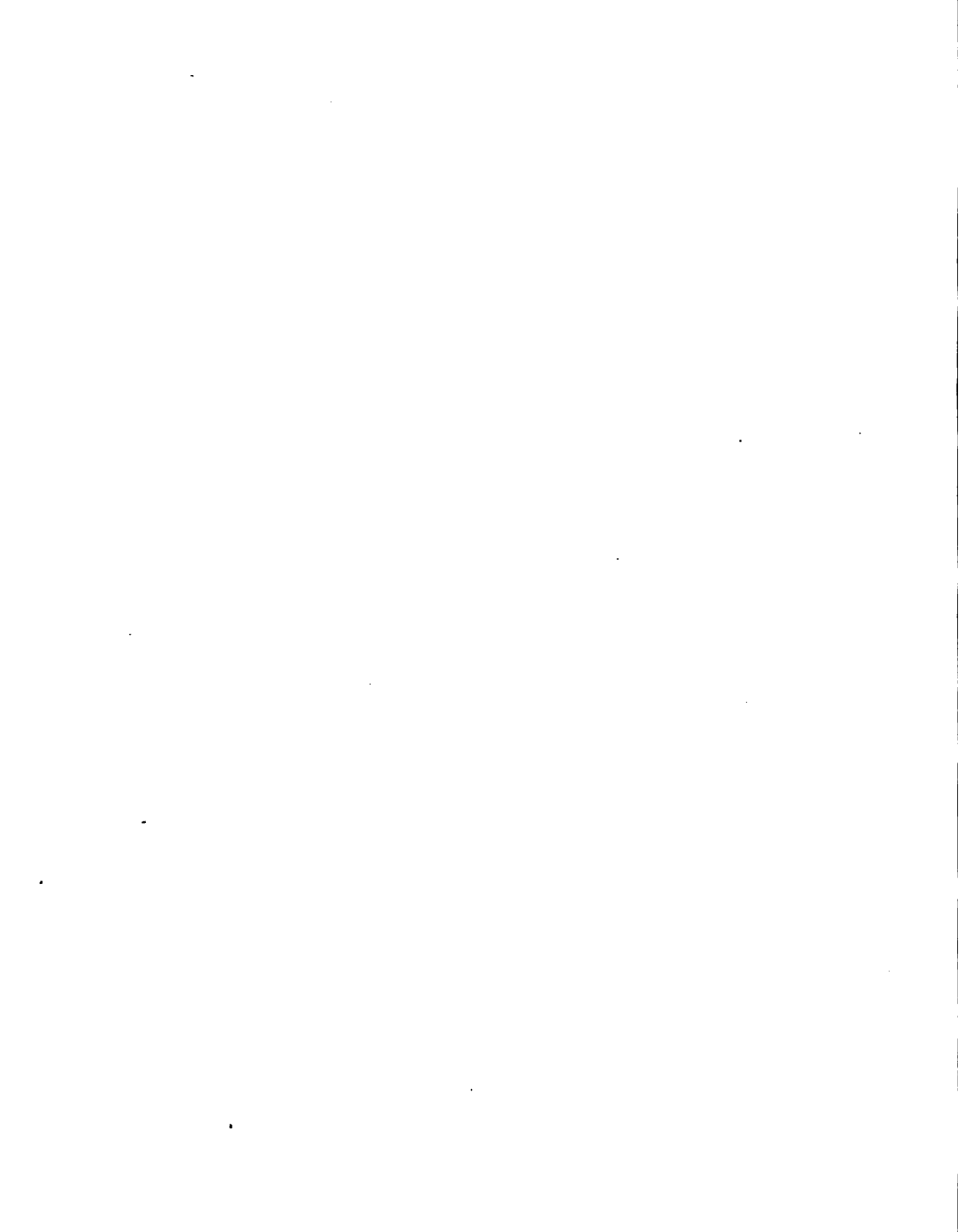
THE Discovery of America has opened a new Field for Improvement in the commercial and busy World. To become intimately acquainted with the States and Provinces of North-America, is an Employment worthy the Attention of the greatest Statesman and humblest Peasant. While Travellers constantly present to our View their accurate, entertaining, and edifying Observations in Europe, Asia, and Africa, we are not fully possessed of those which give us a View of our own Country, and the contiguous Provinces.

The Recapitulation of many of the following Observations upon the Provinces of Canada to Individuals, has led them to suggest to the Author the Gratification it would afford to have these presented in a Volume.

In Obedience to their Wishes, I have undertaken to present such Remarks and Information, during my Travels through these Countries, as may perhaps amuse, if not edify.

While Wars convulse foreign Countries, and fluctuating Politics agitate the public Mind; while we are extending our commercial Connections, forming Alliances and drawing Intelligence from every quarter, it is hoped that this small Work may contribute a Mite to increase our Acquaintance with those who are now connected with us by Treaties, as well as a Similarity of Laws and Customs.

Our former Intercourse has been chiefly by War; but Peace, Commerce, and Emigrations are extending our Connections, and awake a Solicitude for more particular Accounts than any one has yet detailed.



A TOUR, &c.

OUR principal communication from Lower Canada to the States, is by the way of Lake Champlain and St. Johns, by a water conveyance from Skeensborough, or the roads through Vermont.

Admission into the province of Lower Canada was secured by the visitants reporting themselves at the Isle of Noix. Their names are also taken at the custom-house in St. Johns, and a passport obtained into that province, in order to a proper introduction either on business or amusement. A fort, garrison and magazine, are at St. Johns. The trade is inconsiderable. Time and enterprise may convert it into a place of distinction, as it is at the extremity of the northern part of Lake Champlain, where the waters of the river Sorel, formed by the lake, pass into the river St. Laurence.

The rapids not far from St. Johns are not so great as to impede all communication with the lake and rivers. Rafts constantly pass at the seasons when the waters are high; but boats are so far impeded that merchandize is conveyed by land from St. Johns to Chamblee, about nine miles.

A regular stage passes from St. Johns to Montreal, by the way of Lapararie. In the spring of the year the roads are wet and heavy; but the excellent Canadian horses, and dexterous drivers, conveyed us in good season to the above village, which is opposite to Montreal.

The decline of day and the expediency of waiting for the boats, which set out in the morning for the city, tempted us to amuse ourselves with a walk through the settlement, along the pleasant banks of the river.

The most distinguished object is the parish church, situated in a small open square near the centre. The curate resides near it. His mansion is the public property of the church, and is sufficiently large and commodious. The church is spacious and venerable, and constructed upon a species of architecture which is not modern, but so far reduced to rule as for a long time to please the eye, and entertain the curious. It is strong and lofty. Heavy arches within support the roof; and the serious mind cannot fail of being impressed with devout sensations, while passing through it. The chancel is well finished and decorated with carvings, and the furniture upon the altar. A number of historic scripture paintings adorn the walls.

Contiguous to the chapel is also a female academy, or country nunnery, where the village girls are instructed by their own sex, and others are received as boarders. Besides these, there are about one hundred houses built of stone or hewn timber, and chiefly made white and plastered with lime.

The whole country is flat; and except the mountain of Montreal, at nine miles distance, the horizon only bounds the view. The island, city and mountain of Montreal, with a number of other islands, variegate the extensive scene, west and north from Lapararie.

The conveyance from hence to Montreal is in flat-bottomed boats, which are managed by the inhabitants with great dexterity. They pass the rapids safely; and the distance is forgotten amidst the hilarity and music of these watermen, and the villages on the shore we had left, and that to which we approached.

This city is defended on the river side by an high wall, and entered by gates. The whole presents an handsome view of well built houses and churches. The streets are regular and commodious. The walls which surround this place are out of repair. They inclose the public buildings and squares, and the most valu-

able part of the stores and business. Extensive suburbs contain the laboring people; and when united with the above described part of the city, make it large and respectable.

At the head of the deeper and more navigable waters of the river St. Laurence, and at the confluence of the immense lakes and large rivers, north, west and south-west connecting with a flourishing country, Montreal will ever hold a conspicuous station among the busy towns of North-America.

The merchants who traffic with the Indians, in the north-western country, reside and have their factory here. This valuable business employs many artists: it may be said to be the main-spring to the mercantile affairs of these regions. Many European merchants have settled here, and compose part of the agreeable society we meet with.

The rapid and extensive western settlements, since the last war, call for a large supply of merchandize; which is paid for in wheat, lumber, and many other articles of produce, with some furs also.

Great attention is paid to religion by the Catholics. The parish church, in the centre of this city, is a magnificent fabric and is built of stone, in the form of a cross. Its elegant steeple is covered with tin, and furnished with three well-toned bells. A carving of the Crucifixion, as large as life, is placed over the chancel, at the east end of the church. The furniture and decorations of the chancel are rich, and the historic Scripture paintings numerous and well executed. In the gallery at the west end, is a good organ.

The sacristee, or vestry room, is large and richly supplied with everything that is used in the solemnities of their religion. The vestments of the priests and ornaments of the altar are superb.

This edifice affords an extensive field, for the curiosity and inquiries of a Catholic or Protestant.

A large painting, which is intended to afford an idea of Purgatory, is hung at the right side of the entrance into this building: It exhibits an angelic being or the divine Saviour descending from an opening cloud, and with a most benign countenance, extending his delivering arm to the distressed, condemned, and desponding spirits, represented in the lower part of the picture. This group are drawn with a variety of countenances; some in all the distortion of agony and despair. Others, with the cheering lines of hope. Others, who have passed the season of confinement, are reaching forth their hands, to accept a rescue by the Heavenly messenger.

The design and execution are ingenious. The lesson taught from this representation, is obedience to virtue's laws, that we may escape the place of torture in a future world. In this extensive fabric, all the solemnities of religion are celebrated with great pomp and decorum.

Contiguous to it, and connected by a long covered walk, is the seminary or constant residence of the clergy. They eat at one common table, and have their separate apartments for study and retirement, with a common library.

In the rear is a garden, arranged in regular order, stored with much good fruit and affording a pleasing spot for air and exercise.

A college of considerable size in another part of the city, is under the care of the clergy. In it young men are taught the learned languages, and many branches of literature. Here is a library and good accommodations for the students.

The college, of the order of the Recollett Friars, is out of repair;—the fraternity is almost dissolved, by the death of its members; as none could be added to it, according to stipulations at the conquest. Mass is constantly celebrated in their chapel.

The college of the dissolved order of Jesuits is converted into barracks for soldiers, and a prison, The chapel is repaired and decorated for an English church.

Large gardens are connected with these institutions, and take up a very important and useful part of the city. They however subserve the purposes of health, while the suburbs furnish room for the abodes of the industrious and poor, and gardens for the citizens.

Three nunneries are within the city. One is devoted to the education of females. Two are hospitals for the sick, and asylums for the poor. Both are well regulated and valuable institutions. They are supported from the early benefactions of their founders, who were females, and other property owned by their respective communities, joined to their earnings from various specimens of ingenuity and industry, which they constantly vend.

The nunnery in the city, which is an hospital, lost part of its funds in the late seizure of the property of the monasteries in France. These women, wishing to preserve their sisterhood and to perform the accustomed acts of charity to the sick and poor, supply the deficiency in their present incomes by making up the articles of Indian dress, sent by the merchants among the western tribes. This is the chief asylum for the distressed. The nuns have provided an apothecary's room, which is well stored with all necessary medicine, and the king's chief physican directs the administering of it, and constantly visits the patients gratis.

The buildings for courts and public business are not distinguished for convenience or taste, while the edifices dedicated to religion and piety do honour to their proprietors.

The market is well furnished with the produce of the season, cheap, good and in great variety.

The Champ-de-Mars, or field of military parade, is on the ramparts, near the north gate. It is a pleasant walk, and at the hours of bringing on and relieving the guards, affords a lively scene.

From this city we have a view of the mountain, which is at a

small distance. It is ascended by a good road, which rises gradually, and presents a variety of interesting objects such as gardens, orchards, and country seats. From the summit the eye beholds many lively landscapes.

The city and the islands in the river, or rather lake which surrounds the island and mountain of Montreal, and Isle Jesu, unite in entertaining the sight in endless variety. This is the magazine for fruit, in particular for apples for the province. These are raised in abundance, are excellent in their quality, preserved with ease and sold at a moderate price.

Several parishes and parish churches are on this Island. At Lachine is the landing place from the upper countries; rapids making any further progress towards the city, by water, very difficult. Boats are built at this place, and loaded for the Indian and western traffic. A canal is meditated, but not begun, in order to remove the difficulties which prevent the loading at Montreal. A convenient valley presents for this purpose. The expence would be amply compensated by the facility with which business would then be executed.

The private villas, country houses, gardens and highly cultivated mountain and island, intice the visitor to spend some time among the delightful scenes. The roads are good in summer and winter. The soil is rich and air exceedingly salubrious.

A part of the army is stationed in Montreal, in barracks erected for the soldiery under the French administration, and those formed lately in the college of the Jesuits.

An happy harmony prevails among all orders of the inhabitants, which are composed of English, French, Scotch and Irish. An urbanity, hospitality, and interesting gentility of manners pervade most classes of people.

Since settlements have been made in the northern parts of

Vermont and its neighbourhood, on the Canada side of the line, an extensive traffic has been introduced into this city from thence. This will increase with the population, and for a long time be unrivalled. In case of war, Montreal is exposed to invasions by land, should the States take a share in the contest.

Religion appears to have its proper influence upon the inhabitants. Churches are thronged. Peace takes place among professors of every name. The clergy are well supplied. The English priests have their rewards from England joined to an annual salary paid by their parishioners. The Catholic ministers have certain rents, which are competent to their necessities. From their wealth and good offices, the poor and distressed find great relief from want and woe. The clergy of all ranks are pious, polite men, of good learning and abilities.

Some schools are erected under European instructors. Their progress has not yet been such as to become distinguished seminaries in the city or its neighbourhood. Females are generally taught in the nunneries, and by an ordinance of the Catholic church, boys and girls are not educated in the same school.

After an agreeable abode of a fortnight at Montreal, we set out for Quebec by the way of William Henry, a town which received its name from a prince of England, who visited the provinces not many years since. It is situated at the easterly point of land, where the rivers Sorel and St. Laurence unite their waters. The ground is advantageous for forming a town. It is laid out for the purpose, and a number of houses are erected. Part of the army are quartered at William Henry to guard the pass to and from the country, by the way of the river. As settlements increase in Vermont, and on the south side of Canada, near the States, the town of William Henry will increase also. The easy water conveyance down the river, impeded only by the rapids above Chamblee, and the small streams and mill seats upon them, will tend to encourage every kind of industry.

The English church is the second that has been built in the province. A small one had been previously erected on the opposite side of the St. Laurence, rather as a monument or mausoleum for the dead, than a chapel for a numerous congregation.

A minister of the English church, a man of fortune, resides and officiates at William Henry, and among the troops at St. Johns.

The Catholic have a large stone church, which is not far from the mansion of their minister. In no parts of this province do the Catholics appear negligent in providing for the institutions and support of religion.

This town is about forty miles below Montreal. As we came hither by water, we were constantly amused with a pleasant country. Villages are in view on both sides of the river. Many of them are decorated with spires made brilliant by a covering of tin.

For their better accommodation with water, the inhabitants build their houses near the banks of the river, and the farms are consequently narrow in front and their houses not far from each other. These are formed of stone or square timber; being made white with lime, the contrast between them and the verdure of the trees and fields, causes a picture-like scene. We in reality passed one continued village.

A decent, respectful affability of manners prevails among the French peasantry; the roads and houses being near the margin of the water, we frequently conversed with the inhabitants on the shore.

Our watermen were civil and attentive. We were often indulged by them with a French song, and with gratification saw their attention to their religion, as they passed the churches. These they visited at the hours of devotion.

Having spent some days at William Henry, we proceeded down the river; but having reached the center of the Lake of St. Peter,

a south wind caused a dangerous swell, and we landed at the river De Loup, from whence we took carriages and were conveyed to Three Rivers.

The islands formed at the mouth of the river Sorel, extend from William Henry to the Lake. They are flat, variegated by trees, cultivated fields and small farm houses. Our passage in different directions among these islands, and the width of the Lakes, deprived us of our former views of the country; but these were exchanged for objects equally amusing, as the islands afford a great variety.

The town called Three Rivers is built upon a rising ground. The front towards the river is generally a high steep bank of sand and gravel. It is the only place of consequence, as to trade, on the north side of the river St. Laurence between Montreal and Quebec. While the province was under the administration of the French, some superior civil and military officers resided at Three Rivers. A large parish church, a nunnery which is an hospital, and place for female education, are possessed by the Catholics. The college erected by the Jesuits is now a prison, and place for public offices. Its chapel is improved partly for civil courts and a congregation of Protestants of the English church. This union of religion and law under one roof, is uncommon. The chancel is circular, and converted into very commodious seats for judges, jurors, and other attendants upon judicial proceedings. On the south side of the same chapel is erected a decent pulpit, reading desk and pews.

This town enjoys some trade with the Indians, who often visit it with their furs, belts, and other manufactures. The soil of the neighbouring country is barren and sandy. About nine miles in its rear is a large settlement formed by a furnace, which is the chief factory for cast iron. From hence the whole northern country is furnished with that immense supply of stoves, so uni-

versally used in those provinces. European artists, distinguished for their ingenuity, are employed as superintendants and conductors of this extensive business. In every part, ability and enterprise are discovered, and a better regulated factory need not be sought for in North-America.

The mechanism of the extensive works, the mode in which water is conveyed to the various parts where it is wanted, cause great dispatch in business.

The town of Three Rivers obtained its name from its neighbourhood to the river, which has two islands at its mouth, as it enters the river St. Laurence, and this forms the appearance of three streams.

The central situation of this town, between the cities of Montreal and Quebec, has led many to project the erection of a college in it, for the instruction of young men.

An English clergyman and two Catholic ministers reside here upon handsome stipends raised by their respective communities.

Locations are made in the lands south of Three Rivers, on the opposite shore, and a communication between Canada and the States will shortly be opened from thence, by the way of the river Connecticut.

The road from the river De Loup to this place is good, and like the country already described, well settled and well cultivated. We passed the late cantonments of those called the Loyal corps, during the late war, and the guards on the point of the Lake of St. Peter, where the waters assume a narrow course, and become part of the river St. Laurence.

A new scene opened upon our arrival at Quebec, the key into the province by water, and the theatre of many military operations, where the members of two European nations have ruled, and the inhabitants of the States have distinguished themselves by their valor.

Unfavorable winds and the impediments of a tide, frequently detained us on our way to this city, as the waters flow up the river as far as Three Rivers. This left us to attend to its progress, and to regulate our voyage accordingly.

From Montreal to Quebec we have again found an almost continued village. Good accommodations by night and day, and easy conveyances by land and water, all at a moderate price.

Religion appears truly venerable, not only in its temples and other edifices, but in the hospitality, politeness, and genteel deportment of most of its professors. To the clergy and other gentlemen of rank and information we have been indebted for many civilities. At Cape Santa and Point-au-Tremble, we were politely entertained, while the winds and tide delayed our voyage. The first of these villages is made conspicuous at a considerable distance, by a large church adorned with five steeples—all covered with tin.

This temple stands on a rising ground, and was founded by three ladies of great estate. It is called the Church of the Three Sisters, in commemoration of this their piety. It ranks in size with the Cathedral of Quebec and the parish church of Montreal.

Point au-Tremble is eighteen miles from Quebec. The late suffragan or assistant bishop, called the coadjutor, resided in this parish. He was greatly esteemed by Lord Dorchester and the court at Quebec. Through the influence of this nobleman, that worthy prelate was advanced to the Episcopal chair. He attended Lord Dorchester on a voyage to England, and was formerly a Catholic missionary among the Indians at Penobscot, in the State of Massachusetts, and received a stipend from the general court there for those services. A specimen of policy or liberality at that time, which is to be applauded but not easily accounted for. This dignitary joined to a zealous attachment to his religious profession, the Christian gentleman, the friend of learning, and patron of useful

arts, and men of merit. He died in Quebec, and the curate of Longuille,* near Montreal, was elected to the same dignity.

The bishops of the Catholic church preserve the succession of episcopal power with great care, and no one is consecrated without the approbation of the bishop of Rome, and the governor of Canada.

Thus preserving the distinction of ecclesiastical powers, the rights of patronage, and the duties of allegiance, and removing jealousies and discontents on all sides.

One bishop only is necessary to deliver the sacerdotal power to another, and a suffragan is always elected upon the decease of either of the two, that the diocese may not be destitute of a superior. The other bishop resides with the clergy in the seminary of Quebec. His former palace is converted into land and other offices and its chapel into a court or parliament house. The clergy teach a number of young men in the seminary, and are the principal instructors through the province.

It is a commonplace remark that the clergy of the church of Rome wish to keep the people in ignorance. This charge has given offence in Canada. At the first settlement of this province, large reservations of lands were made for the promotion of learning, and commodious and excellent colleges were erected. These were under the superintendance of the society of Jesuits. Instructors were placed and every needful endowment and arrangement made for disseminating knowledge. But upon surrendering of the province to the British, after the conquest, these colleges were converted into barracks and prisons, both in Montreal and Quebec. The funds are appropriated to other uses after the decease of the longest liver of the fraternity.

All attempts to erect substitutes for these have been abortive. The nation of England has not made amends for the loss, and the

*Longueuil.

Catholics have been defeated and chagrined. The Anglo-Americans who abode by the British standard, and wished to provide for the education of their children in Canada have endeavoured to form academies and schools after the example of the States. The Catholic bishop has been consulted, and he gave his opinion without reserve, that the colleges and property of the Jesuits ought to be restored to their original uses in promoting knowledge; that they were amply adequate to every purpose. He was asked to give a statement of the present revenues of the clergy, with a hope that a fund might be raised from thence for the purpose. His answer was that the incomes of the clergy were barely sufficient for their necessities,—that these depended upon certain parts of the products of the country, which were frequently diminished by blast, drought, and unfruitful seasons,—that the clergy were constantly obliged to resign their dues to relieve the poor, and thus neglected exacting justice for themselves.

After deliberating on the subject the governor and the English party relinquished the design. Colleges are not erected. Young men are sent into England and the States for education. The clergy of the Romish church proceed to educate all who are placed under their care, and some Protestant schools are taught in the towns of Montreal, William Henry, Three Rivers and Quebec.

This last city is composed of two parts, called the Upper and Lower town. The latter is erected under a precipice, and upon the beach on the banks of the river. It is connected with the Upper town by a winding street, and a footway up winding stairs. In it are the public and private stores and wharves. The depth of the water, the height to which it rises, and the commodious beach formed during the ebb of the tide, afford many conveniences to facilitate business. One street of houses, with the above stores and wharves, compose the principal part of the Lower town.

The Upper town is built upon an eminence which commands the country and river. The fortifications are strong, the city is entered by gates, and must be reduced only by great military force, regular siege and persevering operations. Every apparatus and provision for its defence are prepared and in readiness, in great quantities. Surprize, stratagem, and starvation are scarcely practicable, especially when the rigors of winter are to be surmounted by assailants and besiegers.

Within the walls are the Chateau or Governor's house, all public offices, the churches, seminary, Jesuits and Recolletts colleges, and two nunneries.

The Chateau is a large stone building, with a commodious spot as a court yard, or place of parade in front towards the town. Joined to this is a large dining or banqueting hall. On the summit of an inaccessible precipice in front from this house and its gardens, we view the country east and south across the river, and the whole of the Lower town.

The most remarkable building in Quebec is the Cathedral church, which is large, and attended by a numerous congregation. It is well adorned at the east end near the altar, but doth not make the same splendid appearance with the parish church of Montreal.

The seminary and former college of the Jesuits are large. Elegant chapels are joined to each of them. The Recolletts college and chapel have been demolished by fire, and are in ruins. The nunneries are also large. One is a place of female education, the other is an hospital: A third is without the city, and an hospital. These institutions, the property of females,—the receptacle for the sick and wounded, are conducted with great order and economy. Human woes are alleviated by them in a manner that does honor to human nature and religion. They contain large apartments for sick men and sick women. They are the only alms houses in the province, and are supported from the property of the

nuns. These women are the nurses and attendants. Apothecaries' rooms, supplied with medicine are in each, superintended by a nun. This is her principal employment. The hospital rooms are connected with the chapels, and by the opening of folding doors the sick may attend the devotions. They are screened from public view by a curtain and lattice work. Great gravity and decorum are observed through the whole. On the side opposite to the apartments of the sick is the chapel of the nuns, opened and secured in the same manner. The main chapel is accessible to all visitors, as are the churches through the province. Such sacred respect for religion, and such integrity prevail, that the churches are open night and day. The hand of sacrilege has seldom deprived the temples of the smallest article. Contiguous to each of the colleges and nunneries are gardens which occupy a considerable part of Quebec. Many private gardens are also within the city. Perhaps no more ground is taken up in these than is necessary to preserve the health.

Fires have frequently ravaged the Upper and Lower town, and the suburbs.

The most memorable spot contiguous to Quebec, is Abraham's plain. This is an extensive flat ground about a mile in width, extending in a line with the river towards the south-west. Near the river the bank rises suddenly, and forms a precipice not easily to be ascended. On the north side this hill gradually descends to the river St. Charles. The neighbouring region then rises in a gentle slope, and we are entertained with a view of the pleasant country, farm houses, and villages, until the prospect is lost in the distant hills and the horizon. On this plain Wolfe fell. The spot is shewn, but it is not marked by any monument to distinguish it. He landed at a place now called Wolfe's cove, made by the river, covered by the circular form of the neighbouring height or precipice. He ascended by an hollow way, which nature had formed by a small rivulet caused by rains from the water collected on the plain.

Nature had thus prepared a landing place and a pass from the beach, which was covered from the view of the besieged and gave an opportunity to surprize the enemy within the walls.

The public road runs along this plain, and is decorated with gentlemen's country seats and fertile fields.

Beyond this cove is Powel place, the residence of the Protestant bishop. It is an elegant house, and the farm and gardens are in English style.

A large area in front, with irregular clusters of trees, a walk on the banks of the river, and the descent by steps, lead the visitor around a seat of the greatest distinction in the neighbourhood.

In surveying Abraham's plain, we were pointed to the places where Montgomery, Wooster and others quartered and carried on their military operations.

The country around Quebec exhibits many enchanting prospects. The villages and settlements across the St. Laurence, towards Point Levi and the States—the Isle of Orleans—the country towards the falls of Montmorency—Dorchester bridge—and the nunnery without the city, give beauty to extensive prospects. The falls of Montmorency, at the distance of seven miles, tempted us to a ride through the French villages and farms east of the city.

This admired prospect is made by a small river, which descends at least two hundred feet in one sheet of water. A bason below receives it, and it is conveyed from thence a small distance into the river St. Laurence. We beheld the beauties of this place from a summer house, which General Haldimand erected over the river, to which we descended by several flights of steps, made of wood by some ingenious artist. The summer house is really hung over the river, and the fall must be from the above height, whenever it gives way to the decays of time. The varied tinges of the rainbow, formed amidst the water and vapors in a clear

day,—the diminished stature of the fisherman below, and the ingenuity of the artist, afforded us much amusement.

This house is elegant, but not large. It is accommodated with all the offices needful for a place of retreat for an hour or a night. It is too costly for a peasant and man of business, and is not sufficiently commodious for the permanent residence of a gentleman of leisure, rank, or fortune. Much taste is displayed, and some considerable expence has been bestowed in decoration.

The Indian village of Lorette is visited by strangers, where intercourse with civilized nations, and the superintendence of the Catholic clergy, exhibited the descendants of the aboriginals of America in a well regulated settlement; pious, industrious, and moral.

A chapel, parson's house, and the usual institutions of this country for the benefit of its inhabitants, are found in this place also.

Referring particular remarks upon the customs, manners, and peculiarities of this country to the close of this work, we proceed to other parts of the provinces.

Upon leaving Quebec we revisited some of the country through which we passed on our way thither. We found the river Sorel to be much narrower than the St. Laurence, and the margin equally well filled and decorated with handsome villages, through a fertile country. An uniformity of fashion prevails in their churches and houses—but the variety of views is great. The narrowness of the river presented objects on each side, as we progressed slowly against the stream.

Bellevue and the neighbouring mountain exhibit an alluring, noble prospect. This mountain rises in a conical form, and is conspicuous at a great distance. Apple and other fruit trees flourish upon it, and it is not inhabited except in a few places.

Chamblée Bason at the head of navigation, is about one mile across. Its form is circular and its banks inhabited. A church and village on one side, and an old stone fortification on the other, and the entering of the waters from Lake Champlain, down the rapids, give variety to the objects which engrossed our attention. The fort is square, inclosing a barrack, and guarding the water conveyance and entrance by land.

The rapids are seldom passed except in the spring, and some have projected a mode of clearing out the rocks. Time will, by some work of art, open an easy water communication between the river and lake.

Very costly and excellent mills are erected on the side of these rapids. The carrying place from hence to St. Johns is about eight miles. The road is good, boats are often taken across, and but little interruption to travellers takes place between Lake Champlain and Quebec.

Lower Canada appears upon examination to enjoy as many of the blessings of life, as are needful to make man happy. The government is mild and energetic. The ancient French code, and the present system of English laws, are conducted in such a mode as to secure the citizens at large in every valuable right. A representation, by the election of the people in a provincial legislature, and the privilege of trial by jury, are established by the constitution.

The civil and military list are maintained by the British nation, and the people pay few or no taxes to defray the expenses of government. Salaries are paid to the English clergy, and to some of the Catholic and Presbyterian ministers, by the crown.

The militia are officered by men elected from among themselves, and their respective companies have alarm posts assigned, and the officer's residence is marked by a pole with an evergreen top. In this mode, in all cases of distress and danger, a resort is immediately pointed out for the inhabitant and stranger.

To the south-east of this place near the States, settlements are rapidly forming within the province. The settlers are chiefly from the loyalists of the late army, and emigrants from New-England. Already has considerable land been improved and brought into cultivation, and as these extend along the lines, and advance toward the river St. Laurence, they will greatly increase the prosperity of this province.

The hardy manners and industry, the successful mode of clearing lands, in which the northern colonists excel, give them many advantages. They cultivate the older farms, through the ancient settlements, among the French inhabitants better, and landholders in general prefer such upon their estates.

This province affords as many of the real enjoyments of life, and the people are as happy, peaceable, and prosperous as in any part of North America. Few conquered countries have been better protected or governed. Religion, while it restrains the people within the bounds of morality, has a large share in teaching them to obey government. The principles of liberty and religion, which have placed all power in the hands of the people, and destroyed many of the laws and customs of countries governed by absolute monarchs and nobles and clergy with superior powers, are gradually extending. This in consequence of the use and administration of the English laws and their opinions, customs, manners and religion.

The monastic orders decrease gradually and few offer themselves for admission into the nunneries. The order of Friars and Jesuits were permitted to enjoy their estates at the conquest, but to enrol no more in their fraternities. These orders are therefore almost extinct.

An order called the Grey nuns, are school mistresses, who instruct the girls only in the French and Indian villages. They are not confined to the cloister, and are very attentive to their pupils

whom they early initiate into an acquaintance with the catechisms, smaller rituals and the principles of religion. They have maid-servants, who attend their domestic concerns, and the institutions may be considered as well regulated boarding schools. Females who perform the more laborious part of the economy of the nunneries, are called Lay Sisters, and have not taken the vow of single life.

Protestantism has made but little progress. The universal toleration which is established by law,—the peaceable temper of the governors of the Catholic church,—and the civil and military characters at the head of the province, have preserved general harmony.

The English bishop in Quebec is a gentleman of great learning, eminently qualified for his office. His moderation and discretion are very acceptable to all parties. So little zeal for proselyting from the Catholics has prevailed, that more have joined these from the Protestants than have been converts to the English church or the Presbyterians.

Although a bishop, priest, and deacon officiated in Quebec, yet an English church has not been erected for the use of the English congregation, and divine service is celebrated in a Catholic chapel. The politeness and hospitality of the clergy were displayed in a manner which demands our highest acknowledgments of gratitude.

Our very genteel reception by the assistant bishop of the Catholic church, opened a source for much information. We found him easy of access, affable, and dignified in his manners. He also performed the duties of a parish priest and received a reward not superior to most of that order. He frequently administered medicine to the sick, having been called in his missions to study the healing art.

By his letter we became acquainted with the bishop of Quebec,

a much esteemed ecclesiastic. In Quebec we met these dignitaries together at the seminary, and dined with the former at the Chief Justice's, in company with three of the clergy of France, gentlemen of distinguished rank, learning and abilities.

The intercourse among all descriptions of the heads of departments and communities is such as displays great order and confidence among each other, with a happy effect upon the people and subordinate stations.

The common habit of a bishop is a purple stuff, with a velvet collar and cuffs. A gold cross about three inches long is worn around his neck, and a broad silk sash with gold tassels at the ends around his waist. This dress is fitted to the body but spreads in the skirt, reaching to the feet. It is closed from the neck to the bottom with a large number of buttons. The habit of the inferior clergy is black, but is similar in its fashion.

On our return from Quebec we found the bishop at Point-au-Tremble, celebrating the anniversary of his consecration, attended by the head of the Recollets, three of the clergy from France, and some of the parish clergy from the city and neighbourhood. Perfect ease prevailed among all. Towards the evening the bishop accompanied us to the banks of the river, attended by the head of the Recollets, a gentleman far advanced in life, but retaining a fund of vivacity and a sprightly fancy and humour, which make his company acceptable in all circles.

When the sun was near setting the parish bell rung, and the company taking off their hats, conversation was suspended and devotion engrossed a few minutes. This appeared to be a signal for presenting devout thanksgivings to the Father of mercies, and is observed accordingly by the whole parish and country.

In the chapel a body of Indian men, women, and children were upon their knees, totally absorbed in presenting their evening adorations. We passed them, apparently without being noticed,

and as far as external deportment authorized us to judge of the employment of the heart, no supplicants could be more sincerely devout. They were part of a tribe who were upon a visit to the bishop their former priest, and were treated with great tenderness and kindness by himself and his family.

The weather was pleasant and we had seen them in their encampment near the margin of the river. They had made their voyage in a birch canoe, which was now their shelter from the sun. The women were busy in manufacturing articles for sale in birch bark, which they decorate with the porcupine's quill. Diligence and innocence marked their demeanor. These temporary defences by their canoes are made more convenient, by the birch bark which they carry with them; which answers as a floor to sleep upon, or as tents to ward off the wind and rain. The birch canoes are made of the bark of that tree and are of different dimensions. Those used in the North-western trade are large. They are constructed for expeditious sailing,—are light, and easily conveyed over portages or carrying places. Great attention must be paid to the motion at entering or while within them, as the smallest accident will overturn them if this is not observed. When they are properly loaded and ballasted, they are safe and pass dangerous rapids without difficulty or damage.

While the Canadian men have not generally the benefits of schools, and want colleges and instructors, the women are well educated in city and country nunneries. The Ursuline nuns teach in the cities and towns, and the Grey nuns in the country.

The country nunneries are large well built houses, with gardens and needful court yards for safety, exercise and ornament. One of these is to be found in every village. Girls from a distance are received as boarders, and the village girls as day scholars.—They retire at regular hours and are removed at the pleasure of parents. Being contiguous to the chapel of the neighbourhood,

all attend devotions morning and evening. The effect is pleasing, as the women obtain good educations in reading, writing, and many of the useful and ornamental branches of industry which are peculiar to the sex.

Religion is venerated in every quarter—Its temple, its humane, and benevolent institutions—its monuments and memorandums in cities and countries are numerous. Historic paintings and pictures cover the walls, and the crosses by the way constantly lead to mind to devout reflections. It would be foreign from the design of this work to enter upon a detail of the peculiarities in the opinions and rites of the Catholic church, which we call superstitious. Many ingenious arguments are given for their faith and institutions. Protestants when they stripped the churches of historic Scripture paintings, deprived themselves not only of the rich productions of eminent artists, but of valuable means for instruction. The animated canvas in Catholic countries, gives us more just and lively ideas of the Nativity, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord, than can be afforded by the tongue or pen of the learned, nay, than by the language of Scripture itself. That the painter has given us the scene in reality is not pretended, but as exact a representation of it as human ingenuity can devise. To this custom of decorating churches it is to be attributed, that Italy produced so many eminent painters, and became a school for men of that profession. The charge of idolatry has been carried in the opinion of sober Protestants, beyond all bounds of decency. The representation of the person or event is preserved to instruct and solemnize. The most powerful arguments are used to deter the people from praying to images or pictures.

While candor and charity lead us not to censure or condemn what we are not thoroughly acquainted with, we should guard against those violences and convulsions which would make a prey of professors of religion of any kind to gratify spleen, bigotry, avarice, or any hateful passion. Reformation is to be effected by wisdom, gentleness, patience and more exemplary piety.

Travelling in this province is easy and expeditious. A public mail-stage runs from St. Johns to Quebec. A calescha, a species of chaise or chair drawn by one horse, is used by all classes of citizens. These are to be had at most of the peasants' houses, and obtained at pleasure in the cities. For a moderate price travellers are conveyed in them sixty miles a day—As the driver passes the churches and crosses, he checks the speed of the horses and stops for a minute, and taking off his hat repeats a small prayer, and replaces it upon his head and drives on. Some have profanely resisted and ridiculed this practice; but to be conducted as a stranger by attendants who constantly pay their homage to the Creator and Preserver of men, must console every considerate mind. It is more commendable to encourage such devotions, than to interrupt them and give needless offence.

Water conveyances in small and large vessels are also constant between the cities of Montreal and Quebec. Whenever wind or tide detained us contrary to our inclination, we found ready transportation by the peasants on the land.

Water voyages are peculiarly entertaining: The expedition and convenience by which they are conducted lead many to prefer this mode. The canoes and flat bottomed boats pass safely and are managed with dexterity. To the orderly and respectful deportment of the boatmen in general, they joined a scrupulous demeanor as they passed the churches and monuments of religion. The watermen constantly amused us with their singing in a measure which is harmonious, and animates them to greater dexterity and expedition.

The foregoing describes a summer's visit and tour. A winter is scarcely less pleasant. The country is then covered with snow—the waters congealed, and pleasure and business create an active season. The roads are good. Fat horses and good sleighs, called carioles, are plenty. Dressed in fur and prepared for the climate,

the cold and storm makes but little impression. They cause but little complaint by either night or day, and the houses being heated by stoves a temperature is formed to that degree which causes flowers to appear in full bloom, and citron trees are to be found which have not been injured by frost for many years.

With a warm dress, a buffaloe skin over our feet and lap, a fur cap, muff, mittens and buskins lined with fur, we visited the village of the Algonquin and Iroquois Indians, about forty miles from Montreal—This is the residence of the descendants and remnant of two tribes, who dwell in two streets or small cantonments in houses formed of hewn timber closed with lime. The distance between these cantonments is but a few rods. In each is a small chapel of a regular form, about fifteen feet square. These edifices are frequent in these provinces and they are improved in the Catholic processions, in villages, as a substitute for large churches in the cities. Certain solemnities are attended in them on public festivals.

The Indians appear to be totally converted to Christianity, and reduced to order under the government. No attendants upon religious worship can be more punctual or reverential, and the singing of their women is soft and enchanting. The large chapel is decorated with a number of excellent historic representations taken from sacred Scripture.—The altar, vestry room, vestments of the priests, and the furniture at large used in this temple, are exceeded by few of the French churches.

The Indians do not confine their devotions to the public assembling in the church, but are punctual in their morning and evening ejaculations before and after their meals, and in all cases of difficulty and danger.

After the season of hunting expires, these two tribes return to their village. One of them permits the women and children to attend them into the forest:—in the other, the women abide at

home. In summer the land is cultivated, and bread and many other necessaries raised for their consumption during the year. They have horses and other cattle, and vehicles for winter travelling. The women are diligent in their domestic concerns, and manufacture belts, mockasons, and various parts of the clothing of their families. Furs and skins are dressed by these people, and their whole time appears to be industriously employed in the manufactures peculiar to themselves. A large surplus is sold to the merchants in this village and Montreal. Traders are established in all these settlements, who enjoy a lucrative traffic and possess the confidence of the Indians.

The felicity and prosperity which prevail afford strong arguments in support of the policy of both the French and English governments, and the good effect of the Catholic religion. These tribes are useful auxiliaries in all confusions with the western tribes, and are employed as ambassadors and runners.

About forty miles above this settlement, plantations are forming on the Ottawais river into a region but little known until late years. A large country is now opening by water upon this river, which will be the principal channel of communication with the north-western country. The neighbourhood of this territory to Montreal, and the easy communication by water to every part of the provinces, make it very valuable.

At the mouth of this river is the Lake of the two mountains, known by its vicinity to two high hills, which are to be seen at a considerable distance. Many fertile islands and small streams are connected with this Lake and the river.

Opposite to this Indian village is a French settlement, to which we passed thro' an avenue of evergreens of about twelve feet in height, placed in the ice in regular order, equidistant from each other. This is a common practice, and very necessary, where roads are exposed to be destroyed by new snows, or the traveller may lose his way in a storm.

A stone fortification formerly defended the entrance into the Lake and river at this place, and some of its remains are to be seen, contiguous to the chapel and parish house. These are erected on a point of land where commanding views present in every direction. Time may make this a place of importance, and a large city may be formed where the natives have resided unmolested for many years. A road is opened from Montreal in the rear, and a winter journey is made across the islands and frozen waters in front.

The customs and manners of the Indians have been very generally and accurately described by those who first visited them, in what we call their rude and savage state. An intercourse with those who have emigrated from Europe, has changed the scene in some degree among the tribes in Canada. They have assumed the short surtout which is generally used by the peasantry. The children are nursed upon a board, and the blanket is retained by men, women, and children, as the outer garment in rain or cold. The Indian stocking and mockasins, are well adapted to the climate. The French peasants wear a shoe of tanned leather, constructed in the same form.

The French government early countenanced matrimonial alliances with the natives, and a great similarity of features and complexion appear in all parts of the country through which we have passed. This affinity is evident in both the French and Indian settlements, and men and women of these respective tribes and nations live happily together in domestic and matrimonial state. Their progeny marry together, as children of one common family. Was this virtuous and rational matrimonial alliance encouraged by the European emigrants into the American regions north and south, many confusions and outrages would be prevented.

From this village we passed through French settlements into the upper province, and the townships possessed by the late Loyal corps and the adventurers from Europe and the States. People



of every language and nation have come hither and formed prospering colonies. Heaven has blessed their labors, industry and enterprize. Few have experienced greater success. The nation of England has fostered them with great care, and bestowed rations of provisions, clothing, materials for house building, husbandry tools, and continued the pay of the late officers and soldiers for three years. Each of the emigrants also had a quantity of land bestowed upon them.

In return for this bounty, the nation vends her manufactures, and must enjoy a lucrative commerce with countries that are increasing in wealth and numbers, whose consumption of foreign commodities will increase in proportion also. The advantages to the nation from this justice, policy, and mode of colonizing will be immense. The country is fertile, well timbered and watered. Commodious locks are formed near the rapids, which facilitate transportation. The winter is peculiarly favorable for conveying the produce of the country and commodities of the merchant to market, as the roads are good, the country flat, and waters frozen.

At St. Regis on the south side of the river a number of Indians reside in a small town, built of hewn timber, who are occupied in hunting, fishing, farming, and the manufactures of their tribes. The most distinguished object on this place is a very large Catholic church, inferior to few in size, which has been lately built by the Indians themselves, with a small assistance from the clergy and some gentlemen of rank and fortune. Men, women, and children in this village assisted the masons and carpenters in procuring timber, stone, and lime and in every possible part of the labour.

It is a work which does honour to their zeal, and is an ornament to a very pleasant country, contiguous to fertile islands, and the waters of the river St. Laurence. Mountains towards the southwest are seen, which are in the State of New York, and neighborhood of Lake Champlain. Roads from hence, and from an

American plantation, making on the side of the States opposite Johnstown, or Oswegatche, will expedite the communication with Albany and New-York, and shortens the present route more than one hundred miles. The country is well calculated for this purpose.

The British nation pay a salary to the Catholic minister of St. Regis, and a Presbyterian minister on the opposite shore. At Cornwall and Johnstown, they are about to erect and maintain churches and academies, and a sum is assigned for the purpose.

Kingston is a considerable town in the Upper province. It is erected near the old fort, called Frontinac, part of which remains with the barracks, and are improved by the garrison which is stationed there. Many large houses, stores, and some convenient wharves are built near the river or lake. Being at the extremity of that inland sea called the Lake Ontario, and near the outlet from thence which forms the river St. Laurence, this must be a town of considerable importance. A number of large vessels are constantly passing from hence in every direction across the Lake, and boats are arriving to, and passing from hence and Montreal. The country is clearing and cultivating. Numerous bays and rivers are connected with the Lake, and wealth must reward the industry of a busy, enterprising people. Wheat, lumber, cattle, horses, and pot-ashes will compose the principal exports. The constant influx of inhabitants will for a long time, consume the produce of the farmer, and spare the trouble of exportation. With the numbers that have entered these regions, government has been established, similar in its form to the constitution of England and the other royal governments. The civil, military, and ecclesiastical officers are chiefly supported by the crown, and the Legislature meets on the other side of the Lake.

An English church is erected, and a missionary, who is the bishop's commissary, is inducted into the cure. He visits the Mohawk Indians, and has translated the Gospels and liturgy into that language.

The object of the British nation is to people and cultivate this country, and to make it as perfect a part of the Empire as possible. Dreading revolutions, they are cautious in receiving republicans from the States, and wish to encourage husbandmen and labourers only. Clergymen, lawyers, physicians, and schoolmasters from the States are not the first characters who would be fostered. Many congregations would have been formed, and schools opened, if the policy in this particular had been different.

An extensive field is opened for men of letters in every profession. Destitute of colleges, academies, and schools, and confiding in the qualifications of the clergy ordained by the bishops in the States, Governor Simcoe wished to have introduced such, but an act of the British parliament disconcerted his design.

When the bishops of England were permitted to consecrate bishops for the States, a clause was inserted in the act passed by Parliament for the purpose, that nothing therein contained should enable such "bishops or clergymen ordained by them, to exercise their function within the limits of the nation." This act was drawn by the archbishop of Canterbury, and has been obstinately adhered to.

While the States are open to the clergy from England, and some since the peace and the above law have been received into our parishes, the clergy born and ordained in the States are excluded from the parishes in the provinces.

Some of the latter, by reason of our popular elections, have given way to these emigrants from Europe, to the distress of these American clergymen and not for the greater good of our flocks. By means of this law, these new countries have been destitute of ministers, and lament their exposure to the inroads of infidelity and enthusiasm.

Wise dignitaries and able statesmen on both sides of the At-

lantic; Christian ministers and professors agree that the law is illiberal, un-Christian and unequal. Much complaint and clamour have arisen, but no remedy has been provided. In the provinces, they say that clergymen from Europe are not acquainted sufficiently with the custom, manners, and habits of Americans, to serve with them successfully. In the States, it is agreed that this law, and our unrestrained mode of receiving clergymen from the British nation, is not consonant with the opinions of our country as to aliens, and the practice of the Europeans, in their respective countries, who retain all places of influence, honor, and profit in the hands of their own sons and citizens. The unity of the Christian church, in heart, faith and devotion, is too far sacrificed to State policy and Ecclesiastical establishments. This law has certainly defeated the extending of religion and learning in the provinces.

All the attornies in this province have not been regularly bred to the profession. Many are admitted to the bar because they have been adherents to the government, and reside in particular neighbourhoods where a practitioner is wanted. The order of attornies is not numerous in Canada. Men of distinguished talents and acquirements are in the profession, and justice is well administered. Controversies among the Catholics are generally adjusted by the clergy, and litigations are not frequent. Pension, place, and favor are reserved for the English and Scotch adventurers, and the sons of Oxford and Cambridge.

A taste for literature, and desire after mental and other improvements is prevalent, and science will extend its happy effects among these new settlements.

Mechanics of every kind are established. Ship builders and mill-wrights have produced excellent specimens of their abilities. Most of the mills which are erected upon the larger streams and mill seats are the labors of ingenuity, and bring profit to the proprietors.

A water voyage through these provinces from Kingston to Montreal is enchanting and entertaining,—cheap and expeditious—while much delay and many impediments put the patience to the proof, in attempts to pass into the country against the stream.

New objects present every moment to draw the attention. The river,—the broader waters of the Lake of St. Francis—the rapids and islands, are full of novelty.

Among the first which attract notice, is a cluster called the Thousand Islands, where at least that number are collected together, not far from Lake Ontario, of various forms and sizes. Sometimes they are exhibited in a regular line, and then surround us, where to a stranger, no certain outlet appears. These islands are not inhabited except by birds and wild animals. Fish are taken in abundance in most of the northern waters.

The rapids at the outlet of the Lake of St. Francis,—below the Cedars,—and at the cascade, are entertaining to the eye, but cause the heart to tremble. These the Indians encounter without damage or much anxiety: No adventure appears to be more hazardous; but the skillful Indian navigator conducted us safely through all. To the Catholic priests we were indebted for recommending such for boatmen, as were temperate and faithful. Upon our parting with our attendants, they generally asked whether we were satisfied, and they had fulfilled their engagements? This is a practice among both French and Indians, and renders travelling more pleasant, where such persons may be called to respond for insolence or dishonesty, and by habit are taught to be decent and respectful to employers. In no instance did one of those who escorted us offend by their neglect, indolence, impertinent language or intoxication: And on our return we were frequently asked whether our attendants had done their duty. All travellers would wish that similar care was universal.

The mutual attachment of the clergy and their Indian parish-

ioners to each other, appears to be the result of those reciprocal good offices, which bind generous souls together, and of that particular attention which is paid to the natives. Instances of this kind are often repeated. A priest, who had lived a long time among the Indians, was about to be removed to another cure—Intelligence of this reached the Indians, who sent an aged chief to him as a messenger. Having delivered his errand, and used many arguments to dissuade him from removing, he asked for an ancient, valuable belt, which had been deposited with the priest for safe custody, and was the testimonial of an alliance between the natives and the administration of that time. When the belt was delivered, the chief examining and recognizing it, spread it around the feet of the priest, and asked him whether he could walk away from the affection and bonds of union which that belt reminded him of? The belt was restored to its cabinet, the priest remained, and the Indians were satisfied.

In the church at Kingston we saw an Indian woman, who sat in an honorable place among the English. She appeared very devout during divine service, and very attentive to the sermon. She was the relict of the late Sir William Johnson, superintendant of Indian affairs in the then province of New-York, and mother of several children by him, who are married to Englishmen, and provided for by the crown. She is the sister to the celebrated Col. Brant, and has always been a faithful and useful friend in Indian affairs, while she resided in Johnson Hall, and since her removal to Upper Canada.

When Indian embassies arrived, she was sent for, dined at Governor Simcoe's and was treated with respect by himself, his lady, and family. When treaties or purchases were about to be made at Johnson Hall, she has often persuaded the obstinate chiefs into a compliance with the proposals for peace, or sale of lands. She retains the habit of her country women, and is a Protestant. During the life of Sir William, she was attended with splendor and

respect, and since the war receives a pension and compensation for losses, for herself and her children.

Soon after the arrival of the Protestant bishop, he visited the diocese, and on his way accidentally passed a party of Indians, who recognized their former missionary, the present minister of Kingston, in company with the bishop, and followed them to the inn where they halted. The bishop's attention was drawn to the affectionate meeting of the Indians and their old friend. This led the Indians to ask who the bishop was? Being informed that he was the spiritual guide, who was sent by the Great Father across the water to preach the Gospel and regulate the concerns of religion, they solicited the privilege of making a speech to him, which was done accordingly through the interpreter, in which they expressed their joy and gratitude to God and their earthly guides who led him to this undertaking. The bishop in return addressed them, and agreeable impressions were made on all sides, by so sudden and unexpected an interview.

The clergy of Montreal are proprietors of an estate near the Algonquin and Iroquois towns, and maintain the incumbent, whom we found to be a sensible, polite, affable and hospitable man. His assistant was an accomplished young Ecclesiastic, who had escaped from France, since the present wars, and was one of the priests in Lyons. He retreated by the way of Geneva into England, and since his arrival in Canada has devoted himself as a missionary to the service of the Indians. He has learned their language, and constantly attends the duties of his function with great punctuality. Gratitude to his Almighty deliverer appears to have dictated this measure. He was a youth of good talents and education, adorned with many elegant endowments, acquired amongst the literati of a polished city, in a once civilized country. His parents were cast into prison, and probably fell a sacrifice to Jacobinism and Robespierre.

The clergy of the church of Rome are early inspired with an ardent desire to be sent on distant missions, and to propagate the gospel in every part of the world. They sacrifice ease and affluence for those employments, with great zeal and alacrity. From hence it is that they have planted Christianity in the most distant parts of the globe. From their consequent successful labors, and greater experience, they are in due time advanced to the station of bishops and superiors.

They are appointed to their various errands by the bishop of the diocese, and removed at his discretion, and upon the decease of a parish priest another is immediately placed in the cure. If his administration is not acceptable, he is made the minister of some other place.

Discords seldom break out with virulence between the clergy and their parishioners, and great reverence is paid to the priesthood as an office of divine appointment. Aaron when consecrated to the priesthood in the church of Israel, was not more revered than the Catholic priests are in all public performances.

Their robes are made in imitation of those used by the Jewish priests, and in commemoration of the garments worn by the Saviour of men. Different prayers are connected with these vestments, and used at the time of putting them on or taking them off.

So minutely are these devotions, and the instruction or moral connected with them attended to, that the glove or slipper, used at a bishop's consecration, are not put on without praying that the person about to be elevated may be blessed, as Jacob was blessed by his father, when he put on the hairy gloves, and that his feet may be shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.

Politeness, prudence, liberality, and discretion lead the clergy of Canada not to introduce the subject of religion precipitately, before men of other persuasions. They enter upon such themes with

caution and gravity, carefully abstaining from them in public places, which are not devoted to religion.

Instances are often repeated of their respect to the British government. When Prince William Henry was publicly received in Montreal, many of the clergy of the church of Rome were present, and paid him the respect of kneeling according to the ancient customs of Europe. The prince, however, politely requested them to dispense with that ceremony, and was obeyed.

The Protestant bishop, Doctor Mountain, arrived with the title given him in England of bishop of Quebec. This was the title also of the superior in the Catholic church, who immediately directed his clergy to address him in future, by his surname. Such cordiality is observed, that when the late superintending bishop of the provinces (Bishop Inglis) visited Canada, he called upon the Catholic clergy, and was received by them with great respect. Upon leaving the province he lamented the desolate state of the English church, and in a farewell sermon preached in Quebec, caused the governor-general to wipe the tear from his eye.

The feasts, fasts, and different ceremonies and processions of the Catholic church are yet observed; except that by a late ordinance, the people are not compelled to attend all those which are appointed in the calendar. This dispensation was obtained through the influence of the English and Protestant party; but it has not prevented the accustomed observance of those seasons on the part of the people.

The festival of Corpus Christi, in commemoration of the institution of the sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, is observed as an high day in mid-summer, and a sermon is preached on Transubstantiation. The great dignity of the holy Eucharist, which is daily celebrated, led the Catholic church to set apart one day in the year, in which the prayers, selected scriptures, and sermons direct the attention more particularly to that ordinance. They are

not silent on the theme at other times. On that day the streets are adorned with branches from the trees, and processions pass from the churches. The priests appear also in their most splendid robes.

A gentleman in Quebec, being in company with the late worthy Chief Justice Smith, who was born and educated in New York and lived and died a Presbyterian, called these processions "fooleries." The Chief Justice with his accustomed mildness and good sense, requested the gentleman to recollect what he had said, and to consider when these things called 'fooleries' were adopted, and what was their design. That they originated at a time when Christians lived among heathens, whose false worship was full of ostentation and splendor; that the Christian processions were exhibited in superior magnificence, and that some duty of piety and morality, or some important fact in the gospel history and the life of our Lord, was commemorated in every part; that our candor and moderation were therefore to be exhibited, when we commented upon the usages of the Catholic church. The Chief Justice at the same time used the most respectful language concerning the wisdom and piety of the English church, and extolled the moderation and candor of the present bench of bishops in England. What ever specimens of bigotry his history of New-York, and other writings might formerly be supposed to exhibit, his demeanor in Canada appears to have been that of a friend to universal toleration, liberty, and forbearance, among professors of every kind. Had he lived to have inspected his history of New-York, it would not have appeared in its present form. Certain things there recorded have been investigated, and ought to be corrected, because they are contrary to known facts.

The houses of Canada are well calculated for the purposes of all seasons. Those of the rich have generally an half story beneath the surface of the earth, a second story is of a good height, and a third is formed in the roof, which is steep, that the snow may

not remain long upon it. This middle story is divided into three large rooms in front, and three smaller, with a kitchen in the rear.

Two stoves and the kitchen fire warm these apartments in such a manner that the inner doors are open night and day, during the coldest weather. A large stove is usually placed in the center of one of these rooms, which is at the entrance and end. This stove guards the other parts of the house from the intrusions of frost. The walls of the houses are thick, as stone and lime are plenty.

The windows are closed by folding sashes, hung upon hinges, which open the whole in case of necessity, in summer.

The art of improving the benefits of the heat communicated by the stoves, consists chiefly, in making the pipes very large, of a diameter of seven and eight inches. In the court-house of Quebec, a stove is fixed with three perpendicular pipes, which communicate with each other. After the smoke has passed through these, it is conveyed across the hall. Fires have so frequently taken place, that a law now prevents the pipes from being conveyed out of the houses, except through a chimney.

Stoves are never used in the Catholic churches, and a portable wood or tin stove is seldom seen. The English congregations in Quebec, Montreal, William Henry, Three Rivers, and Kingston have stoves in their chapels.

Protestant zeal is perhaps not more cold than Catholic; but after the celebration of Mass, Catholics may retire and not wait for the sermon. Protestants who are such advocates for preaching as to give up praying in public, rather than part with the sermon, cannot endure the cold until the whole is ended, and therefore, provide for the warming of their churches. But another reason is, that stoves would deface the paintings and ornaments of the church, and expose these costly edifices to be destroyed by fire.

The mild and affable administration of Lord Dorchester made him very dear to the people of Canada, and they take pleasure in repeating anecdotes of his agreeable intercourse with all orders. The head of the Recollets was a gentleman far advanced in years. He retained great vivacity and a sprightly humour and fancy, which rendered his company very acceptable in all circles. The severe weather increasing at the beginning of winter, Lord Dorchester informed this father, who had the direction of the church in which the English congregation assembled, that it was time to place the stove in the chapel, as Lady Dorchester had complained that the cold was disagreeable on the preceding Sunday. "I hoped, my Lord," replied the father, "that her ladyship's devotions would have kept her warm this winter."

The common vehicle for conveying passengers in winter, is called a cariole, and is constructed in a commodious form. It imitates a chair or chaise without a top, and is not unlike a calesche or summer vehicle. The sled or runners which support the cariole are made of plank, and elevate the machine about eight inches. In front is a seat for the driver, and the whole is defended by a work which rises as a guard against the snow which is collected by the machine, and impedes the progress of the horse. Another use of this invention is, to enable the driver more readily to raise the cariole over such obstructions. This form adapts it for making new roads in snow over which it slides, leaving a smooth track, while the snow is made more compact. An inconvenience soon takes place in roads which are constantly used. The snow collecting in front, and the machine being lifted over it, by the driver or the strength of the horse, it soon imitates waves, and the motion becomes very uneasy.

Attempts have been made to lead the peasantry to adopt some improvement in their carioles, in order to remedy this, but without success.

Carioles used by gentlemen of fortune, are constructed and

decorated at considerable expence. They are light, airy, and elegant. The fur blankets used in them, and the fur which is worn by the proprietors, exhibit great taste and wealth.

The horses are not harnessed by the side of each other, but draw in a line. This creates an impediment to those who pass to and from the States, and Canada in winter. The roads of neither are adapted to the vehicles used and the mode, in which horses draw them, in the other.

A luxury is enjoyed very generally in ice, during the summer, which is easily preserved in houses of a very simple construction. These are small cellars, about twelve feet square, formed in gardens, or on the north side of their houses. They are secured by hewn timber instead of stone, and covered with plank or slabs, which are supported by a pole which rests on two standards. Upon these planks earth is cast, and the whole covered with green sods. Small bushes, such as the rose and goose-berry, are set in this layer of earth, and trees are planted around the whole to increase the shade. The ice is taken in winter from the lakes and rivers, and cast into these houses, where it is broken into as small pieces as possible, and water poured in, which is congealed by the frost, and forms a solid mass.

To Protestants the peculiarities of the Catholic religion afford much amusement. Burials are attended in the churches with great pomp. During the celebration of the religious offices, the corpse is placed upon a stage, which is ascended by steps and surrounded by candles. These stages are painted black and adorned with representations of skulls and bones. Aromatic gums are burned in censers in honor of the dead, and to prevent infection or offence from putridity.

Crosses stand in the burial places as well as in the roads. Indeed they are seen in every direction through the country in places of sepulture. Where casualties, disasters, or deliverances have

taken place, these are fixed as monuments. They generally call the mind to devout ejaculations. In the grave yard in Montreal, are several marble monuments, made with urns standing upon pedestals, and surrounded by iron rails.

The monuments of religion reared for the dead are decent, but those for the benefit of the living must engross the unavoidable attention of travellers. Such have been already mentioned, in the description of the churches, colleges and monasteries. The uncommon privilege we were indulged with, in visiting three nunneries, will afford an opportunity to gratify the curiosity of such as have not travelled into Catholic countries.

Admittance into these is gained with great difficulty, only by the permit of the superior of the church, or his vicar in the neighbourhood. Great neatness, order, convenience, and industry are exhibited in all of them. The apartments are well finished and furnished, and the walls are decorated with paintings and pictures, drawn from historic events recorded in sacred Scripture. Portraits of the foundresses of the nunneries, and of the most pious nuns who have died in these institutions, are seen in their parlours; carvings of the Crucifixion, as large as life, are also frequent.

The cells of the nuns are small chambers, about twelve feet square, containing a bed for a single person, a bureau for clothing, a desk where devotions are attended, and two chairs. A number of these chambers, with a window in each, and furnished in the same manner, occupy the center of the buildings.

The habit of the Ursulines is black, and that of the order of St. Joseph is white. They are uniform in fashion and quality, and are not expensive, while no emulation in dress can take place. The veil is black gauze, and is placed before the face in their devotions, in imitation of the angels. The nuns eat at one common table, and during their meals a total silence is observed, while they attend to one who reads aloud from a small pulpit built for

the purpose. The Lady Abbess instructs them in their religious duties every morning, and this employment, with their devotions, takes up an hour. She has an assistant, who presides in her absence, and a separate desk or pew is built for them, which is decorated with many ingenious carvings and representations of angels. Hospital rooms are also devoted to the sole uses of the sick nuns, that they may be attended more conveniently, and their mansion be preserved from infectious disorders. Persons of considerable distinction are taken to the nunneries when sick, and the late bishop died in one in Quebec. In that within the city we saw a citizen of Vermont, who was wounded as he was conveying a raft down the river St. Laurence. No patient need be better attended by the physicians or nuns; and this was done *gratis*.

A gravity or sedateness marks the countenances of the nuns, which some have construed into the gloom of discontent. It appears to be no more than the effect of a constant reserve, which is observable among many other sects of Christians, increased by the singular dress of the head, which covers the forehead, and conceals part of the face. They appeared sufficiently cheerful, and expressed the most perfect attachment to their mode of living and retirement. One of them observed, that twenty years was but as one day, so pleasantly did time pass with them. She was born and educated in Boston, in Massachusetts.

After so circumstantial a detail of the state of these countries, and its religions and policy, it may not be amiss to remark that it cannot be surprising that the natives who receive the benefit of these regulations, who are constantly amongst them, and are early taught their nature and design, should be converts to Christianity, and live in peace and friendship with the dependants from the Europeans.

The Indians are numerous in the trading towns, after the season of hunting and in every place are scrupulously observant of all

the rites of the church. Several circumstances conspire to produce this effect, such as—

1st. Their marriages, which were encouraged, and took place between the natives and original French settlers. These contracts are solemnized in the churches.

2d. The restraint caused by confession; experience has proved that this custom detects crimes committed against each other. The missionaries lead the offending party to make restitution to the injured. In this way they are protected in their property and persons, from the superior power and art of Europeans.

3d. The benevolent services of the priests and nuns, who have taught the young savages the principles and rituals of religion, very early in life. These chaunt and respond the service, and observe the ceremonies of bowing, kneeling, and crossing themselves, with great punctuality.

4th. The frequent and splendid processions, decorated temples and representations to the eye, by paintings and carvings. These savages, habituated to the use of hieroglyphics, are thus in a degree, compensated for the want of a knowledge of letters, and the art of printing. The historic Scripture paintings in the Indians' chapels are excellent performances, and make serious impressions upon a people averse to study.

Religion appears to have been an object of the chief care of the first and succeeding inhabitants. Early reservations and purchases of lands were devoted to the purposes of piety forever, and to secure so desirable an object, the clergy and missionaries endured many hardships, and submitted to the pains of poverty, while the lands were uncultivated. They devoted their labours and incomes to the erecting of churches and colleges very early. Vestiges of their economy and good management are constant. The self denials, pious benefactions, and successful exertions of the

Catholic clergy to provide for the service of God, and the support of Christianity, exceed every Protestant country in any other northern state, colony, or province in North America.

The present government has also in all their locations of lands reserved a due proportion of pious uses. As few oppressions and clamours exist in supporting religion, as possible, consistent with the present state of human affairs in both the provinces.

The surface of these provinces is flat and the soil good, being well wooded, and furnished with many streams, rivers, and lakes.

The river St. Laurence cannot be exceeded in the endless variety of objects which are connected with it. It begins at the outlet of the Lake Ontario, seven hundred miles from the sea, and is navigable for large vessels as far as Montreal, which is five hundred miles from the mouth, where it is ninety-miles wide. The tide flows as far as Three Rivers, eighty miles from Quebec. In its course it forms an endless variety of bays, islands and harbors.

A general fertility prevails on its shores, as we advance into the country. It is evident that many of the islands have been formed in the revolutions of the seasons, by the altered courses of the river, by the lodging of floating trees and sediment, which have collected together during the floods. The bed of the river is left dry in many places below Quebec. Its bottom is chiefly composed of flat rocks in such places, and pilots are obliged very carefully to keep the channel. The constant current has worn away the bottom and shores so far, that the water has subsided below its ancient high water mark, and the lower town of Quebec is said to be built upon a bank, which was regularly overflowed, when the country was first discovered by the Europeans.

The pencil only can give a stranger any just idea of the entertaining water scenes at the rapids. The principal are those of Richlieu, Montreal, La Chine, the Cascade, Cedars, Coto-du-Lac, and those above Cornwall, in Upper Canada.

The Richlieu rapids, are passed without much difficulty. Those at Montreal prevent all further progress in large vessels. The shore is so bold and perpendicular at this city, that vessels are loaded and unloaded along their sides, and wharves and piers are not wanted. The current, however, and contrary winds, make it necessary to warp vessels, with the help of men, to these stations.

At the Cascade is a rapid which is dangerous, and a great natural curiosity. We passed it with two Indians, in a birch canoe, upon the ridge of the wave made by the current, when the smallest error on the part of our boat-men would have plunged us into a whirlpool some feet below us. Advancing near this place, the Indian in the stern with a smile, pointing to the shore expressed that he wished we were on it. The smile was returned to animate him: He gave the sign, that no motion of the body must take place. Laying aside his hat and crossing himself, he spoke to his companion in the bow; both redoubled their exertions, and in a moment we passed all danger, and found ourselves gliding down with the current. Curiosity led us to land and view the dangerous place where we had passed unhurt.

Part of the British army perished at this place, by following the pilot's boat in front, which from his skill went safe, where wind, compass, and deep water are not all the requisites for successful navigation. A lock and canal convey boats now, without risking the dangers of the rapids.

The Isles of Montreal and Orleans are the most noted. The first has been described, and is made remarkable by its mountain, which in English, is the Royal Mountain. The second is near Quebec:—It contains several villages, and is under high cultivation. The meadows and low lands, near the river and lake, yield good crops of grass.

The rivers which unite with the St. Laurence, are the Oswagatchie, Ottawas, Sorel, L'Assumption, St. Francis, and Three

Rivers. The first settlements were formed upon the banks of the river and lakes, for the convenience of water. Few farms in the lower province are cleared at any considerable distance from these waters. Many mill seats are upon these streams, and wind-mills are frequent near the shores where the waters are smooth.

The vegetation is rapid, and the summer season short. The ice melts gradually by the influence of the warmer waters from the southwest. In winter it is sometimes suddenly broken in some places for a few days, and floating and crowding together by the force of the current, and the confinement of a narrower part of the river below, it is congealed together. One of these collections of ice is formed opposite Montreal, and a road is cut through it with axes, before a passage can be obtained to the south shore.

Business is conducted with facility, as regular posts pass into Canada from the States, and through the provinces, as far as Halifax.

Newspapers are printed at Quebec, Montreal, and Newark, in Upper Canada. They are carefully guarded against every thing that may excite discontents among the inhabitants, or encourage assaults upon religion and government. Books are seldom printed, as the communication with England is constant and all literary productions are obtained early, at a moderate price. No paper-mill has been erected, and that article is imported from abroad.

The climate is more congenial to commerce and agriculture, than is generally imagined. Accessible to the ocean, and vessels of heavy burden coming up the St. Laurence, as far as Montreal, great amends are made to those who do not reside on the borders of the sea. It is evident to every honest man that it must be the wish of the people of the provinces to be at peace with the people of the States. No substantial good could be gained, but much might be lost by the contest. No advantages could be derived to the States, as a government, by a war with Canada. Individuals

actuated by a thirst for spoil, and by a love of disorder, have sought to embroil both, but hitherto without success. It is a well known fact, and openly confessed, that the British nation does not derive a revenue from those provinces which is equal to the sum expected (expended) by the crown in protecting, governing, and providing for its adherents.

When the Governor General's speech to the Indians appeared, by which they were in danger of being instigated to war, the wise and good were pained. When the proclamation of neutrality was seen, under the signature of President Washington, an universal joy was circulated. Similar sensations were exhibited when the treaty of peace was ratified. While these events took place, agents from the French republic were actively exciting the people to insurrections, and the laws of the province were violated by smugglers. A late trial has illucidated facts which were well known before. Men from the States, who had been received into the provinces as subjects, permitted to establish themselves in business, to repair their fortunes, and obtain credit, were too active in attempts to destroy the government, to plunder public stores, and make spoil of the treasures of the Catholic church.

Publications had been issued through the newspapers in Philadelphia, to sound the public opinion as to a war with Canada. Every misrepresentation as to the state of the popular opinion was sought for, and great encouragement was given by many in the States, to such as were solicitous for convulsions. At this time the people of Canada were not projecting trouble for the States, but as far as possible encouraging a friendly intercourse, and reciprocal good offices.

The Catholic religion had been assaulted, and treasures devoted to pious uses were seized upon in France. Armies, and the leaders in the new government, were dividing the property of temples, religious houses and asylums for poverty and disease, and for the young and defenceless.

Reformation was the pretext. This flame was begun in a great degree in the States, and a few were ready to give it free course in the provinces. The clergy from France at this time took great pains with the Canadians, to lead them to subordination to government, and to preserve themselves from massacres and destruction. They saw that the Catholics were proscribed, and that the property devoted to religious uses was doomed to spoliation. History can scarcely afford a more diabolical design, Religion is protected by government, in the same manner as in the States. The people are satisfied with their religion. It preserves order, and no substitute was offered; we had no right to impose another upon them. The revenues of the clergy were not excessive, and they were benefactors to their flocks,—had patiently endured poverty and hardships, until the lands were brought to their present state of cultivation. They protect their aged parents and other relations, maintain great hospitality, and are the patrons of the people. Such is their duty and interest. So important have the parish priests been, (and few others are now in Canada) in the esteem of the British government, that great tenderness and respect have always been paid to them. It is an incontrovertible fact, that those persons in the States who wished to pillage the clergy of Canada, have to the utmost of their power injured the order of clergy in their own neighbourhoods. They do not support Christianity, but are among its inveterate foes.

The rancour against the Catholics is most severe in those States where they have few or no Protestant ministers. The people of the States are divided into parties about religion, and are not at unity among themselves. Union, order, harmony, and prosperity universally extend among the Catholics, in Canada.

It is well known that the principles of liberty and law, which give dignity and happiness to the States, are derived from the maxims adopted in the government of England. These principles must extend through the provinces. Legislatures elected by the

people, and trials by jury, put new powers into the hands of the Canadians. Civil courts are regularly and frequently holden,—no taxes are levied, and no extortions made.

Madness, avarice, bigotry, and intolerance alone could wish to carry war into Canada. Commerce and colonization, under the banners of peace, will give happiness, wealth, and prosperity to every part of North-America.





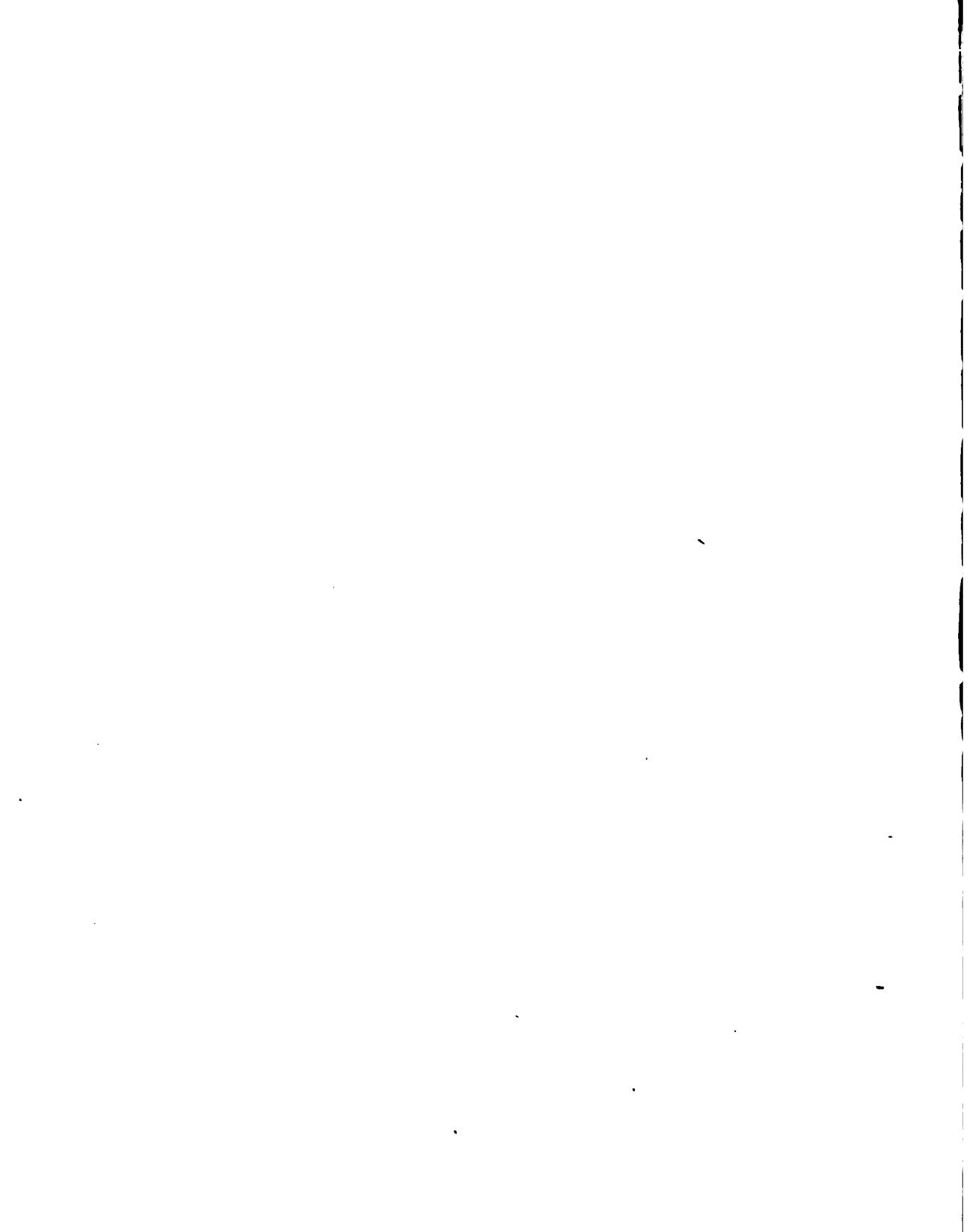
A

L E T T E R

FROM A GENTLEMAN TO HIS FRIEND,

*Descriptive of the Different Settlements, in the
Province of*

UPPER CANADA.



A LETTER.

New York, 20th Nov. 1794.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

SINCE I had the pleasure of writing to you from this city, in which I gave you a particular description of the lands in this State, and in the State of Pennsylvania, together with the mode of settlement and the manner in which they are to be purchased, I have made a tour through the province of Upper Canada, and shall endeavour to give you a particular and impartial account of that country, so far as I have travelled through it, with its laws, government, and commercial advantages. In my letter from Albany I mentioned that I went to that city by water, from thence I proceeded to Schenectady, fifteen miles, by stage. Schenectady is a handsomely situated little town, on the banks of the Mohawk river, inhabited mostly by Low-Dutch; but from the appearance of the place, one would imagine it a deserted village, the houses being generally old, small, and mostly shut up, but surrounded by the finest flats of intervale land you can possibly imagine, which continue to the source of that river. The desolate appearance of this town was accounted for to me by the current of Indian trade turning down the river St. Laurence, since the revolution. It has, however, the prospect of becoming a flourishing place ere long, by the vast increase of the settlements to the west of it, the produce of which must centre there. At this place I took an open boat, navigated by three men, in which I passed to Lake Ontario, without any other interruption than two short portages, one at the Little Falls of half a mile, round which they are now cutting a canal; the other of one mile, at Fort Stanwix, about one hundred miles west of Schenectady; at which place we leave the Mohawk river and descend the current to Oswego, one hundred miles more to the west, where the British hold a post at the entrance of Lake Ontario, commanded by a captain, from

whom I received every mark of civility and attention. A custom-house officer is also stationed there, to prevent an illicit trade being carried on between the United States and the British colonies. No merchandize in, nor furs out, are permitted to pass this post without a passport from the governor of Upper Canada; but settlers moving into that province to reside are permitted indiscriminately to pass with all utensils of husbandry, household furniture, and stores for their own consumption. The high prices which hatters' fur at present command in the United States, is the only inducement I conceive for smuggling past that post; for except a few articles imported from the East-Indies, I found the retail shops at Kingston and Niagara selling as low, and many articles, particularly woollens, lower than in the city of Philadelphia.*

From Oswego vessels sail to Niagara, Kingston, and any other port on the Lake; but settlers more frequently continue along the south shore of the Lake to Niagara, about one hundred miles, in the same open boats which bring them hither, as they are generally manned by themselves. But finding a vessel here ready to sail for Kingston, I dismissed my boatmen, and embarked in her for that place, about twelve hours' sail.

Kingston is a new but growing town, situated on the north-east corner of Lake Ontario, where that lake empties itself and forms the river St. Laurence, the banks of which are thick settled down to Lake St. Francis, where the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada are divided. This river is navigable for vessels of one hundred tons and upwards, to Oswegatche, seventy miles below Kingston; but vessels seldom go down the river, as the fort which is at Kingston serves as a deposit for all the public stores, provisions, and merchandize for the upper posts.

The land immediately about Kingston, is covered by valuable quarries of lime-stone, and thro' all the settlements round it are plenty of thin valuable stones, which are considered by the inhabi-

*This was written previous to the late treaty.

tants rather as an acquisition than detriment to their plantations. The most flourishing part of this settlement is round the Bay of Kenty,* the soil of which is rich, easy worked, and produces from one to three crops, without any other cultivation than what is done by the iron-tooth harrow, and yields from twenty to thirty bushels of wheat to the acre;—those lands are somewhat heavy timbered, having vast quantities of the sugar maple, hickory and bass wood, and in some places, white pines of a surprising height; but where the latter grows, the land is more sandy, and although it is warm, sweet land, it is not so stony as the maple or oak land. This Bay is seventy miles in length, beginning about twenty miles southwest from Kingston, leaving a neck of land from two to twelve miles wide between it and the lake, all of which is settled, and round the whole Bay so thick settled, that their improvements already meet and form the appearance of a beautiful old settled country. This Bay and the creeks emptying into it, abound in great quantities of wild fowl, and fish of various kinds.

From Kingston I proceeded to Niagara, in a schooner of upwards of one hundred tons burthen across this little sea of fresh water; a sea it may justly be called, for we were a great part of the time for three days out of sight of the land, though passages have been made in twenty hours; we enter the Niagara river between the fort and the town called Newark, with a beautiful prospect of both.

The fort stands in a commanding situation, on a point formed by the junction of the river and lake, upon the east side of the river, and is a regular fortification, in good repair and well garrisoned.

The mouth of this river affords a safe and copious harbor, sufficiently large for half the British navy.

The town of Newark is situated in lat. 43 north, on the west

*Quinte.

banks of the river, extending along the Lake about a mile enjoying in the summer the fresh breezes from this little sea, in almost every direction, plentifully supplied with fish at all seasons of the year. In the winter here are caught by seines, quantities of white fish, which seem to be peculiar to that river; they are generally from two to six pounds weight, and are considered the best fish in the lakes; besides, there are sturgeon, bass, and many other excellent fish, in great plenty; salmon are taken in all the creeks round the Lake; these varieties of fish are not only esteemed a luxury, but a great assistance to new beginners in supporting their families, many laying in a half a dozen barrels or more for their winter's use.

The land about the town of Newark for many miles, though not so good as the land further back, is well inhabited each way upwards of fifty miles around. What gave me a more particular knowledge of this settlement was being intimate with the Surveyor-General, a gentleman of liberal education, good information, and indefatigable in the duties of his office, by which means he has collected notes, from the different field-books of his deputies, of the soil, timber, and streams of all that country; and in such parts as I went over, I found his notes very correct, and by no means exaggerated. In many places there is little more for the farmer to do than cut a sufficiency of timber to fence his fields, girdle or ring the remainder, and put in the harrow, for in few places only is it necessary to make use of the plough, till the second or third crop, there being little or no under brush; yet in many places there is beautiful white pine, oak, and black-walnut timber; sugar-wood which is also found here in great plenty, mixed with beech, hickory, and bass wood.

At Newark resides the Governor, whose character is well known in England, and is deservedly held in high estimation. Here are also most of the principal officers of government, besides many other gentlemen of respectability, who form a very intelligent and agreeable society.

Besides Newark there are several important situations in this part of the province, which bid fair to become places of consequence, the most distinguished of which are the landing places at each end of the portage, Fort Erie, the head of Lake Ontario, and York, *called by the natives* Torento.

The lower landing or Queenstown, is about seventy miles up the river from Newark, where the vessels discharge their cargoes, and take in furs collected from three to one thousand five hundred miles back; there have I seen four vessels of sixty and one hundred tons burden unloading at the same time, and sometimes not less than sixty waggons loaded in a day, which loads they carry ten miles to the upper landing place or Chipawa creek, three miles past the great falls. This portage is an increasing source of wealth to the farmers for many miles round, who carry from twenty to thirty hundred weight for which they get one shilling and eight pence N. York currency, per hundred weight, and load back with furs, &c. From Chipawa the merchandize is transported in batteaux to Fort Erie, a distance of eighteen miles, and are shipped there on board of vessels for Detroit and Michilimakinac. Detroit, I was told, was a pleasant country, though a low and marshy soil, more noted for its fur trade than its agriculture.

At the head of Lake Ontario, about fifty miles west from Newark, a small town is laid out and stores are building, being a central place between Newark, York and Detroit, from thence a road of twenty-two miles to the Grand River is cut out, and crosses that river about fifty miles above its entrance into Lake Erie, and continues in a southern direction to the river La Trenche, now called the *Thames*. which empties itself into Lake St. Clair about twenty miles above Detroit. Settlements are making on this road, and along the river *Thames* partial ones are made for an extent of eighty or ninety miles in length. On these two rivers are extensive open flats of land, equal to those of the Mohawk river, on

which may be cut a sufficiency of hay for many thousand head of cattle yearly; the lands on this road are of an excellent quality, and in many places light timbered, in others covered with thrifty oak, black walnut, sugar maple, beech and lindar.*

York formerly *Torento*, is situate on the best harbour round the Lake, opposite Niagara, and about forty miles distance across the Lake, but round by land near one hundred miles, along the shore of which great quantities of fish are caught; a town is here in great forwardness, and should the seat of government be removed from Newark thence, as is contemplated, it will soon become a flourishing place. From this a road is cut out across to Lake Simcoe, or the Rice lakes thirty-three miles, the outlet of which empties itself into Lake Huron, a distance of forty-five miles from Lake Simcoe, thirty-six miles in length; this rout affords an easy communication with Michilimackinac. From *York* to that Lake, a tier of lots of two hundred acres each, is laid out on each side of this road, called *Dundas-street*, granted on the express condition of building and improving on them, within one year from the time they are taken up; many of these are built upon and occupied.

On the east side and joining the rear of these lots is a settlement of near one hundred German families, on an excellent tract of land, much of which is open, white oak woods; these Germans came on this summer, furnished with every thing to make their situation comfortable and enable them to improve their land to advantage, and no doubt in a short time will make a fine settlement; they are supported by a company who have liberally supplied them with teams, farming utensils and provisions, sent them a clergyman of their own country, and are about to build them mills, a church, and a schoolhouse.

If this generous example was with equal spirit followed by a few more companies, it would add to the population of the country, more than any other mode yet pursued. There is still plenty of

*Linden.

vacant lands of the best kind, and such as shew a disposition to settle and improve them, meet from the Governor every encouragement they merit, who makes liberal grants to all such as do actually bring on settlers, and prove themselves desirous of promoting the interest of the country, the whole of which is well adapted for raising wheat, Indian corn, and other summer grain; flax (where the land has borne a few other crops) succeeds remarkably well, and the face of the country yields grass in abundance; hops of a good quality grow here spontaneously, also a variety of wild fruits such as plumbs, mulberry, blackberry, strawberry, raspberry, and grapes. Orchards are in great forwardness, for the age of the settlement, some of which already bear fruit. Peaches, cherries, and currants are plenty among all the first settlers. The farmers raise a great quantity of pork, without any other expence than a little Indian corn for a few weeks previous to killing, and often kill their hogs out of the woods, well fatted on nuts. In many places salt springs have been discovered, and some of them already worked to such advantage that in all probability that article, which generally comes heavy in the interior part of a country, may in a short time be afforded here as low as in many of the old settled places in the United States. Many valuable streams for water works run in every direction through this country and upon some of them are mills built, which prove very lucrative to the owners, particularly saw-mills, from the quantity of good timber and great demand of boards, as more buildings are going on than carpenters and masons can be found to finish. Stones being scarce, bricks are generally used in mason work.

This settlement was begun by a few disbanded troops after the peace of 1783, and being but little known by the people of the United States, who had imbibed an opinion that it was entirely under controul of the military, few emigrants bent their course this way, till they were convinced of the civil government being well established, and upon a constitution happily adapted to the minds

of the people, since which numbers of respectable inhabitants have come in from the different States. Some of whom have come in their waggons quite from North Carolina, but as there is a space of country, for about seventy miles, between Niagara and the Genesee country, where the roads are not sufficiently open for waggons, they transport them from the mouth of the river to Niagara in boats. However this obstruction will probably be soon removed, when it will be a pleasant jaunt to get into a carriage at Niagara, and drive to this city, which may be effected without difficulty, in about two weeks, particularly by sleighs in winter. The mode of settlement generally pursued here, and which seems best calculated to save expence, is by two, three or more men coming on in the summer, who throw up a log house each, put in a field of wheat, and return for their families, which they bring on the following spring, by the rout before described past Oswego, if by water; but such as come by land, bring their families as far as the mouth of Genesee river, there take boat and send their cattle by land. This country from the reduction till the year 1790, was included in the province of Quebec, and from the year 1774, the civil administration was vested in a Governor and Legislative Council, at that time best adapted to the ideas of the people, who were most entirely French, and from prejudice, preferred that form of government, being most analogous to what they had been accustomed to prior to the conquest of Canada, but at the conclusion of the late dissensions between Great-Britain and America, Upper Canada, then called the back posts, was held out as an asylum to those who had adhered to the unity of the British empire, and who generally came under the denomination of loyalists. From the peace to the year 1790, government delegated to land boards the power of granting lands to any applicants, if men of morality and sobriety.

In the year 1790, the wisdom of the British government was eminently evinced in dividing that large country into two separate governments, and granting to each a constitution, on the most li-

beral and disinterested principles, a constitution for freedom and the rights of man perhaps unequalled in the historic page, with all the advantages enjoyed by the British colonies in America previous to the revolution, and with many additions, the British parliament having renounced forever the right of taxation. Here no man's property for any cause whatever, is taxed, directly or indirectly; the British government most generously paying for even the surveying of lands, and the whole support of the civil establishment.

You will naturally wonder how with all these advantages this country has hitherto escaped the notice and keen observations of Land Speculators, and the eulogiums of Pamphleteers, too frequently the hired and useful assistants of the former class of men, but this I have found is accounted for on the best of principles. The Indians being undoubtedly the original proprietors of the soil, and it even has and continues to be policy of the British government to extinguish their right by fair and equitable purchases. Large purchases of this kind has been made from time to time by government, as the population of the country required, and as yet there is not a single instance of dissatisfaction on the part of the Indians; having thus liberally paid them for their lands, very advantageous terms are held out to actual settlers, (the only class which at first can enrich any country) who get a grant of two hundred acres each. However for the encouragement of men commanding the means of improving on a larger scale, by proper application they get a handsome additional quantity. By this means the substantial farmer becomes the inhabitant, and large tracts to the detriment of any country, never lie waste.

Had I not resolved on examining minutely and judging for myself, I should never have become acquainted with a country which for richness of soil, agriculture and trade, in fact every thing that will conduce to make an industrious man happy, yielding to none I have as yet seen.

Niagara is at present the temporary seat of government, consisting of a governor, a legislative council, and house of assembly chosen by the people; here annually in the month of May, they meet for the purpose of legislation. Members of the assembly are chosen for four years, and have already sat three sessions. In this time they have made many wholesome and necessary laws. Weekly courts, called courts of request, are held throughout the province, by two justices of the peace, who have cognizance of all debts under half a Joe; there are also district courts every three months, in which a judge presides and gives trial by a jury of twelve men, in sums not exceeding twenty-four pounds Y. currency, whose judgment is unappealable, and all sums above that are tried by a jury before the chief justice and two associate judges, who make an annual circuit through the province; from them is an appeal to the governor and council. The people have it fully in their power to regulate all local matters which respect their several towns, such as constables, path-masters, and other town officers, in the same manner as formerly in the other colonies, now United States of America. The militia in the several districts have an annual meeting, and all males from the age of sixteen to forty-five are mustered, except the Friends, Tunkers, and Menonists, and those of that religious description, who are exempted from bearing arms. In short, Sir, it would swell a letter to too great a bulk to give a more minute account of the local laws that have been already made for the public good, suffice it to say that with respect to that government and its laws, its administration is conducted with every wish and attention to render the situation of those who may settle under it comfortable and happy, being neither land tax, quit-rent, or any other tax whatever, excepting the county rates, to be paid by the freeholders, for the regulation of their internal police.

The noble river St. Laurence supplies this country for an extent of two thousand miles, with commercial advantages inferior to no e on this side of the Atlantic. Conceive to yourself vessels

of six hundred tons burthen, unloading all kinds of British goods at the port of Montreal, five hundred miles from the sea, and again receiving in return furs from the interior parts of the country, as far as the Mississippi is known to the westward, and the waters emptying into Lake Superior from the northward. This town, when the banks of the different lakes and rivers are settled by husbandmen, which is at no distant period, must have a vast increase of trade, for without doubt all British manufactures, thro' these vast water communications, will come much cheaper, through the whole course of its windings, than can be afforded from any other quarter. Goods on importation being liable to no duty, which will undoubtedly give this country a vast advantage over the new settlements that I described in my former letters; indeed Nature points out this place as the emporium of trade for the people inhabiting both sides of these lakes and rivers emptying into them as far as they extend to the west. From Montreal, boats called by the Canadians *batteaux* containing twenty-five barrels' bulk, are worked by four men to Kingston, a distance of nigh two hundred miles up the river in the course of six or eight days, and again return in three, loaded with furs, pot-ash, and other produce of the country. Vessels, generally schooners, receive the goods at Kingston, and convey them in a short time to the landing or Queens-ton, below the great falls of Niagara. Here the portage gives employment to a number of teams in transporting them to Chipawa, as before described; they are again received at Fort Erie in vessels of the same burthen as formerly, which navigate all Lake Erie, Huron, and Michigan. The expences incurred during all this rout are comparatively trifling, as you will observe there is but one portage, and that only ten miles in the course of this communication. And when one reflects on the temperate climate, rich soil, and other natural advantages of this interior country, you anticipate a great population in a short time. The streights of Niagara, from its peculiar situation, being the channel through which all the produce of the vast country above must pass, is looked forward to

as a place of the first consequence, and where a farmer will at all times find a market for his produce, the transport being easy from thence to the Atlantic. Here have I seen with amazement that famed cataract, which exceeds every description I have ever heard of it, but it would be idle in me to pretend to give you an idea of it. It strikes the eye with more grandeur and sublimity than the pen can convey. Amongst many other natural curiosities, a spring about two miles above these falls, attracts the attention of the curious,—emitting a gas, or inflammable air, which, when confined in a pipe, and a flame applied to it, will boil the water of a tea-kettle in 15 minutes: Whether this may hereafter be applied by machinery to useful purposes, time will determine.

It was lately discovered in clearing away and burning the brush under the bank of the river, to erect a mill, and was observed after the brush was consumed to burn for days together, to the great astonishment of the inhabitants.

About three hundred miles west of this is Fort Detroit, situate on the east side of the streights, between Lake Erie and Huron, around which, a French settlement was established before the reduction of the province, but attending more to the Indian trade than agriculture, made but little progress as farmers. The English settlements lately begun on the opposite shore are already in a higher state of cultivation; however, the French have fine orchards, from which Niagara is at present supplied with cyder and apples. About one hundred miles west from Detroit lies a valuable country on the waters emptying into the Mississippi, now unhappily contested by the United States and the natives of the soil.

To the northward of Detroit, about three hundred and fifty miles, lies Fort Michilimackinac, on an island between Lake Huron and Michigan, is about five miles round, and an entire bed of gravel incapable of cultivation, but most remarkable for being the general dépôt and grand rendezvous of all the Indian traders, who

meet in the month of June from every quarter, deliver their furs and receive their outfits for the ensuing year. Spanish settlements many miles down the Mississippi are supplied with British goods through this channel, to much greater advantage than from New-Orleans, where the rapids of the Mississippi oppose almost unsurmountable difficulties in ascending it.

This fort, the forts of Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego, fell within the United States when the lines of separation were drawn as the treaty of peace, in the year of 1783: Fort Miami, which was built by the British lately, is also within those lines. Previous to that peace stores of deposit had been occupied at the foot of the Miami rapids, where the Fort now stands, and the annual presents to the Indians, which they have long been in the habit of receiving from the British government, were there issued. This place was prudently chosen for that purpose, in order to prevent the Indians from coming through the settlements, crouding about and mixing with the troops at Detroit, where the too frequent use of spiritous liquors would have occasioned numerous quarrels and accidents, which might have terminated fatal to that friendly intercourse and good understanding which has ever prevailed between the English and the natives of America.

Hitherto have I said little respecting the aborigines of this country. Various are the opinions entertained by different people, and different historians have risked conjectures how this continent was originally peopled; their own ideas of it are not less curious than extraordinary. They do not believe, nor have they the smallest vestige of traditional memorial to induce them to believe, but that they are a distinct race of men from the whites, some of the most intelligent amongst them will at this day relate in detail the natural and original history of themselves and the continent they live upon. They fully believe in a good and evil spirit, and in a future state of rewards and punishments, and have certain times in the year for their particular modes of worship, when they

more generally endeavour to appease and avert the wrath of the bad, than invoke the Good Spirit, to which, however, after favorable crops, a good hunt, or success in war, they in a fervent manner, return thanks. They say that the face of the globe was first covered with one great water, in which the turtle was the principal inhabitant, That the Great Spirit caused this turtle to grow to such a size that the waters could no longer float it, and in consequence, it became stationary, continuing to grow until the moss and rubbish collecting on his back became a soil, and shot forth herbs, bushes, and at length trees, and now forms this great island (as they term it) upon which they were created a distinct race of men, and that the Great Spirit made, after them, every kind of beasts and birds of the forest, for their food and use (from the first twelve of which they took the names of their twelve tribes) and that these are as different in their kind, from those given by the Great Spirit to the white people, for their use, as they are themselves from us. That they encreased in strength and numbers, till the white people came amongst them, and introduced their habits, with the use of strong drink, *to which* they justly impute their degeneracy.

When the feeling mind reflects on the former situation of these credulous people; the various deception practiced on them under the mask of friendship, the artless, and faithful attachment they bear to the white people where they are treated with upon seeming principles of justice and candor, it must truly sympathize with them in their present gloomy prospects.

This people who were two centuries ago possessed of the whole of this vast continent, affording them spontaneously every comfort of life, without rivals in the enjoyment of it, now driven back step by step, to the last spot of their fertile soil, and that contested. Contested by the very people whom they have been led to consider as their brothers, fathers and protectors, Prejudice from education, habit, and particular situations in life may warp the minds of

the best men, but a virtuous and penetrating mind will always estimate in a proper degree, the relation and ties they have a claim to on us, if it is only from our superior cultivation of mind and manners. Would it not therefore argue a greater degree of virtue, and redound more to the honor of humanity, for Christians, bordering on the remains of their country, to turn their attention to the civilization of these people, than to endeavour by art and arms to extirpate them from the face of the country which they conceive to have been given by the Great Spirit to them alone? It is idle to say that people of their quick ideas and lively imagination are incapable of civilization, for where education, and a proper attention to their morals has been bestowed, there are proofs to the contrary. Instance Jos. Brant a full blooded Indian, who having received an early education, though residing still with the Indians, is much the gentleman, easy in his manners, mild and friendly in his disposition, regular and methodical in his whole deportment, and has by his good example brought many of his nation into a regular system of husbandry, and a decent way of living in their families.

Thus have I now as generally made you acquainted with this great country, as correctly as by short stay in it would admit of; but I cannot conclude this without giving you a piece of information equally new to every body here as to me.

For many years past adventurers have attempted without success to cross to the Pacific Ocean. The honor of this arduous task was left to a Mr. Alexander Mac Kenzie, a partner in the North-West Fur Company, who lately returned by the way of the Lakes, having fully accomplished the object of his undertaking in the course of two years, by traversing the continent of America to the northward of west, over vast mountains covered with ice, which obliged him to make new canoes wherever he had the waters in his favour. On his arrival on this coast, seven weeks' sail from Canton in China, and two degrees to the north of Nootka Sound,

he found the Indians without fire-arms, but furnished with some clothing and ornaments, principally Spanish manufacture. The Indians accompanying him were not understood by those on that coast, and appeared to be perfect strangers to one another. It was with difficulty he could reconcile them to him as a white man, on account, as he understood, of some injury given them by people of his colour a few days before that time. These are supposed to have been the Americans from the port of New-York, who had touched there in their trade with China.

After remaining a few days and making the necessary observations, he returned and bro't along with him some valuable skins of the sea otter, and other natural curiosities peculiar to that coast; but as the gentleman himself has it in idea to go soon to London, I have little doubt but he will meet with the reward due to his exertions, and give to the world an account of the wild and uninhabited tract he traversed.

FINIS.

As near facsimile as possible

A
NARRATIVE

OF THE
EXTRAORDINARY SUFFERINGS

OF

Mr. ROBERT FORBES, his Wife, and
Five Children;

DURING

An unfortunate Journey through the Wilderneys,
from *Canada* to *Kennebeck River*,

IN THE YEAR 1784:

In which THREE of their Children were starved to
Death.



[Taken partly from their own mouths, and partly from an
imperfect journal; and published at their request.]

BY *ARTHUR BRADMAN.*

PHILADELPHIA—

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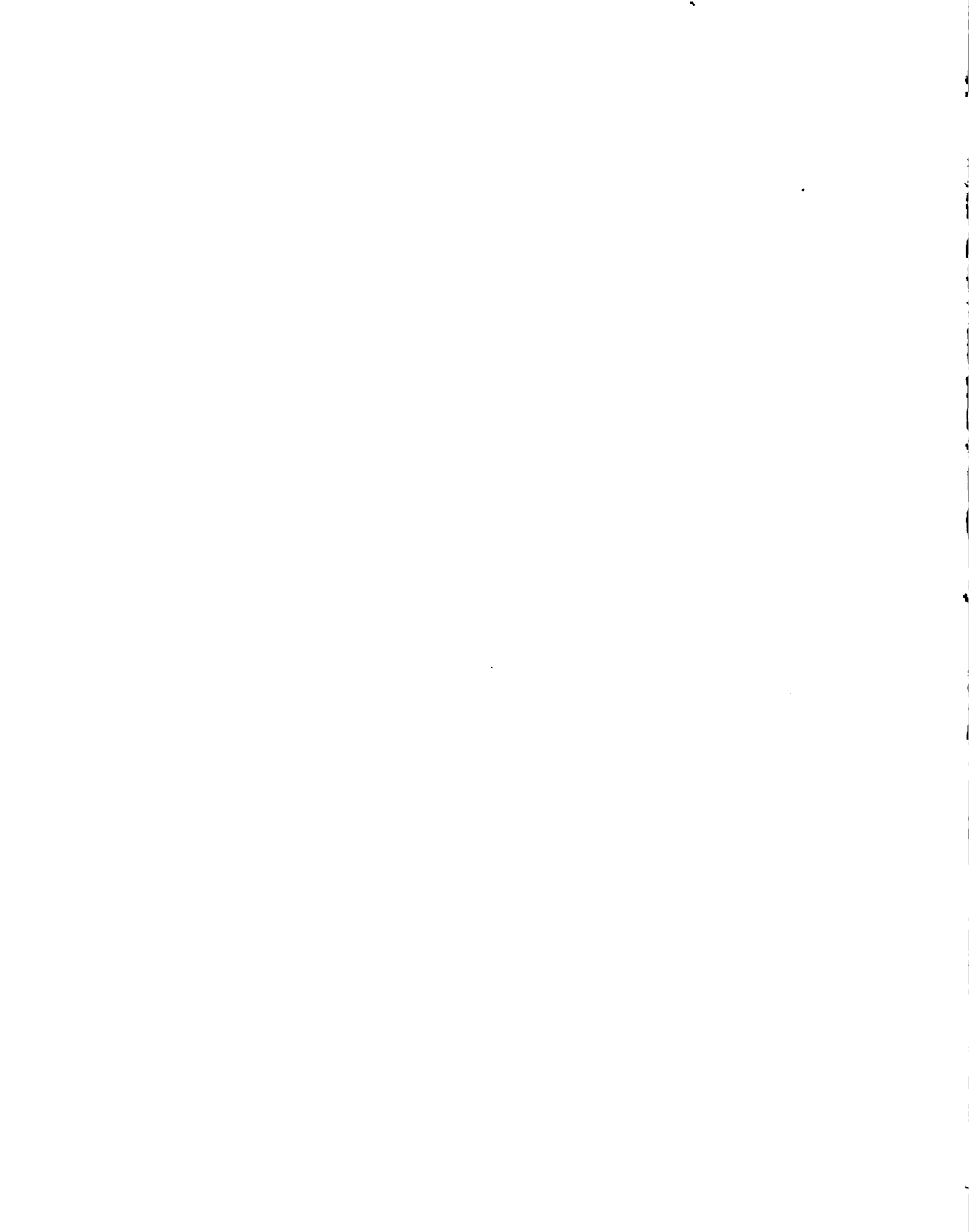
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A NARRATIVE, &c.

MR. ROBERT FORBES, not being a native of Canada, but having resided there several years, was desirous of being where he might have a more frequent opportunity of associating with his own countrymen.

He and his wife had premeditated a removal to the United States of America, when falling in company with three men, by the names of Midstaff, Pancake, and Christian, they were induced by their insinuations to undertake the journey by land: the said Midstaff engaging, for a certain sum, that with the assistance of the other two he would conduct them, in twelve days' time, to the settlement on Kennebeck River.

Mr. Forbes' neighbours endeavoured to dissuade him from the attempt, not only on account of the length and difficulty of the way, but because there was a possibility of his being deserted by his guides in the midst of the wilderness.

Nevertheless, being determined on a removal, and having paid to Midstaff a large stipulated sum for that purpose, on the seventeenth day of March, A. D. one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, they entered upon this unfortunate journey.

From Nouvelle Bois, on the river Chadore,* they took their departure. The men and Mrs. Forbes, (who was then pregnant) and Mr. Forbes' son John, a lad about thirteen years old, on snow shoes.

Their provisions and other effects, together with four children, viz. Mary, about seven years; Peggy, about five; Catharine, about three; Robert, about fifteen months old, they undertook to haul on Indian sleighs or hand sleighs.

In this manner, but with great difficulty, they pursued their

*Chaudière.

way eight days; and on the ninth, being obliged to leave the river which they had followed hitherto, and whereon they had travelled some part of the time, they found the country so broken with large and deep gullies, and so rough and mountainous, that they concluded it next to impossible to proceed any further with the sleighs.

Here they were obliged to make a halt; and after a short consultation, having first erected a small camp to leave the woman and children in, they took the chief part of their provisions, and as much of the rest of their baggage as they were able to carry on their backs; and leaving the woman and children about ten o'clock in the morning set out in quest of Meconick Pond, otherwise called Lake Chadore, expecting to return the next day. But meeting much difficulty, they did not reach the pond until the next day about three o'clock in the afternoon.

Here being much fatigued, they left their baggage; and Midstaff having had some previous notice that there was an Indian residing not far from thence, went in quest of him to the other side of the pond, where they found an old camp, without inhabitants; and there they encamped that night.

The next morning, being Sunday, the twenty-seventh day of March, they crossed the pond back to where they had left their baggage. When, to the great astonishment of Mr. Forbes, his pilot and the other two, taking to themselves the provisions and his other effects of any considerable consequence, frankly told him that they were determined not to return with him to his family; and that they must now leave him and make the best of their way through to Kennebeck.

This may well be supposed to be shocking indeed to one who was already discouraged and disheartened. "This," said he, "struck me to the heart, and filled my eyes with tears; it confirmed what my neighbours had repeatedly mentioned amongst their fears of what might happen to myself and family."

Notwithstanding his importunities, his most earnest entreaties and solicitations, they would not be prevailed upon to continue any longer with him; but, leaving him only one axe, a small fire-lock, and two loaves of bread, they departed.

With a heavy heart did this unfortunate man then make the best of his way back to his family; where he arrived that evening, with the sorrowful tidings.

Here were they left in the wide wilderness, strangers to the country, destitute of provisions, and without a compass; eight days journey from the inhabitants in Canada, and how far from any other settlement they knew not; probably not less than one hundred and fifty miles.

The wife and son had laboured under the most terrible apprehensions during Mr. Forbes's absence, especially seeing he did not return at the time appointed. Their fears had almost driven them to despair; and the poor lad, a little before his father's return, had fatigued himself almost to death, having followed their tracks for several miles; and had just got back when his father arrived.

The next morning they were in the most doubtful perplexity whether to go backward or forward. Should they undertake to return to Canada, it might take them more than double the length of time in which they had got thus far, the river being then about breaking up; and in that case they must inevitably starve.

When the husband and wife were in this pitiable situation, gazing at each other, and tears gushing from their eyes, their children were hanging around them and crying bitterly for a morsel of bread.

Upon the whole, as the before-mentioned two loaves of bread were in the way towards Kennebeck, and as they might, peradventure, find the Indian at Meconick pond, they concluded, by the help of God, to proceed on their journey.

Accordingly they left the most cumbersome, though necessary articles, which they had now remaining, and the eldest daughter undertook to travel on foot with her mother, while Mr. Forbes took two of the children, and John one, upon sleds; and thus they proceeded with as much dispatch as possible.

The way, however, was rough; and they travelled but a short distance during that day. At night they encamped, and the next morning there came on a violent storm of rain, hail, and snow, which continued until Wednesday evening. In the mean while, the children were pinched with hunger and with the cold; and their cries were so bitterly distressing that, leaving the mother and children in camp, the father and son pushed forward with all speed to the pond; but it was still stormy, and travelling so difficult, that they did not get back with the two loaves until Wednesday evening.

Upon their return they had not a dry thing about them, nor any dry clothes to put on, And to add to their misfortune, the fire was extinguished and they were unable to rekindle it for the whole night.

The next morning, the storm being considerably abated, they proceeded on their journey; but the trees and bushes being wet they had an uncomfortable time, and did not reach the pond until Friday morning about ten o'clock.

Soon after this, to their great consolation they met with the beforementioned Indian, who proved to be one John Baptist, and with whom they had had some previous acquaintance in Canada. —He very hospitably invited them to his camp, which was at a considerable distance from the pond; and there he kindly treated them with the best of what his house afforded.

This was a camp where his wife resided, while he followed hunting, Here they tarried until the next Monday. And the Indian having, just before their meeting, killed a moose at a few

miles' distance, Mr. Forbes and his son went with their sleds, and assisted him in bringing it home.

The Indian gave them as much moose meat as they would undertake to carry; and agreed to pilot them to Kennebeck river. This agreement he punctually fulfilled; and would have proceeded with them to the settlements, but his wife was so sick that he did not dare to be any longer absent from her. He therefore marked the way on a piece of bark, representing the bends, windings, falls and carrying places along the river.—He then wished them well, and left them.

On taking leave of the Indian, they could not express their gratitude. His kindness was beyond their expectation. Before his departure, however, they gave him what things they had left behind, together with some other things of considerable value. And they had reason afterwards to wish that they had presented him with more; for their loads proved so much too heavy for them, that they were obliged to leave by the way a large bag full of valuable articles.

They now met with almost insurmountable difficulties; for in pursuing the river their progress was obstructed by craggy wind-falls, rocky ledges, lofty mountains and hideous precipices.

On the twelfth day of April their provisions were exhausted; and Mrs. Forbes thought it most advisable to have a camp erected, and for herself and the children to remain there, while her husband and oldest son should go forward to see whether they could find the inhabitants—apprehending that they were much nearer than they afterwards proved to be.

A camp was therefore erected, and leaving Mrs. Forbes with her four young children, Mr. Forbes and his son went forward with as much speed as possible. The first and second days, finding the ice would bear them, they travelled on the river; and would have made considerable progress, but unfortunately they mistook

their way at a very material carrying place where, instead of leaving the river, and crossing by land to the next bend, which was only twelve miles, they followed the river sixty miles around.

A little before night, the second day, they came to falls, and could go no further on the ice. They went on shore, and soon after came to a precipice where they were obliged to descend twenty feet almost perpendicularly, and at the risque of being dashed upon the rocks. Night coming on, they encamped; and the next day, finding a shoal rocky place in the river they crossed over to the other side, in hopes of finding better travelling, and a more convenient place to encamp. Here they were obliged by reason of stormy weather, to encamp for the remainder of the day.

The next day they travelled on; and perceiving the river to be almost clear of ice, they concluded to build a kind of raft—a thing with which they were altogether unacquainted, and by means of which they had both like to have lost their lives.

A few days after they got on the raft, and under way about ten o'clock in the morning. The current however, ran so swift that they soon found there was no possibility of turning it to the shore. As they passed down the river, they struck against a tree, which they were obliged to cut away in order to clear the raft. When they descended over ripples, the water never failed of dashing over them, so that they were wet continually.

About the middle of the day, the raft moving with great rapidity, struck a large rock, parted one of its corners, and spread into a single string of logs. At this time they lost their axe, and it became extremely difficult to keep upon their broken machine.

They were, from this time, driven with amazing rapidity, expecting every moment would be their last, until about four o'clock in the afternoon; when falling into an eddy, they were brought up by a point of land, and both got safe on shore.

They now travelled on by land until their strength was almost exhausted. About the twentieth of April, they heard the report of a gun, which seemed to give them new life. They fired several times, but were not answered. Then concluding that it might be nothing more than the falling of a tree, their spirits again sunk within them, and they moved on with heavy hearts.

But on the evening of the twenty-second, having kindled a small fire upon an eminence, they were discovered, and kindly relieved by two hunters—Jonathan Crosby and Luke Sawyer.

It was now the tenth day since they left Mrs. Forbes and the children. And during this time they had eaten up all the moose meat which they had taken with them (it being only two or three ounces) and their moggasons*—having had nothing else to subsist upon.

The hunters supplied them with such articles of nourishment as they had with them, and then conducted them to the settlements at Seven Mile Brook, a little above Norridgewalk, where they arrived in a few hours; but so reduced that they were scarcely able to stand alone.

Upon their arrival Mr. Forbes procured Major Hale, William Huston and Ebenezer Hilton, three of the most suitable men that could be found, to go with all speed to the relief of his wife and children. They set out immediately, and after having been gone thirteen days, returned without having been able to find them.

It was now twenty-four days from the time Mr. Forbes left them, with only one pound and an half of moose meat and a pound and a half of tallow, for their subsistence: It was the general opinion therefore, that they must have been dead.

Nevertheless, Mr. Forbes' anxiety would not permit him to rest satisfied until he had procured two other persons, Messrs. James M'Donald and Jonathan Ames, to go with him and see

*Moccasins.

whether they might not be still alive. But by this time all the low lands adjacent to the river were overflowed, which rendered the passing extremely difficult. For this reason, and because they had no expectation of finding them alive, they could not be prevailed upon to set off until the waters were abated.

On the twenty-eighth day of May they set out. Having travelled one day, Mr. Forbes found himself unable to keep up with them; and upon their telling him he could be of no service, and that he might depend upon their fidelity, he consented to return.

They proceeded on their way, and on the second day of June arrived at the place where Mrs. Forbes and her children were left. And here, to their great astonishment, they found the mother and one of her children alive. It was now fifty days since they were left with nothing besides the before-mentioned moose meat and tallow. Nor had they any thing else during that whole time, excepting cold water, and the inside bark of the fir tree. And in addition to this, they had been forty-eight days without fire.

To paint in proper colours this scene of distress is altogether beyond my powers of description. It must be left to the imagination of the reader.

On the thirty-eighth day after the departure of Mr. Forbes, the little boy expired. Catharine died the next day; and Mary lived but four days longer. This last child had often told her mother, they should all certainly starve to death; and earnestly begged, in case her mother should outlive her, that she might be put where the wild beasts could not devour her.

The poor woman was herself but just alive, and expected every hour to close the eyes of Peggy, her only remaining child and companion. The bodies of the deceased children were laid out, and kept by her side: for she was unable to bury them—hav-

ing been so weak for the last fifteen days, that she had been obliged to crawl upon her hands and knees to the spring for water.

The breath of life, however, was still remaining in them. And the two men who came to their relief afforded them such assistance and administered to them such nourishment as their situation and circumstances required.

On the third day of June they set out for home; and carried Mrs. Forbes and the child on a bier by land, and in a canoe by water, till they all safely arrived at Norridgewalk: where, to the surprise of the inhabitants, and the utter astonishment of Mr. Forbes, he was once more presented with a living wife, and one living child.

On this occasion, well might he adopt the language of holy David—in whose words we shall now close the narrative:

*MY soul with grateful thoughts of love
Entirely is possess'd,
Because the Lord was pleas'd to hear
The voice of my request.*

*Since he has now his ear inclin'd,
I never will despair,
But still, in all the straits of life,
To him address my prayer.*

*With deadly sorrows compass'd round,
With painful fears oppress'd;
When troubles seiz'd my aking heart
And anguish rack'd my breast:*

*On God's almighty name I call'd,
And thus to him I pray'd,
Lord, I beseech thee save my soul,
With sorrows quite dismay'd."*

*How just and merciful is God;
How gracious is the Lord!
Who saves the feeble, and to me
Does timely help afford.*

*Then, free from doubtful cares, my soul
Resume thy wonted rest;
For God hath wond'rously to thee
His bounteous love exprest.*

*When death alarm'd me, he remov'd
My dangers and my fears:
My feet from falling he secured,
And dry'd my eyes from tears.*

*Therefore my life's remaining years,
Which God to me shall lend,
Will I in praises to his name,
And in his service spend.*

POSTSCRIPT.

After the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Forbes at Norridgewalk, a number of gentlemen gave them a writing from under their hands; in which the relation of their unparalleled suffering was confirmed and by which they were warmly recommended to the notice and charitable assistance of all Christian people. This recommendation was signed of some of the first characters in the county of Lincoln.

Mr. Forbes and his wife, with their two surviving children are now living in the town of New-Gloucester, about twenty-five miles from Portland; where, by their industry and economy, they have since been enabled to procure a very comfortable subsistence.

Mrs. Forbes, from the emaciated state in which we have before described her, has now become a large and corpulent woman. And the child of which she was delivered soon after their arrival at Norridgewalk, is a healthy and very promising boy.

A
NARRATIVE
OF THE
CAPTIVITY and ESCAPE of Mrs. *Frances Scott*,
An inhabitant of Washington county, Virginia.



A NARRATIVE

ON Wednesday, the 29th of June, 1785, late in the evening, a large company of armed men passed the house, on their way to Kentucky: Some of whom encamped within two miles. Mr. Scott living on a frontier part, generally made the family watchful; but on this calamitous day, after so large a body of men had passed, shortly after night he lay down in his bed, and imprudently left one of the doors of his house open—the children were all in bed, and asleep. Mrs. Scott was nearly undressed, when, to her unutterable astonishment and horror, she saw rushing in through the door that was left open, painted savages, with presented arms, raising a hideous shriek—Mr. Scott being awake, instantly jumped out of bed, but was immediately fired at: he forced his way through the middle of the enemy, and got out of the door, but fell a few paces from thence. An Indian seized Mrs. Scott and ordered her to a particular spot, and not to move: others stabbed and cut the throats of the three youngest children in their bed. And afterwards lifted them up and dashed them down to the floor, near the mother; the eldest, a beautiful girl of eight years old, awoke and escaped out of the bed, and ran to her parent, and with a most plaintive accent, cried, “O mamma! mamma! save me,”—the mother, in the deepest anguish of spirit, and with a flood of tears, intreated the savages to spare her child, but with a brutal fierceness they tomahawked and stabbed her in the mother’s arms. Adjacent to Mr. Scott’s dwelling house another family lived, of the name of Ball. The Indians also attacked them at the same instant they did Mr. Scott; but the door being shut, the enemy fired into the house through an opening between two logs, and killed a young lad, and then essayed to force the door open, but a surviving brother fired through the door, and the enemy desisted, and went off; the remaining part of the family ran out of the house and escaped. In Mr. Scott’s house were four good rifles well loaded,

belonging to people that had left it on their way to Kentucky. The Indians loaded themselves with the plunder, being thirteen in number, and then speedily made off and continued travelling all night; next morning their chief allotted to each man his share, and detached nine of a party to steal horses from the inhabitants in Clinch. The eleventh day after Mrs. Scott's captivity, the four Indians after having her in charge, stopped at a place fixed on for a rendezvous, and to hunt, being now in great want of provisions. Three went out, and the chief, being an old man, was left to take care of the prisoner, who by this time, expressed a willingness to proceed to the Indian towns, which seemed to have the desired effect of lessening the keeper's vigilance. In the day time, as the old man was graining a deer skin, the captive pondering on her situation, and anxiously looking for an opportunity to make her escape, took the resolution, and went to the Indian carelessly, asked liberty to go a small distance to a stream of water, to wash the blood off her apron, that had remained besmeared since the fatal night of the murder of her little daughter. He told her in the English tongue, "Go along;" she then passed by him, his face being in a contrary direction from that she was going and he very busy. She after getting to the water, proceeded on without delay, made to a high barren mountain, and travelled till late in the evening, when she came down into the valley in search of the track she had been taken along; hoping thereby to find the way back, without the risk of being lost, and perishing with hunger in uninhabited parts. On coming across the valley, on the river side, supposed to be the easterly branch of the Kentucky river, she observed in the sand, tracks of two men that had gone up the river, and had just returned. She concluded these to have been her pursuers, which excited emotions of gratitude and thankfulness to divine providence for so timely a deliverance. Being without any provisions, having no kind of weapon or tool to assist her in getting any, and being almost destitute of clothing, also knowing that a vast tract of rugged high mountains intervened between where she

was and the inhabitants eastwardly, and she almost as ignorant as a child of the method of steering through the woods, excited painful sensations. But certainly death, either by hunger or wild beasts, seemed to her better than to be in the power of beings who had excited in her mind such horror. She addressed Heaven for protection, and taking courage, proceeded onward.

After travelling three days, she nearly met with the Indians, as she supposed, that had been sent to Clinch to steal horses, but providentially hearing their approach, concealed herself among the cane until the enemy had passed. This giving a fresh alarm, and her mind being filled with consternation, she got lost, proceeding backwards and forwards for several days; at length she came to a river, that seemed to come from the east: concluding it was Sandy river, she accordingly resolved to trace it to its source, which is adjacent to Clinch settlement. After proceeding up the same several days, she came where the river runs through a great laurel mountain, where is a prodigious water fall, and numerous high craggy cliffs along the water edge; that way seemed impassable, the mountain steep and difficult: However, our mournful traveller concluded that the latter way was the best. She therefore ascended for some time, but coming to a range of inaccessible rocks she turned her course towards the foot of the mountain and the river side; after getting into a deep gulley, and passing over several high steep rocks, she reached the river side, where, to her inexpressible affliction, she found that a perpendicular rock, or rather one that hung over, of fifteen or twenty feet high, formed the bank. Here a solemn pause took place, she essayed a return; but the height of the steps and rocks she had descended over, prevented her. She then returned to the edge of the precipice, and viewed the bottom of it, as the certain spot to end all her troubles, or remain on the top to pine away in hunger, or be devoured by wild beasts. After serious meditation and devout exercises, she determined on leaping from the height, and accordingly jumped off. Although the

place she had to alight was covered with uneven rocks, not a bone was broken; but being exceedingly stunned with the fall, she remained unable to proceed for some time. The dry season caused the river to be shallow—the travelled in it and where she could, by its edge, until she got through the mountain, which she concluded was several miles. After this, as she was travelling along the bank of the river, a venomous snake bit her on the ankle: she had strength to kill it; and knowing its kind, concluded that death must overtake her. By this time Mrs. Scott was reduced to a mere skeleton, with fatigue, hunger and grief; probably this state of her body was the means of preserving her from the effects of the poison; be that as it may, so it was that very little pain succeeded the bite, and what little swelling there was, it fell into her feet. Our wanderer now left the river, and after proceeding a good distance, she came to where the valley parted into two, each leading a different course.—Here a painful suspense again took place; a forlorn creature, almost exhausted, and certain if she was far led out of the way, that she would never see a human creature. During this doubt a beautiful bird passed close by her, fluttering along the ground, and went out of sight up one of the vallies. This drew her attention, and whilst considering what it might mean, another bird of the same appearance, in like manner fluttered past her, and took the same valley the former had done. This determined her choice of her way; and in two days, which was on the 11th day of August, she reached the settlement at Clinch called New-Garden; whereas (she is since informed by woodmen) had she taken the other valley, it would have led back towards the Ohio. Mrs. Scott related that the Indians told her that the party was composed of four different nations, two of whom she thinks they named Delawares and Mingoes.

She further relates that, during her wandering from the 10th of July to the 11th of August, she had no other subsistence but chewing and swallowing the juice of young cane stalks, sassafras

leaves, and some other plants she did not know the name of; that on her journey, she saw buffaloes, elks, deer, and frequently bears and wolves; not one of which, although some of them passed very near her, offered her any harm. One day a bear came near her, with a young fawn in his mouth, and on discovering her he dropped his prey and ran off. Hunger prompted her to go and take the flesh, and eat it; but on reflection she desisted, thinking that the bear might return and devour her; besides, she had an aversion to taste raw flesh.—Mrs. Scott continues in a low state of health, and remains inconsolable for the loss of her family, particularly bewailing the cruel death of her little daughter.

F I N I S

