

"May she tell me, when you go?" her husband asked of the young man.

"I am going now; she may tell you whatever she likes."

"I am afraid we have displeased you," said Mrs. Freer; "I have said too much what I think. You must excuse me; it's all for your mother."

"It's she that I want Lady Barberina to see!" Jackson Lemon exclaimed, with the inconsequence of filial affection.

"Deary me!" murmured Mrs. Freer.

"We shall go back to America to see how you get on," her husband said; "and if you succeed, it will be a great precedent."

"Oh, I shall succeed!" And with this he took his departure. He walked away with the quick step of a man laboring under a certain excitement; walked up to Piccadilly and down past Hyde Park Corner. It relieved him to traverse these distances, for he was thinking hard under the influence of irritation, and locomotion helped him to think. Certain suggestions that had been made him in the last half-hour rankled in his mind, all

the more that they seemed to have a kind of representative value, to be an echo of the common voice. If his prospects wore that face to Mrs. Freer, they would probably wear it to others; and he felt a sudden need of showing such others that they took a pitiful measure of his position. Jackson Lemon walked and walked till he found himself on the highway of Hammersmith. I have represented him as a young man of much strength of purpose, and I may appear to undermine this plea when I relate that he wrote that evening to his solicitor that Mr. Hilary was to be informed that he would agree to any proposals for settlements that Mr. Hilary should make. Jackson's strength of purpose was shown in his deciding to marry Lady Barberina on any terms. It seemed to him, under the influence of his desire to prove that he was not afraid,—so odious was the imputation,—that terms of any kind were very superficial things. What was fundamental, and of the essence of the matter, would be to marry Lady Barb and carry everything out.

(To be continued.)

COMMERCE IN THE COLONIES.*

BY EDWARD EGGLESTON.

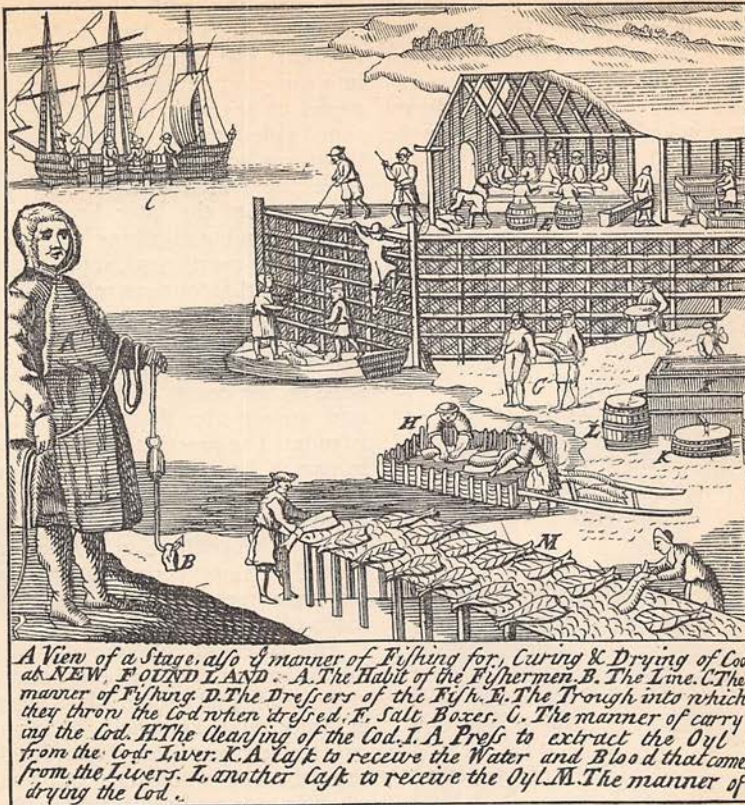
I. FISHERIES.

IN the first years of the sixteenth century, while yet Englishmen were for the most part home-stayers, and England was an island nation without colonies, and having little foreign trade and no naval force worth considering, a few adventurous seamen from the west country began in a small way the English fisheries at Newfoundland. The development of this enterprise was a turning-point in the history of the English race. By these distant fisheries a great number of seamen were trained, and larger ships than the small craft then in use were gradually produced. This increase of her maritime resources enabled England to hold her own against the ambitious encroachments of Spain, to plant and sustain colonies in America, and at length to become the leading commercial and naval power of the world, with extended possessions in remote quarters of the globe. "For the increase of fishermen and marines," kings and parliaments resorted to the curious expedient of forbidding English subjects to eat

anything but fish on one hundred and fifty-three days in the year.

At the very beginning of New England settlement, Captain John Smith saw that the breath was out of the old motives of gold mines, pearl fisheries, and passages to China. "The main staple from hence to produce the rest is fish," he says bluntly; but lest this motive should prove too prosaic, he adds that "never could Spaniard, with all his mines of gold and silver, pay his debts, his friends, and his army, half so truly as the Hollanders still have done by this contemptible trade of fish." Cod-fishing was, indeed, the means by which the English approached the New England coast. The fishermen on that coast were after a while exempted from paying "Christ's dole," an old duty exacted by the parsons from those who followed the apostles' earlier trade.

The rapid growth of the cod and mackerel fisheries gave New England a staple for foreign trade; and while the young men of the other provinces were engaged in opening new land, large numbers of the New Eng-



A View of a Stage, also of manner of Fishing for, Curing & Drying of Cod at NEW FOUND LAND. A. The Habit of the Fishermen. B. The Line. C. The manner of Fishing. D. The Dressers of the Fish. E. The Trough into which they throw the Cod when dressed. F. Salt Boxes. G. The manner of carrying the Cod. H. The Cleansing of the Cod. I. A Press to extract the Oyl from the Cod's Liver. K. A Cast to receive the Water and Blood that comes from the Liver. L. another Cast to receive the Oyl. M. The manner of drying the Cod.

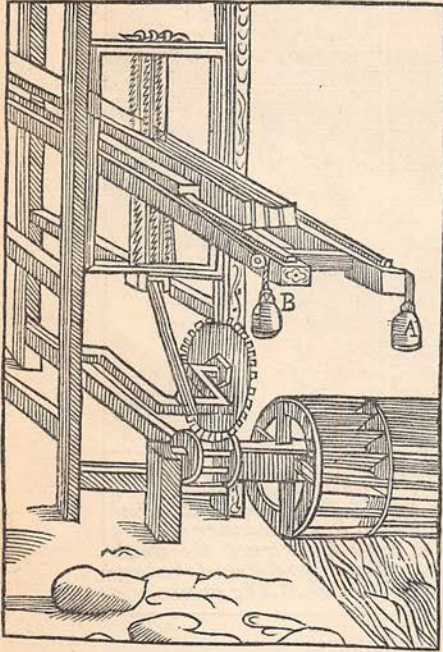
FROM KEITH'S "VIRGINIA," 1738.

landers became inured to the sea. Having skillful seamen and the staple for trade, there swiftly grew up a wide-extended commerce; and New England seamen, bred in the same school of the fisheries that had developed the English and French and Dutch marines, became fetchers and carriers for the other plantations, and were to be found in Newfoundland, among the islands of the West Indies, unloading cod-fish in remote Mediterranean ports, or buying negroes on the coast of Africa. This foreign trade had centers at Salem and at Newport, but above all at Boston, which became the metropolis of British America. Some of the early ministers in New England directed the attention of their parishioners to the sea as the only source from which they might look for prosperity. The energetic Hugh Peter thus pushed Salem into a sharp temporary rivalry with Boston; and at a later period the liberal-minded Barnard set the rude fisher-people of Marblehead on sending their own fish to market, and he lived to rejoice in seeing thirty or forty "ships, brigs, snows, and topsail schooners" engaged in their commerce.

Whales abounded along the whole coast,

and sometimes even ascended the larger rivers. American whale-catching had its origin on the beaches of eastern Long Island. Before the whites came the Indians had gorged upon the blubber of whales accidentally stranded. Incredible stories were told by more than one early traveler of the daring of the savages who paddled out to sea and plugged up the blow-holes of the patient monsters, and thus towed them ashore; but the Indians probably killed few if any whales, except those entrapped among the shoals at the going out of the tide. By 1644 the Long Islanders had begun to learn the lesson; they divided themselves into "squadrons" of eleven men, each squadron taking its turn in cutting up and dividing whales found ashore. By 1770 the islanders had become more enterprising; they cruised in light boats, attacking the whales with harpoons, but they always encamped on shore at night. Thus step by step they acquired "a notable kind of dexterity," and shore-whaling was developed into a business profitable for many years. The Indians, accustomed to paddle and spear fish among the breakers from childhood, were found most serviceable in the new industry, and were

at first rewarded with "one truck coat a piece" for every whale taken. The rendering of the whale oil in the houses made the coast a land of stench, until the practice was forbidden by law. The amount of oil produced in good years reached four thousand barrels.



SAW-MILL.—FAC-SIMILE FROM "VIRGINIA TRULY VALUED,"
BY EDWARD WILLIAMS, 1650.

The New Englanders were set upon whaling by the reports from Long Island; by 1676 Connecticut and Rhode Island had learned the art, and in 1690 one Ichabod Paddock—it is well to remember his name—went off from Cape Cod to teach the dwellers on Nantucket a more effectual method of taking whales than that which they had used. Shut in to seafaring for a livelihood, the islanders upon these sandy reaches outstripped their teachers in the craft, keeping perpetual lookout for whales from high masts set up ashore. There came up after a while a new generation of Nantucket men, schooled from boyhood to chase the whale in the whale-boat,—the lightest craft that was known except the birch canoe. These began in 1718, as the whales forsook the shore, to venture out in sloops and small schooners to seek their game between Cape Cod and the Bermudas, lying to at night and sailing "to and again" in the day-time. To early American whalers was due the discovery of the true nature of ambergris. The blubber was still brought ashore to be rendered in try-houses, but in a

few years the spirit of adventure increased, larger vessels were built and fitted for longer voyages, and whale-ships were transformed into sooty oil furnaces by carrying their try-works to sea with them. The New England ships sailed more cheaply than others, and there was hope in England that they would drive the Dutch whalers from the seas; but the perils of the later French wars caused whaling and cod-fishing to fall into some neglect. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the revolution that fourteen miles long strip of sand in the sea, which is called Nantucket, had alone a hundred and fifty whale-ships afloat, and American whalers were found in remotest seas, on the coasts of Ireland and of Africa, and among the Western and the Falkland islands. The practice of making up the crews in part of Indians, which had begun on Long Island, prevailed in Nantucket and Massachusetts, until the aborigines died out from too much civilization. Afterward negroes formed three-sevenths of every crew, they being more tractable and better suited to some kinds of work than white men.

The cod and mackerel fisheries made the inhabitants of the northern coast a sea-going and commercial people; the whaleries brought in larger ships, and the habit of making more far-reaching voyages. New Englanders became the best of seamen. But neither fishing, whaling, nor trading in remote lands tended to produce regularity of life or refinement of manners. Painful voyages were often compounded for by self-indulgence, and long absence from social and conventional restraints resulted in much rude wickedness. Yet the fisherman and seaman of the New England coast, with home and church behind him, and sometimes with a Puritan deacon or a Quaker for captain, was wont to be the least disorderly of his class; the whaleman whittled ingenious trinkets for wife or sweetheart during long voyages, and came back to pass his old age among the never-forgotten scenes and friends of his childhood.

II.

FOREST PRODUCTS.

NEXT to the abundance of fish in the sea, the first settlers were impressed with the almost exhaustless resources of a forest which seemed to have no limit. The wealth in the Virginia woods was, for the most part, neglected; the great aboriginal trees were cut and burned with lavish recklessness to clear fresh ground for the all-consuming tobacco. Ships were now and then built in the wide and convenient rivers for Bristol merchants;



SUPPOSED INDIAN METHOD OF CATCHING WHALES. (FAC-SIMILE FROM DE BRY.)

a little tar was made here and there; some boards and joists were exported to England; every ship sailing from Virginia filled the space between the tobacco hogsheads with staves, which were used in England to make herring-barrels and rum-puncheons; and some staves and shingles were sent to Madeira. But the timber trade of Virginia was always insignificant. In South Carolina the exportation of oak staves, rosin, masts, and boards fell away when the more profitable rice had been introduced; and forests were swept off by axe and fire, as mere obstructions. In the less fertile pine country of the North Carolina coast, on the other hand, tar, pitch, and turpentine held their own as chief products throughout the colonial period; "in which dirty business," says Major Rogers, with blunt contempt, "their droves of negroes are employed round the year."

In all of the colonies there was a trade more or less considerable in timber, which was the quickest and easiest return to be had by a ship bringing emigrants and supplies. But human hands are few in a new country, and the process of getting out boards and joists, by one man in a pit and another above to pull and push the saw, was tedious, and its expensiveness often counterbalanced the cheapness of the raw material. Two men

could saw but about a hundred feet in a day after the timber had been squared for them, and a single plank sometimes sold for more than a day's wages. Rude planks were sometimes made by splitting them out, and the first houses were often inclosed with these set upright like palisades against a frame, or with large shingles called "clapboards," rived with a froe. The abundance of timber and the scarcity of labor early suggested the profit there would be in erecting saw-mills. One was sent to Virginia in 1620, long before England had such machines; but the mill and the men who ran it probably perished together in Opechancanough's massacre of 1622. Another was built in Virginia in 1652, at a cost of forty-eight beaver skins. The Dutch built many mills along the Hudson to run by wind or water, and at an early day "great quantities of boards" were exported. By 1701 there were forty saw-mills in New York, one of them running twelve saws. Planks were often sawed eighteen feet long and three feet wide without showing a knot.

The New Hampshire settlements were at first almost entirely composed of timber-cutters, and here there was a saw-mill as early as 1635. About this time Massachusetts also set up one of these devices, which were new to Englishmen, but twelve hundred years old

in Germany. Lumbermen also thronged the harbors of Maine, and at a later period New England abounded in cheap saw-mills built upon small brooks.

An important branch of the trade on the northern coast was the supplying of the royal navy with yards and bowsprits. White pine trees over two feet in diameter were reserved for the navy, to be used for masts, which were at that time made of one piece. Nothing more exciting was ever seen in the lumber woods than the dragging to the water-side of one of these great pines, which might reach to a hundred and twenty feet in length. It was drawn over the snow by seventy or eighty yoke of oxen; and since it was difficult to start so many beasts at once, the immense train was never allowed to stop, however long and hard the road. If an ox became exhausted, he was cut out of the yoke, without a moment's pause. Ships of peculiar construction, and of about four hundred tons burthen, were employed to carry these masts, and were able to take about fifty at a time, with yards and bowsprits.

III.

THE BUILDING OF SHIPS.

IRRITATED by the necessity which obliged them to have ships of burthen built on the Baltic, and to buy naval stores of the Swedes through the arrogant Hanse merchants, English statesmen early turned their eyes to America for relief, for here the timber was growing at the water's edge. Popham's short-lived colony built a little yacht during their bitter winter in the Maine woods, and the Dutch explorer, Adrian Block, launched the *Oonrust* from Manhattan Island, but these had no proper successors. The shallops and the pinnace built during the first decade of Plymouth to help the little plantation in its corn-getting and fur-buying voyages kept alive the notion of the suitability of New England for ship-building. But 1631 is the real initial point. In that year, simultaneously with the building of a great ship by the Dutch at Manhattan, there was launched at Medford the first of a long line of vessels built in the Massachusetts colony. *The Blessing of the Bay* she was called by Governor Winthrop, her owner. *The Blessing* was probably constructed under the supervision of Wil Stephens, who had previously built in England the *Royal Merchant*, of six hundred tons; it was thought the whole kingdom had hardly such another ship-carpenter. When emigration ceased in 1640, a pretty little financial crash ensued; farming became unprofitable, and a great

stimulus was given to ship-building. Salem constructed one vessel of three hundred tons, a leviathan among the ships of that day, while Boston more modestly undertook one of half the size. There was little or no money to pay for such material as must come from abroad, and the carpenters were obliged to take their wages in corn and beef and such-like truck of the country. When, by dint of much pinching and screwing, the Boston ship was at length ready to sail, she was sent forth with solemn religious exercises, and a sermon preached to her crew on a Wednesday by the great John Cotton.

One little ship after another was now launched and sent away, laden with building timber for England, or with cod-fish and staves for the West Indies, the wine islands, Portugal, or, perchance, the lands beyond the straits of Gibraltar; sometimes one cargo was exchanged for another, until a large circuit was completed. Returning at length to the lonesome coast whence she had set forth, the New England built bark would bring back to the village of Boston fruits, oil, wool, iron, or sugar, and sometimes a little gold and silver; money, however, was soon sent away to England in payment for goods. The ships themselves began presently to fetch good prices in remote ports. The captain, in such cases, returning by way of England, brought home in some other vessel the value of his ship and her lading in English woolens and other goods. Thus the business of building ships for sale abroad came to be one of the chief means of paying for the steady inflow of European commodities.

From a poor new-country village, with a little farmers' and emigrants' trade, Boston became, a few years after ship-building began in earnest, a thriving little city with a growing foreign commerce. In 1665 she had a hundred and thirty-sail upon the sea, besides small boats; and before the beginning of the Revolution Massachusetts is said to have had about one ship to every hundred inhabitants, while about fifty New England built vessels were annually sold abroad.

For the sake of procuring "cotten wooll," Governor Hopkins of Connecticut undertook in 1640 to build and set forth a ship to those ports where such a commodity was to be had, "if it be pheasable," and this was the beginning of ships in Connecticut. The well-timbered river-banks of New Hampshire and Maine were suited to ship-building, but the industry was at first held in check by Indian outbreaks. In later colonial times the ship-yards of New Hampshire sent forth many vessels, and Maine was particularly prolific in the new kind called schooners,

which were originated at Cape Anne in 1714, and which were especially fitted for use in the fisheries.

The Dutch, on what is now the island of New York, jumped at once to the largest possible achievement. In the year that Winthrop sent out his pioneer bark of thirty or forty tons, there was launched at Manhattan a vessel twenty times as large. For two hundred years the ship-builders of New York did not build a trading vessel so great as the one that began the line. But throughout her colonial days New York seemed to take her cue from the ambitious beginning of her Dutch pioneers; her ships were fewer but larger than those sent from the Philadelphia and New England yards. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the rear of what is now Trinity Churchyard resounded with the hammers of Rip Van Dam's ship-carpenters, while English builders launched their vessels into the East River in all the region about Peck Slip.

Philadelphia had great advantages in her iron-works and her proximity to the ship-building material of the southern colonies; almost from the start the Quaker town was a place of ship-yards, and by the close of the colonial period the city had become the chief sea-port of British America. The Philadelphians sometimes had twenty ships on the stocks at once. They prided themselves on the finish, swiftness, and ornamentation of their vessels; in the revolutionary period their best wood-carvers produced figure-heads of Indians and backwoodsmen in hunting-shirts that were the admiration of foreign artists as well as of seafarers. But along-side these elegantly modeled craft there sailed out of the Delaware in colonial times great ungainly raft-ships, meant to carry timber and to be broken up on their arrival at their destinations; one of these unwieldy structures was of five thousand tons burthen.

As early as 1662 John Winthrop of Connecticut had called attention in England to the excellent ship-timber of Virginia, and Bristol men built many vessels at easy rates in the Virginia waters in the seventeenth century. Maryland and South Carolina offered advantages in exemption from dues to "country bottoms." Virginia gave thirteen hundred pounds of tobacco to every builder of a ship of more than twenty-six tons, and the reward was frequently claimed. But in the colonies south of Pennsylvania circumstances produced a state of society in which the mechanic arts were unprosperous, and the navigation acts fell with particular severity on their commerce. Of all the tonnage engaged in transporting the staple of

the Chesapeake region to England, only about one-eighth was owned by natives of the tobacco colonies, and a like share by merchants occasionally resident in the two provinces. About 1740 a new interest in ship-building sprang up in the Carolinas, and ten years later the discovery that live-oak was particularly valuable for the purpose yet further quickened the business, so that in 1769 the Carolina provinces were sending out about twelve vessels apiece, of a very considerable size for the time.

The growth of shipping in America was a cause of political jealousy a century before the American Revolution; and fifty years before the separation it was matter for complaint from the hard-pressed ship-builders of the Thames, who were losing their trade and their workmen at the same time by the American rivalry. At the outbreak of the war of separation, two-thirds of the shipping in the general trade of the English nation was colony-built.

IV.

THE INDIAN TRADE.

IF communication could be opened with another planet whose products and articles of use and luxury were diverse from ours, a process of interchange would doubtless set in comparable to that resulting from the contact of liquids of different density. The discovery of America was like the happening on a path to a new planet; white men and Indians were alike rejoiced at the opportunity to acquire novelties from another world.

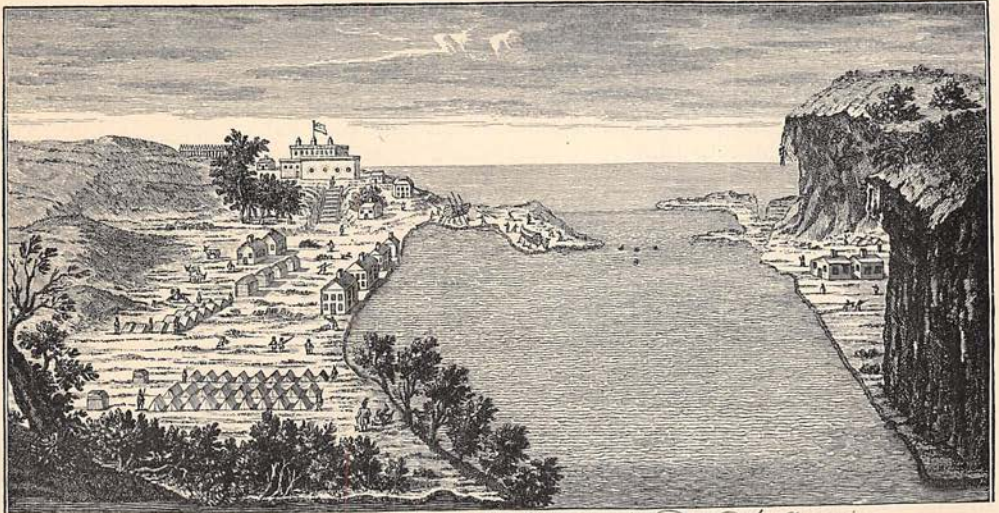
When the pilgrims went to Massachusetts Bay to trade, the Indian women stripped off their glossy fur jackets in order to buy ornaments of beads and little metal bells; and the Dutch likewise bought the Indians naked with trinkets. The first comers to Maryland were careful to bring "knives, combs, and bracelets to trade with the women natives," and coarser utensils for the men. In many cases barter saved the colonists from starvation. Roger Clap, of Massachusetts, in time of want, bartered a puppy to an Indian for a peck of corn,—a typical exchange, by which each secured a dinner to his taste.

The earliest traders ventured ashore but little; they used their vessels as fortresses and trading-houses. A steep cliff on the Sheepscott River took the name of Daggett's Castle from Daggett, a trader who painted a hand upon it as high up as he could reach from the mast of his vessel, and was wont to cast anchor at its foot, so that he could only be approached by canoes upon one side.

The second stage of the Indian trade was

marked by the planting of temporary lodgements or fortified houses on the shore. The earliest traders knew but a few words of the Indian tongue, and eked out their scanty vocabulary by a set of conventional signs with thumb and fingers, borrowed, perhaps, from the ready pantomime of the savages. When settlements were planted, the great profit of the fur trade raised a lively competition; "runners" or "bush-lopers" went to

trade, and lodges were built on each side of the city for the Indians to rest in. In the middle of the eighteenth century nine thousand beaver, otter, moose, and bear skins were sent out of the St. John's and the Penobscot. From Virginia "a good quantity of beaver" was coming to Bristol in 1666, but the very large Indian trade of the colonies to the south of the Potomac produced chiefly deer and buffalo skins. In 1740 it required six hun-



A South View of OSWEGO, on Lake Ontario, in North America.

(FROM "LONDON MAGAZINE," 1760.)

the woods to intercept the savages laden with beaver-skins, and farm-houses became trading-posts. "Every boor was a merchant" when De Vries visited New Netherland. Laws were made in vain forbidding servants, sailors, and other under-class people from dicking with the Indians. In more than one colony the rates of barter were fixed, now in town meeting and now by other authority; and public markets for the Indian trade were proposed in Virginia, and ordained by Penn; but all in vain: the sharp competition of so lucrative a trade broke down all barriers.

The first shipment of furs from Manhattan, after the organization of the Dutch West India Company, brought into its coffers more than ten thousand dollars; and in eight years the annual return had mounted to fifty-six thousand of our money. When Minuit transferred his services from the Dutch to the Swedes, he drew thirty thousand beaver-skins from the Delaware the first year, and the annual returns from this river were rather more than that after the fall of New Sweden. Fully one-half of the people of Albany lived by the

dred men, two thousand pack-horses, and five large boats to carry on the deer-skin trade of Augusta, in Georgia.

The third stage of the Indian trade was reached when the traders began to penetrate to the interior. In 1721 the New Yorkers, passing by boat up the Mohawk and through Onondaga lake and its outlet, established Oswego as a remote port to intercept the Indians of "the far nations" on their way to Montreal. Though but a cluster of "huts," Oswego was a Babel of savage dialects in summer, and became, in the words of an Indian chief, "as good as a silver mine to the English." In Pennsylvania trading pioneers, called "handelaare," bought furs at the foot of the mountains and sold them to peddlers with wagons. A bolder race crossed the Alleghanies to the Miamis and Wyandots, carrying on pack-horses blankets, shirts, gunpowder, vermilion, leaden beads, wampum, hatchets, and scalping-knives. Lancaster drove a thriving business in the manufacture of pack-saddles. The southern traders pushed into the interior as far as to the tribes bordering the Mississippi. Sometimes, on the trips

from Virginia to the Cherokees and Catawbias, there were a hundred pack-horses in a train. The horses were made to swim the streams, while the packs were floated over in a portable boat made of buffalo-hide stretched on a keel and ribs cut from the surrounding forest. This "bull-boat" is but a modification of the Welsh and Irish coracle, a craft as ancient in Britain as the days of the Cæsars, and one that is yet used by American Indian traders.

The Indian, though cautious and tricky in trade, was ever a victim of the superior knavery of the white man. Some of the women merchants of New York and Albany were as ready as their husbands to give rum to a savage until he was drunk, and then cajole him out of his winter's catch of furs with trifles, leaving him at last to recover from his debauch, stripped and wretched. Traders at Oswego would sell to savages from remote regions kegs of rum, which would be found on opening, after laborious transportation, to contain nothing but water. These low arts provoked irritation and often led to war. Some of the Mohawks, seeing their tribe cheated out of its lands by tricks of this sort, abjured their nation and joined their ancient foes, the Wyandots. The Sewee Indians in Carolina thought to remedy abuses by trading at the fountain-head; they secretly fitted out great canoes and dispatched them for England, but the poor paddle-boats were never heard from. The Indian trade, as Governor Dongan frankly puts it, was a strife between English and French "for the sheep's fleece."

There was a kind of dirty romance in the hard life of the Indian trader. Young Dutchmen from Albany sometimes got their start in life by a long voyage to the villages of the Iroquois with a birch canoe, in which were stored a keg of rum, some blue or green Stroudwater blankets, called "strouds," some dark-blue duffel-cloth, or "duffels," for making breech-cloths, and a stock of knives, combs, and other trifles. The Adirondack boat guide still carries his camp-kit in what he calls a "duffel-basket," similar to that used two centuries ago by his lineal predecessor, the canoe-trader. Farther to the



ANCIENT WAMPUM, FROM THE INDIAN MOUNDS (NOW IN THE PEABODY MUSEUM.)

south a hardy race, chiefly Scotchmen and Irishmen, pushed off into the villages of the powerful southern tribes. Here, by intermarriage and by assimilating their modes of life to those of the tribesmen, they gained a great ascendancy over the Indians. In the outbreaks against the whites the traders were often saved by the fidelity of their squaws. One lay in the woods in war-time, and was supplied with food by his savage wife. Another, when assailed by two powerful assassins, was helped by his squaw, who laid hold of one of the men crying, "Husband, fight well and run well, as becomes a good warrior." Thus encouraged, the man shook off his enemies and escaped. This wild and perilous life ended by ensnaring the traders; few of them were ever able to return to more regular living. They often found themselves, as age drew on, bound to the tribe by a great company of barbarian children and grandchildren.



WHITE AND PURPLE INDIAN WAMPUM. (FROM SPECIMEN IN THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, NEW YORK.)



LORD BALTIMORE PENNY. (FROM THE ONLY EXISTING SPECIMEN.)*

V.

MONEY AND BARTER.

FOR long ages before the advent of white men the American savages had decked themselves with beads. Some of these were of such metals as were easily worked, others of small shells strung together, or of bits of wood polished and perhaps stained. The most perfect were a kind called by many names from various Indian dialects, but chiefly known to the English as wampum-peague, wampum-peak, or more simply as wampum, or peak, or peague; to the Dutch and Swedes as seawant, zewand, or zeband. These were made by the shell-fish eaters along the coast, who wrought polished and well-drilled beads of dark colors from the eye of the hard clam-shell or common oyster-shell, and white ones worth half as much from other parts of the same shell, and



CAROLINA ELEPHANT PIECE.

from the stem of the great conch. Before Europeans brought iron, the Indians painfully bored these with stone awls, and strung them upon the tendons of animals.

Wampum was widely distributed. The Canadian savages, with characteristic love for imaginative lying, told Jacques Cartier that it was their practice to gash the bodies of criminals, and sink them in the sea, in order that this "porcelaine," as the French called wampum, might be deposited in the wounds. At the South, one finds the Carolina Indians prosaically drilling their beads with nails procured from white men and fixed in the end of a reed of cane, which was twirled rapidly upon the thigh with one hand while the other held the bead to be bored. Between Canada and Carolina wampum appears to have been

known to all the coast tribes except those of the New England peninsula north of Narragansett Bay; these last first received it in trade from the Plymouth pilgrims. It was made in the greatest variety of forms by the Virginia Indians, who pleased their fancy by varying the strings of white and purple peak with large tubes and pipes two or three inches long, and thicker than the beads. They had also strings of "runtees"—oval or circular



THE NEW ENGLAND ELEPHANT PIECE.

disks nearly an inch in diameter and perforated edgewise; and they wrought, besides, great round tablets of shell four inches wide, ornamented with circles, stars, half-moons, or other figures. Besides all these, they had a bead, cheaper than white wampum, made of cockle-shells and called "roënoke."

With common dark and white wampum the Indians made coronets, necklaces, bracelets, showy belts, garters, and pendants for their ears. With it they plaited or tied up their hair, and decorated their finest garments. The Narragansetts sent to Charles II. two caps of "peague," and two war-clubs inlaid with it. King Philip had a costly coat of wampum, which in his extremities he cut up and distributed in subsidies to his wavering allies. Among the Powhatans, brides were purchased with wampum; marriage was performed by breaking an arm's-length of "peak" over the heads of the pair; the beads were also cast among the people at a funeral. In the north wampum was hung dangling before the eyes of the baby bound hand and foot to his portable crib. The Iroquois put strings of white wampum about the neck of the white dog which was burned as a sin-offering at



THE VIRGINIA PENNY.

* All of the coins here illustrated are after photographs from the originals in the complete collection of Mr. L. G. Parmelee of Boston.



ROSA AMERICANA TWO-PENNY PIECE.

their religious festivals. No confession of sins, no solemn ceremony of any sort, was valid without it. Inter-tribal messages and treaties were always sanctioned with presents of belts of shell beads; these belts were preserved, and constituted the national archives. The dead were not suffered to travel unadorned southward into the land of shades, but strings of wampum were put into the graves; the custom is of great antiquity. When the trade with the whites had given a new value to shell beads, needy savages opened the ancestral tombs, and wampum a little gnawed by years of subterranean dampness passed into the chest of the trader in exchange for duffel-cloth and rum.

Wampum had already acquired the character of money before the arrival of Europeans. Homicide was usually atoned for with shell money; fifty fathoms for the killing of a man, and twice as much for a woman, was the customary wergild among the Delawares. It was also used for tribute and for such trade as Indian life admitted of. The Dutch, along with dried clams, carried seawant to the interior for trade with the Iroquois. The shell heaps of the Long Island hamlets became "the mine of New Netherland"; and wampum, with its auxiliary currency of beaver-skins, became the only money besides silver and gold that would pass current in all the American colonies. Accounts were reckoned in fathoms of it; unstrung beads afforded small change; in several colonies Indian money was a legal tender, and the price of bread was sometimes regulated in this coin by law; very rich men hoarded it in their cellars by the hogshheadful; rogues—Indian and white—counterfeited or debased it; and people disposed of uncurrent beads by rattling them into the church plate on Sundays.

So long as it took a day's labor of an Indian to produce fifteen cents' worth of wampum, and so long as a definite number of fathoms of wampum measured by the stature of a man could be exchanged for a certain number of beaver-skins, and so long as beaver-skins were prized in European markets, and passed

current for money in every American colony, the value of the shell money could not depreciate. In the Indian country the wampum-beaver currency was preferred to gold and silver, and for more than thirty years it held an unbroken sway among the colonists. But when people of fashion in Europe no longer bought beaver with avidity, the wampum began to decline, and the financial system of the American coast suffered derangement. And when at length the lathes

of the Dutch at Hackensack and Albany produced a great deal of seawant better polished than that of the Indians, wampum gradually lost its rank as a standard, through inflation.

Owing to the scarcity of money in England, trade was often carried on by barter, and rents were often paid in kind. So in New England a fat wether, a fat hog, and a bushel of apples appear in early rentals. In 1644 each family was required to pay a peck of corn to help poor scholars at Harvard; and one reads of fines collected in malt, of taxes that might be paid in beef, pork, grain, cheese, hides, leather, tallow, beeswax, bayberry wax, dry fish, whalebones, and even in live cattle and boards. In 1687 Hingham paid its rate in milk-pails, and the constable

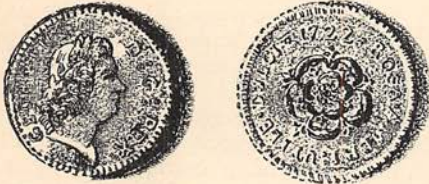


ROSA AMERICANA PENNY.

of Springfield in 1693 undertook to carry a hundred and thirty bushels of peas around by river and sea to Boston to pay a town rate. There was a lawsuit on the Delaware in 1679 about a debt payable in "pompkins," and all the principal kinds of produce were legal tender in Pennsylvania in 1683. In one, at least, of the Long Island grazing towns, the assessors fixed a rate at which cattle of various kinds should pass current.

Where there was one great staple of pretty uniform value, this mode of payment was simpler. In the English colony of Barbadoes, the merchants kept accounts and the public officers were paid in sugar;—a grant of "a million of sugar" was made to the Crown in a certain emergency. In South Carolina rice was used in paying taxes, accounts were sometimes kept in it, debts were often paid with

it, and "rice orders" for one hundred pounds each were issued by the provincial government and made a legal tender at thirty shillings apiece. In Virginia and Maryland, from a very early period until many years after the Revolution, the hogshead of tobacco was the unit of value. Foreigners smiled to hear a gentleman declare that his watch cost ten hogsheads of tobacco, or boast that he had only paid twelve hogheads for a certain horse which was worth twenty. For about a hun-



ROSA AMERICANA FARTHING.

dred and seventy-five years debts were discharged, public officers paid, the clergy supported, taxes levied, and wagers laid at the gaming-table in tobacco. This currency had the disadvantage of fluctuating in value with the abundance or scarcity of the staple in successive years. Parishes that grew mean tobacco were always vacant; and when the crop was too abundant, no one could be persuaded to accept the sheriff's office. In Maryland it was sufficient to notify a creditor that his tobacco was ready for him at any place in the county; this constituted a legal tender; but the debtor must store the amount for twelve months, if it were not sooner called for.

To avoid the inconveniences of a money so cumbersome, there grew up the certificate system. The first public store-house was founded in 1633, but the perfected system was the slow growth of a century, having been finally adopted in Virginia in 1730, when thirty-two



LORD BALTIMORE GROAT.

rolling-houses were recognized, and in 1748 the example was followed by Maryland. For every hogshead deposited in one of these a numbered certificate was issued, which ultimately served to draw out this identical hogshead; but the certificate was itself a legal tender throughout the peninsula in which the rolling-house was situated. In case of fire or flood the provincial government paid for all tobacco destroyed in the warehouse. The



LORD BALTIMORE SIXPENCE.

keeper of the rolling-house was held to strict account as a financial officer, and forbidden to be a candidate for the Assembly or to meddle with elections. No more convenient money was ever devised on the basis of an agricultural product. Its great deficiency was a lack of small change—a fault which profoundly affected Virginia and Maryland life.

While the amount of gold and silver current in the colonies was small, there was the greatest variety of pieces. Commonest of all was the "lion dollar" of Holland, so called from the device upon it, but playfully nicknamed the "dog dollar." There were also crusadoes and moidores of Portugal, pillar ducatoons of Flanders, Mexican "pieces of



LORD BALTIMORE SHILLING.

eight," old rix dollars, silver louis, French crowns, gold pistoles, or louis d'or, of France, Spanish doubloons, "chequeens" Arabian gold pieces with inscriptions quite undecipherable to the American, and many other pieces brought in by ships to bother our simple-minded ancestors in that day of imperfect exchanges. Rogues sought to squeeze what they could of the precious metals from the few coins a-going by processes known as "washing, clipping, rounding, filing, and scaling," so that it was necessary for families to keep



VIRGINIA SHILLING.

money scales to find the real value of each piece. Queen Anne tried by proclamation to enforce in the several colonies a uniformity of value for foreign coins of full weight, based on calculations made by Sir Isaac Newton ; but colonial assemblies believed that they could "keep money in the country" by putting a fictitious nominal value upon the coins.

In 1651 Massachusetts, presuming, perhaps, on the overthrow of royal power at home,



MASSACHUSETTS "WILLOW-TREE" SHILLING.

though equal in fineness, were lighter in weight than sterling pieces of the same name ; it was thought that this cheapening of the coins would keep them from exportation. A ridiculous charge was made by the enemies of Massachusetts, after the Restoration, that in melting down the king's money the New Englanders had gained threepence in the shilling and lowered his Majesty's coin a fourth. There were English emigrants who believed that since seventy-seven pounds of English money might



FIRST FORM OF NEW ENGLAND SHILLING.

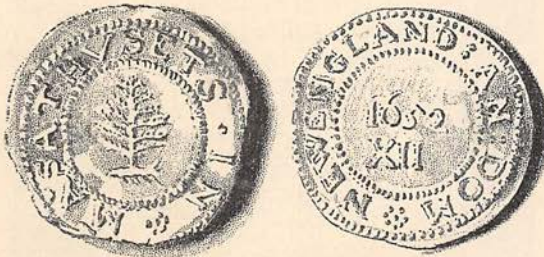
be exchanged for a hundred in Boston Bay coins, they thereby gained enough on the money brought over with them to pay their ship expenses.

set up a mint in a wooden building sixteen feet square and ten feet high, and proceeded not only to stamp upon light-weight foreign coins their value, but also to coin bullion which had been taken from the Spaniards by the buccaners, and from them had passed by the West India trade into New England hands. These pieces at first bore only the letters N. E., for New England, on one side, and on the other Roman numerals to distinguish the three-penny, six-penny, and shilling pieces. Legends and inscription were added with a device of a tree, which on some of the pieces bears a weak resemblance to a pine, on others to a willow, and so on; but the pieces of "Boston Bay money" came to be known also as "pine-tree" shillings, sixpences, and threepences. An agent of the colony, seeking to appease the wrath of Charles II. against

Virginia had anticipated Massachusetts in enacting a law, in 1645, for the establishment of a mint ; but in a land destitute of artisans, and without other commerce than what was necessary to sell the produce of its own fields and purchase articles for domestic use, it was probably as impossible to find a mint-master to make coins as to procure bullion. Lord Baltimore met a similar difficulty by setting



MASSACHUSETTS OAK-TREE SIXPENCE.



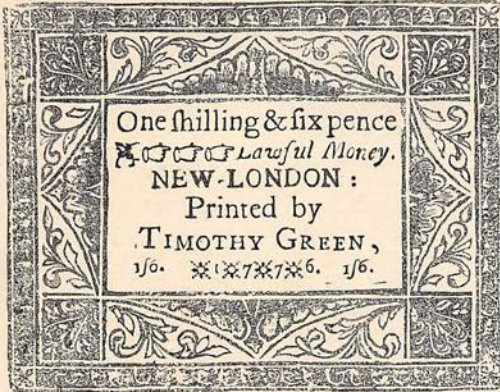
PINE-TREE SHILLING.

up his Maryland mint in London about 1659. Every Maryland householder was compelled to "take up" ten shillings of this cheapened coin for every taxable poll in his family, and to pay for it with tobacco at twopence the pound. This coinage was probably soon driven out of circulation by the tobacco currency.

Massachusetts for infringing the royal prerogative of coinage, assured the King that the tree was the royal oak that had saved his Majesty's life; whereupon the easy-tempered Charles laughed and said that the colonists were "honest dogs." The pine-tree coins,

Capital married to virgin land is so productive that interest is usually exorbitant in a new state. To all the other expensive outputs of a new community, there was added in the colonies the purchase of laborers, white or black. In South Carolina planters could afford to pay more than twenty-five per cent.

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Benj. Galt

REVERSE OF CONNECTICUT BILL, 1776. (IN THE COLLECTION OF HON. S. J. HOADLEY.)

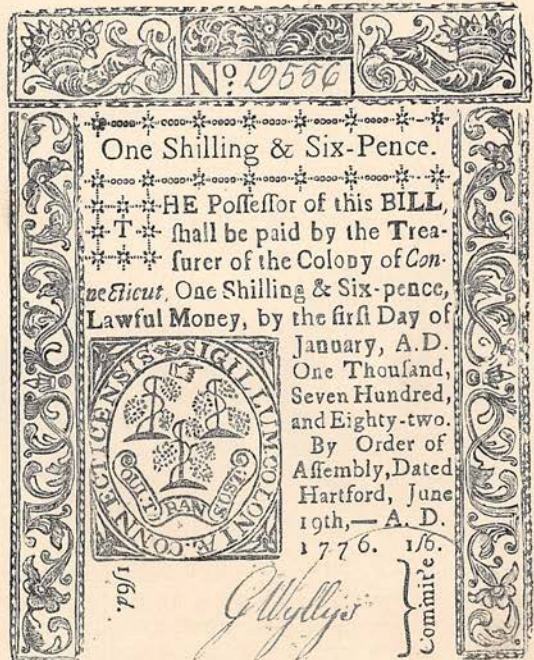
per annum for money to buy negroes for rice-culture. The Legislature probably only reduced the supply when it passed a usury law in 1721. Not only were residents of the colonies obliged to pay taxes in country produce for want of money, but in New Jersey, at least, so late as 1723, they broke up their plate and paid in their jewelry in order to meet the demands of the provincial government.

In 1690 Massachusetts had, with evident misgiving, led the way into a dangerous path in issuing paper money to pay the wages of the distressed and half-mutinous soldiers who had come back from Sir William Phipps's unsuccessful expedition against Quebec without the booty which had been counted on to meet the charges. The province allowed five per cent. premium on these bills in the payment of taxes, and this provision kept Massachusetts paper money of the earlier issues at par or above for twenty years—so long as the amount was small. But the exigencies of the French wars, and the clamors of the near-sighted populace desirous of the temporary relief which comes from an increase of currency and a consequent depreciation of debts, dragged Massachusetts farther on the downward road, and other colonies followed the example. In every province the earlier issues were a benefit to trade; in almost every case a ruinous

inflation followed. The years before and after 1720 were the bubble period of European finance; the Mississippi bubble of France and the South Sea bubble of London were attended by innumerable other financial schemes equally airy. The sanest financiers lost their heads in the contagious delirium. It is no wonder that the colonies caught the fever, and that innumerable "land banks" and other projects for evolving something out of nothing were started; it is not surprising that many of the colonies issued paper money until the currency lost all relation to its original sterling basis. In South Carolina, for forty years, seven shillings of paper bought but one of sterling; indeed, it is said that exchange once rose to a thousand per cent. Massachusetts, distressed by her exertions in the French wars, sunk her paper into depths of depreciation and confusion lower even than that of South Carolina, if lower depths are conceivable; and it is now all but impossible to thread the labyrinth of values produced by "old tenor," "middle tenor," and "new tenor" bills. The almanac-maker in 1749

tells how
 "The country maids with sauce to market come,
 And carry loads of tattered money home."

But in that year Massachusetts led the re-



CONNECTICUT BILL OF 1776. (IN THE COLLECTION OF HON. S. J. HOADLEY.)

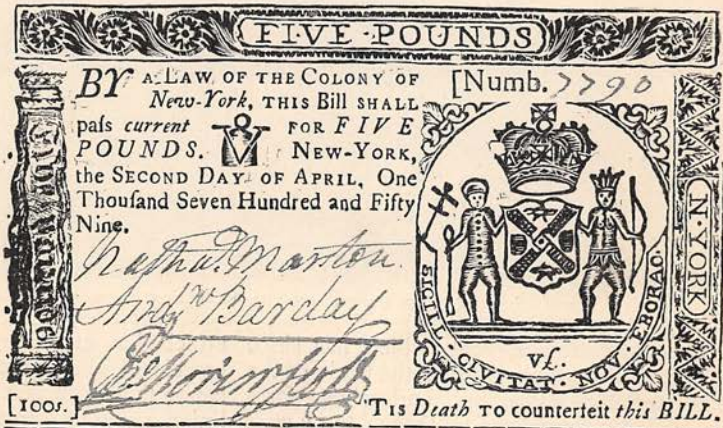
turn to a sound currency by redeeming her bills at one-tenth their face value.

While wampum was available for currency, the separate beads furnished small money. In 1635 the Massachusetts General Court, remembering perhaps the leaden tokens used in England in the preceding reign, made musket-bullets current for a farthing. In all the colonies the larger coins, such as the "dog dollar," were cut into halves and quarters, and the fractions were known as "sharp-shins." The Virginians were so impressed with the inconvenience they suffered from the absence of coin to pay small debts that they undertook to encourage artisans by ordaining that dollars of base metal should be good currency. They hastily repealed this measure in 1655; it having

been found that artisans did not press into a colony which tendered bad money for good work. But even in the tobacco currency of the Chesapeake colonies, some provision was made for money of a smaller denomination than the hogshhead, by issuing rolling-house certificates for "transfer tobacco," as small packages were called. Yet the general lack of small change in the tobacco country fixed in the people an habitual contempt for retail trade and small economies, that has never been quite outgrown.

Many attempts were made to supply small coin to the colonists. In 1694 somebody made copper pieces with an elephant on one side, and "God preserve New England" on the other; and similar pieces were struck for Carolina. In 1701 Massachusetts merchants stamped brass and tin tokens for change. In 1703 private speculators imported to New England five thousand dollars, worth of copper half-pence. The "Rosa Americana" coins were made between 1720 and 1730 by William Wood, whose attempt to make Irish half-pence in partnership with one of the King's mistresses turned out unfortunately, through the powerful opposition of Dean Swift. It was perhaps in hope of receiving some of these Rosa Americana pieces that the Virginia Assembly fixed a rate for copper coins in 1727. Wood's coins appear to have circulated chiefly in the southern colonies. But in 1737 the province of New

York was alarmed by the influx of these or some other copper pieces, and forbade any ship's bringing more than ten shillings in copper coins for each person on board. When the paper currency became common, it was often halved and quartered to make change, until some of the colonies issued little bills of various shapes for small sums.

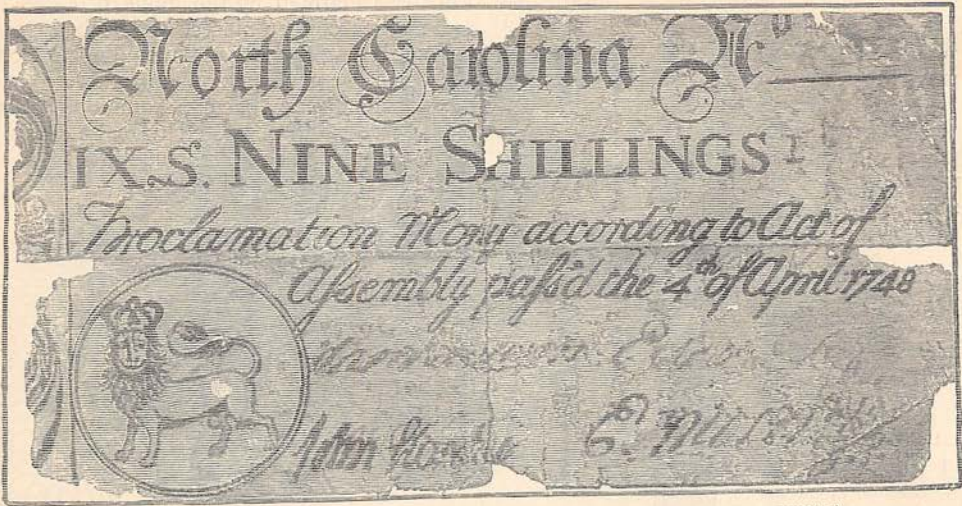


NEW YORK COLONIAL CURRENCY. (IN THE COLLECTION OF HON. S. J. HOADLEY.)

VI.

CANOE, PACK-HORSE, AND WAGON.

THE creative cause of a town is a facility for trade with a tributary country. Great cities in the modern sense were hardly possible before railways. The colonial ports lacked even the canals and wagon-roads of Europe. We are a nation of land-traffickers, but our ancestors in the colonies traded and traveled almost entirely by water. There were but twelve miles of land-carriage in all the province of New York; beyond Albany the Indian trade was carried on by "three-" or "four-handed batteaus," sharp at both ends, like the Adirondack boat of to-day. Yachts, with bottoms of black oak and sides of red cedar, brought wheat in bulk and peltries down the Hudson; other craft carried on the domestic trade of New York town with the shores of Long Island, Staten Island, and the little ports beyond the Kill von Kull. Fire-wood was floated to the beach; marketing came to New York, as to Philadelphia, by water-carriage; in Savannah it was retailed directly from the canoe to the people on shore. In South Carolina laws were made to break up the practice of "keeping shop or store" on shipboard. The first regular wagon-carriage from the Connecticut River to Boston did not begin until 1697; Massachusetts had then been settled seventy years.



NORTH CAROLINA PAPER MONEY. (IN THE COLLECTION OF DR. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.)

The flat-bottomed boat, which has since played so important a part in the trade of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and whose form was probably suggested by that of the "west country barges" of England, appears to have been used for floating produce down the Delaware before 1685. In the Chesapeake colonies, until late in the provincial period, there were almost no roads but the numerous bays and water-courses, and almost no vehicles but canoes, row-boats, pinnaces, and barks. Places of resort for worship or business were usually near the water-side; the counties in Virginia were rearranged so that they might, for the most part, front each on but a single one of the great rivers.

But of all means of travel or trade the Indian canoe was the chief. In the extreme northern colonies these were of birch-bark, of the utmost lightness and swiftness, sometimes of great size, and when used on salt water were now and then decked in and fitted with sails. The dug-out, hewed from the whole tree, prevailed more widely. Those of red cedar were lightest, and the most of them could carry about six men. Canoes from the great tulip-tree, capable of taking forty men, seem not to have been very uncommon; there are stories of dug-outs with twice that capacity. No boat of the same burthen could go so swiftly. Large cypress canoes, fitted with mast and sail, took cargoes of thirty or forty, or even fifty, barrels of tar from the North Carolina waters by the open sea to Norfolk. To increase the burthen and seaworthiness, the South Carolina Huguenots hit upon the plan of sawing one of these great canoes in twain lengthwise, and inserting a plank in the bottom between the two halves, to which was

attached a small keel. Eighty or a hundred barrels of pitch were the normal cargo of a canoe thus enlarged. An adventurous Carolinian was only prevented from setting sail for Barbadoes in one of them by the refusal of the customs officer to clear such a ship. In the shallow Carolina inlets, and in rivers, these light-draught vessels were propelled by setting-poles of prickly ash; and the earliest American projectors of steam-boats sought to drive them, after the manner of these canoes, by poles or paddles.

On the Virginia rivers above tide-water, two canoes of large size were lashed together in catamaran fashion, to carry eight or nine one-thousand-pound hogsheads of tobacco, which were rolled crosswise upon them—"an almost incredible weight for such slender embarkations," says one who had often seen these top-heavy cargoes guided by a single steersman down stream, or poled toilsomely against the current by one man in each canoe.



MASSACHUSETTS THREE-PENNY BILL. (IN THE COLLECTION OF DR. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.)

Besides the canoes, there was for shoal-water navigation the periaqua, oftener called the periauger or "pettyauger," a long, flat-bottomed boat, usually of from twenty to thirty tons, with fore-castle and cabin, but no deck, propelled by sails on two masts, which could be struck; in a calm the boatmen moved it with two oars, great sweeps, perhaps, such as are used on rafts and river flat-boats.

Roads in the colonies were hardly ever laid out, but were left where Indian trail or chance cart-track in the woods had marked them. Many of them were "blazed" by cutting a strip a foot long out of the bark of a tree, now on the right, now on the left, at every thirty or forty yards. In Maryland there was an elaborate system of distinguishing marks for roads going to Annapolis, for tracks leading to a church or to a court-house, and so on. Such roads as there were usually preferred to hug the coast. Until near the Revolution, travelers by land from New York to Philadelphia were wont to cross to Long Island, thence over the Narrows to Staten Island, from the other end of which they ferried over the Kill to New Jersey. Roads in parts of New England were left forty rods wide, that one might have additional chances of finding some passable way through the general badness. The hindrances of a bad road were often increased by swinging gates where the track ran through fields, and by clumsy ferries over numerous streams. In Virginia the mill-dams were required to be made ten feet wide on top for crossing; remote planters had to be compelled by law to keep open a track by which their houses might be reached on horseback. The colonists came legitimately by their bad roads. Common-carriers in England were forbidden, in 1629, to have more than two wheels to their wains, lest they should cut up the roads; and so late as 1685 the Royal Society inspected a newly invented chariot made to run on ten rollers with "a prodigious noise," but which had the virtue of not overturning in the roads of the time.

From England, along with bad roads, the colonists brought the pack-horse which, in Devon and Cornwall, at the close of the last century, still did the carrying, even of building-stones and cord-wood. Most of the inland traffic of the colonial period was done by packing; the innumerable and unscrupulous peddlers that beset our ancestors went up and down the whole back country with the pack-horse carrying long sacks that drooped on each side. The colonies with a sparse and rustic population were the peddler's paradise. Tinkers, glaziers, coopers, plumbers, and tailors went about selling their wares or their

skill. There were even "doctors" who peddled their remedies, hawking them from high platforms in places of public concourse; and "contemptible wretches, called horse-jockeys," plagued the land from end to end; against these last the Marylanders and Virginians, smarting from their knavery, made laws in vain.

The Germans, whose ancestors had four-wheeled vehicles in the days of Julius Cæsar, made good roads wherever they planted themselves. While their English neighbors were content to travel on horseback and to ford and swim streams, the Salzburgers in Georgia began by opening a wagon-road twelve miles long, with seven bridges, "which surprised the English mightily." Pennsylvania, the home of the Germans, alone of the colonies built good straight roads; and the facility which these afforded to ten thousand freight-wagons was the main advantage that gave Philadelphia the final preëminence among the colonial sea-ports, and made Lancaster the only considerable inland mart in North America.

VII.

SEA-PORTS AND SEA-TRAFFIC.

It is hard to bring the imagination down to the scale of the colonial time, when the most conspicuous sea-ports were not so large as many a third-rate inland town of to-day, and when vessels sailing over seas were smaller than respectable coasting schooners of our time. A modern seaman would consider it a perilous feat to cross the ocean in midsummer in one of the pinnaces used at the outset of American planting. Some of the ships were not decked throughout, the method of rigging was less efficient than that of to-day, and scientific navigation was little understood. One reads of a seventeenth-century ship sailing from the West Indies for Virginia and fetching up in New England, and of a "pilot" who thought his landfall was in Spain when he was on the English coast. Captains prepared to bear away from other ships without speaking, for fear of Turks, pirates, or privateers. Every man aboard was expected to stand by the guns in case of an encounter.

Twenty millions of our money was the aggregate annual value of exports from all the provinces at their best; even if we add a half to this for clandestine trade, we have but thirty millions. And yet, so small was the world's commerce in that time that this colonial trade was a considerable element in

it; it was said that all the foreign money brought into Great Britain beyond the price of her woolen goods came from the productions of her American and West Indian colonies. Local conditions produced local variations in colonial commerce. The lack of a sufficient agricultural staple together with the profitable fisheries made New Englanders carriers, shippers, and factors for the coast at large, as well as the leaders in manufacturing industry. Proximity to the wampum-making savages at one end of Hudson River navigation and to the beaver-catchers at the other made New York the chief seat of the fur trade. Wagon-roads, soil, climate, and an industrious people made Philadelphia the principal center of the traffic in bread and meat. The never-ending line of convenient shore that bordered the peninsulas of Maryland and Virginia, and gave a good landing-place at every man's door, with a tobacco currency, rendered it difficult to build towns or develop trade among the easy-going planters of the Chesapeake and Albemarle regions. A different coast-line, and rivers less convenient, made Charleston the rich and urbane commercial and social center of southern Carolina.

Until about 1750 Boston was the leading sea-port, and its long wharf, two thousand feet in length with warehouses on one side of it, was the New World wonder of travelers. Five or six hundred vessels annually cleared out of Boston in the middle of the eighteenth century for the foreign trade alone, and the city contained between twenty and thirty thousand people at the outbreak of the Revolution. But Newport, with its thirty distilleries to make rum of the molasses brought from the islands, and its seventeen sperm-oil and candle factories to work up the results of the whaling industry, had nearly half as many ships in foreign trade as Boston, and three or four hundred craft of all sorts in the coast-wise carrying trade. He was thought a bold prophet who said then that "New York might one day equal Newport"; for about 1750 New York sent forth fewer ships than Newport, and not half so many as Boston, though Manhattan Island was rapidly becoming a trade center—a main point for distributing to other ports on the continent the finest wares and the choicest wines. The adventurous Dutch, who were its leading merchants, sent ships on longer voyages than those made from other ports. Yet there are many single firms in the metropolis to-day whose business exceeds that of the whole city before 1776, with all its sending of breadstuffs, flaxseed, onions, staves, horses, and even pickled oysters and lobsters, to exchange for cotton at Surinam and St. Thomas, lime-juice and dye-

wood in Curaçoa, logwood in the dangerous bay of Honduras, and the ill-gotten booty of pirates in Madagascar. All this trade was necessary to find means to balance its half million pounds of purchases in England, and to pay for the "osnaburgs" and checked linens that were smuggled from Holland, in the teeth of prohibitory laws.

But Philadelphia—planted late in the seventeenth century—outripped all rivals, and for the last twenty years of the colonial period was the chief port of North America, sending out about four hundred ships annually, with an export trade of more than seven hundred thousand pounds sterling a year—nearly one-half greater than that of all the New England ports together, though if we could add the clandestine trade of New England and its immense carrying and inter-colonial traffic, the comparison would no doubt result differently. But the clear predominance of Philadelphia in exports was rightly attributed at the time to the liberal character of the Pennsylvania government, which had drawn a multitude of diligent hands from Europe to develop the grain lands of the interior, by which means the province became the chief source of bread to the fisheries of Newfoundland and the sugar plantations of the West Indies. Let us beware, however, of exaggerating the intrinsic greatness of a city whose population at the beginning of the Revolution was but about thirty thousand, perhaps a third larger than that of New York, and some thousands ahead of Boston.

The imports and exports of the two tobacco colonies together were far larger than those of Philadelphia, but their profits were far less. The one million and forty thousand pounds sterling of exports from Virginia and Maryland in 1769 went, for the most part, to enrich English factors, farmers of the customs, English and New England ship-owners, and others who got honest profits or downright plunder out of the tobacco shipped by the planters. A bill of return has been preserved in which just three-fourths of the gross price of a hogshead of tobacco is deducted for charges, the other fourth being sent back to the planter; and there were even instances in which the charges exceeded the returns, and the owner was brought into debt to his agent. As for the import trade of the Chesapeake and James River, almost every piece of fabric, every hat and coat and pot and pan, and—though the people lived among forests—every chair and table worthy the name, came from England. As the ships seeking to win the favor of the planters and secure a cargo made little or no charge for freight on the return voyage, and as the

wide-mouthed rivers furnished a convenient port almost everywhere, the goods could be delivered more cheaply at the door of a Virginian than to a gentleman five miles from town in England. Indeed, the Virginia legislature early discriminated against ships that brought no freight, in order to keep the rate low. Depressed by competition with London and Bristol, and by the long credits that came of a tobacco currency, the business of the merchant in Virginia and Maryland was of a "miserable peddling sort." But this was compensated for by a profit sometimes as high as one hundred and fifty per cent.; one merchant even advertised in the "Maryland Gazette," as a prodigy of cheapness, that he would sell his goods at only a hundred per cent. advance. In addition to these scattered local traders, peddling sloops frequented the rivers of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, exchanging wine, sugar, salt, tin candlesticks, and wicker chairs, with other petty wares, for pork, tobacco, peltries, maize, or Spanish coin. These wandering dealers were mostly from New England, and were sneeringly called "saints" by the planters, who resented their knack of sharp dealing. Some of their tricks are preserved, as that of the captain who kept a fiddler, and was accustomed to set the loungers dancing on the deck, in order to shake down the Indian corn as it was measured to him. But the great day in the calendar was that on which all the inhabitants of a wide region relieved the tedium of plantation life by hurrying afoot, on horseback, and in canoes to the landing-place of the ship which brought them clothing, delicacies, gewgaws, and news from London or Bristol.

An almost entire dependence on foreign ship-owners and merchants characterized the commerce of the whole Chesapeake and Albemarle region. The local traders were mostly Scotchmen or New Englanders. Of the four thousand seamen in the tobacco ships, few lived in the tobacco colonies. The Virginian was always in debt to the merchant, paying eight per cent. interest. In vain did kings in council, governors, and assemblies ordain towns and forbid ships to break bulk elsewhere. The port was everywhere; the plantation house, with its assemblage of quarters, served for a small distributing-point, and the "paper towns," set up by law in Maryland and Virginia, never had any heart in them. But the ships on their return were required to sail in a fleet under convoy of a man-of-war to protect them from pirates, and especially to make sure that all their cargo was landed and paid duty at an English port. Hampton, at the confluence of many waters, was a convenient starting-

point. From Hampton the ships could reach the open sea with the first wind; and by 1715 it was "the place of the greatest trade in all Virginia," though it had but a hundred houses. "Norfolktown at Elizabeth River" had a small traffic in the bay in 1705, and by 1728 it had become "the most city-like place in Virginia," and had a West India trade. Its population never exceeded seven thousand. About the time that Norfolk was recognized as the chief town of Virginia, Baltimore was founded in Maryland; and having a grain trade, as well as a traffic in tobacco, it reached, at the close of the colonial epoch, a population of about fifteen thousand people.

North Carolina, like New Jersey, found its ports mostly beyond its own bounds. A part of its tobacco was shipped from the waters of the Nansmond in Virginia, or was sent in the canoes and periaugers that took its pitch to Norfolk's long wharves of pine logs; cattle and hogs from the back country of North Carolina were driven along forest trails to the James river, while rice and indigo, and especially pork, were sent from the southern counties to Charleston.

In South Carolina one found large plantations, and therefore few villages, and no manufactures; rich planters, who were nevertheless ever in debt to the merchant for supplies and for money, borrowed to increase to the utmost the stock of slaves. There were no deep and wide river mouths as in Virginia; the commerce, therefore, sought a common center at Charleston, and social life took on an urban character. The factors were resident merchants, though few were natives of the province. As they got at one time twenty-five per cent. per annum for their money, and at a later period ten per cent., they swiftly grew rich, bought negroes, and became planters and borrowers. Georgia after 1750 followed in the track of South Carolina, and by 1770 its exports had reached nearly a hundred thousand dollars.

VIII.

NAVIGATION LAWS AND SMUGGLING.

IN the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the theory that national protection must be given to the industries of a country was carried to barbarous lengths. Dependencies and colonies were accounted of little use except in so far as they could be made tributary to the wealth of the metropolis.

To avoid the oppressive extortions of the English customs, the Virginia Company in 1621 sent the whole tobacco product to Holland; but the King met this by ordaining that

no product of the colony should go to foreign ports until it had been first landed and had paid duty in England. This order contained the principle of all subsequent restrictive acts, and with it began the long struggle between the commercial interest of the mother country and the ingenuity of the colonists. As tobacco was sent to the Low Countries in evasion of the law, new regulations were made so complete as to threaten to kill the goose that laid the egg; until the King at length despoiled and abolished the Virginia Company, and set out to work the colony for all it was worth by becoming himself the sole purchaser of a staple which he held in sentimental abhorrence. He died before he got his tobacco trade on foot, but Charles I. soon proposed a similar monopoly. The policy of Charles in this, as in all other affairs, was vacillating; and with the rise of parliamentary power, the prevalent theory with regard to the colonies was modified. It was no longer the King who was to have the fleece; the English merchant now took the shears that had fallen from the powerless hands of the sovereign. In 1651 the Rump Parliament gratified English shippers, and struck a blow at the Dutch at the same time, by enacting that henceforth no merchandise of Asia, Africa, or America might come into England in other than English ships, and that European goods could go to the plantations only in English bottoms. But Virginia surrendered to the Commonwealth on condition of having an unrestrained trade, and the province openly invited the ships of every nation to come into her river. The memory of this period of free trade was probably one of the sources of discontent in Virginia in the time of Bacon's rebellion. Taking advantage of the confusion at home, the colonies generally disregarded the law of 1651.

But after the restoration of Charles II. a more severe law was enacted; this was kept in force, with various modifications, until the time of the American Revolution, and it was the most exasperating and impolitic fetter of all. It gave the colonists for generations a reason to complain of the vexatious restrictions put upon them by the imperial power, and it fixed in the commercial class habits of evasion and defiance. By this act, and those which followed, England secured a more or less complete monopoly of the tobacco, rice, sugar, cotton, indigo, and other agricultural staples, except breadstuffs, that were produced in the colonies. The "enumerated commodities" must first be landed in England and pay an English duty, while the English merchant and shipper levied a yet heavier tariff. Two years after the first navigation act of Charles II., the rein was drawn tighter by putting foreign

buying under the ban: no European goods could be imported except from Great Britain, and in English or colonial ships.

It is difficult to see how the necessities of the royal exchequer and the greed of the English merchant could, by restrictions, have wrung a larger tribute from the new communities in America. Such relaxations of the law as were made from time to time, by which certain of the "enumerated commodities" might be taken, under bond in twice the value of the ship and her cargo, to ports south of Cape Finisterre, were in the interest of the merchants who sold to the colonies, and who perceived that unless some such outlet for colonial trade were provided, the demand for English goods in America would fall off for want of means to pay for them. The captain who sailed to the Mediterranean with rice or indigo must needs return by way of England to cancel his bond, having thus a chance to lay in a return cargo of English goods according to law.

The weakness of all artificial dikes for commerce lies in their tendency to give way in unexpected places. Shut out of the open market, the colonists began to make things for themselves. The building of forges in America brought American bar iron into England. But not only the owners of iron-forges in England, but also the men who annually sold to them, in those days before coal, a hundred and ninety-eight thousand cords of coppice wood, combined to secure a prohibitory duty on all but pig iron from America. Then the colonists took to working up part of their iron for home use, making pots, kettles, andirons, shovels, tongs, and pokers, to the grief of English iron manufacturers. To save these last from such competition, a little breathing-place was made for American bar iron, which was suffered to come into London, but which must on no account be carried ten miles into the country, for fear of wounding the feelings of the owners of coppice woods, by bringing the American forests into competition with English brush hedges. But in 1757 the general voice of the people in England prevailed to sweep away this whimsical restriction.

Americans could not in decency be forbidden to use the spinning-wheel and the loom to clothe their own bodies; but in 1699 they were estopped from carrying such manufactures from one province to another, nor were they allowed to improve their breed of sheep. In 1732 an attempt was made to repress hat-making, which the cheap supply of furs made profitable in most of the colonies. Heavy penalties were imposed on a hatter for loading his wares on a horse or cart with intent to carry them to another plantation; no colo-

nists might carry on the trade who had not served an apprenticeship of seven years; no American hatter might keep more than two apprentices; and no slave was permitted to make hats. In spite of these measures, Boston made hats equal to the English; and the London felt-makers in 1731 begged that the colonists should not be allowed to wear any hats but those from British shops.

While the English subordinated their colonies to the prosperity of English manufactures, the French enacted even severer laws in regard to their West India islands; repressing the exportation of rum, for example, lest it should interfere with the market for French brandies. The waste molasses from the sugar factories—raw material for rum—was poured into the sea, or allowed to stand in offensive fermentation and evaporation in some remote depression in the earth. But there was nothing the northern and middle English colonies wanted so much as rum. With rum they supplied their fishing-vessels and whale-ships; with rum they traded to Newfoundland, and bought negroes on the Guinea coast; with rum they trafficked for corn and illicit tobacco in the Virginia rivers, and for peltries and corn in the North Carolina inlets; with rum they cajoled the Indian out of his wampum and beaver-skins; and with rum they cheered the homely festivities and solemnities of pioneer life—weddings, house-raising, huskings, funerals, and the ordinations of new ministers. There were solemn stipulations in every treaty between France and England, from 1686 onward, forbidding the subjects of one king from trading in the colonies of the other under penalty of confiscation of the ship and cargo. But there lay the waste molasses in the French islands, where even light-weight coins passed by tale in the absence of money scales, and the Yankee captains early found means of overcoming the scruples of the French governors, by paying a liberal impost to the governor's privy purse—a hundred livres on every mule taken into Martinique, for example. By 1731 it was said that twenty thousand hogsheads of French molasses was made into rum annually by the New England distilleries, which rose in number to sixty. By this time a bitter quarrel had broken out between the English sugar islands, which insisted on having a monopoly of the molasses trade and the continental provinces. This was only brought to a close by the levying of a duty on the foreign rum, sugar, and molasses carried into the American colonies.

So many restrictions brought forth their natural fruit in an enormous growth of smuggling and official corruption. Governors were expected to watch the collectors; the result

in many cases was that shippers were put to the trouble of paying two bribes instead of one, and official exile in the colonies became a pretty sure road to wealth. Some shrewd traders, like Flipson in New York, are reported to have solved difficulties once for all by taking royal governors into secret and lucrative partnerships. New England merchants evaded or defied the law wherever this was possible; John Hancock's uncle made a fortune by importing contraband tea from St. Eustatius in molasses hogsheads. New Yorkers ran in goods on the coast of Long Island to the value of one-third their legal imports, and they were wont to unload at New York the most valuable forbidden cargoes in the face and eyes of a corrupt officer, who would declare his inability to interfere with an armed ship. Sometimes with a tardy show of zeal the officer would save appearances by seizing the last boat-loads that were brought ashore. Forged cockets were a common device for cheating the law. In rare cases, where the governor was honest, the members of his council were chief offenders, asserting their right to trade with all the world. In the last years of the colonial period it was thought that one-fourth of all importations were smuggled.

Of exports, tobacco was the chief sufferer from the law; from it the English Government derived a larger revenue than from any other article. The devices for evading the duties were therefore numerous. One-fourth of all the tobacco used in England was "run in"; some was exported in order to draw a rebate, and then run back. To avoid landing it in England, a Dutch skipper would collect a cargo in the name of an English captain, and then send his ship direct to Holland, while he went home by way of New Netherland. Ships were wont to clear from the Virginia rivers for some English island with a partial cargo of provisions or lumber; then, in some lone-creek or cove near the river's mouth, a quantity of tobacco would be put aboard, to be left at one of the Dutch islands before the ship should deliver her staves and pork at the place mentioned in her papers. Other methods were to pack tobacco in barrels and pass it for pork, and to bury it under a holdful of corn, and to ship it from North Carolina for fish. Tobacco carried to sea in various ways was transferred to Dutch ships in the open ocean. The little shallops which peddled in bays and creeks too remote to be watched by collectors took much to New England. While the Dutch remained in possession of New Netherland, such quantities of the staple were rolled in hogsheads out of Maryland across the Dutch boundary, or sent to New Amsterdam in boats, as to involve an

estimated loss of ten thousand pounds sterling to the English revenue.

No odium appears to have attached to the contraband trade. No church discountenanced it, and no man lost standing by the practice. Courageous or ingenious smuggling was probably accounted more honorable than tame submission to inequitable laws; it was even defended in Parliament by Edmund Burke.

VII.

PIRATES.

THE most significant phenomenon in the civilization of the seventeenth century was, perhaps, the rise of the buccaneers and the multitude of the pirates. This flourishing piracy may be traced to causes that lay deep in the state of society, in the despotic tyranny of governments, in the severity and inequality of criminal laws, in the hard lot of the poor, in the ignorance and brutality of the common sailor and fisherman, in religious hatreds, and in the predatory character of the wars that formed the pastime of gentlemen and the profitable trade of professional soldiers. The Spaniards at first sought to exterminate ruthlessly the crews of all trading ships other than Spanish that should venture into the West Indies; and the English, Dutch, and French ships in those parts undertook to repay extermination in kind. About the year 1600 these latter formed a kind of confederacy as "Brothers of the Coast," or filibusters. Plunder easily took the place of revenge as a motive. More could be made in capturing treasure-ships than by trade. The Spaniards, by their fierce cruelty to the French *boucaniers*, or wild-cattle hunters, on Santo Domingo, drove them also to take to the sea, and thus raised up a new foe more terrible even than the filibusters, with whom the buccaneers soon associated themselves.

The "Brothers of the Coast" carried the flag of whatever power chanced to be at open blows with Spain. Failing other authority, one of them, Bartholomew Sharp, escaped hanging as a pirate by showing a commission from an Indian chief who was styled "the King of Darien." But with or without legitimate authority, they performed incredible deeds of valor in capturing treasure-bearing galleons and sacking fortified cities, blackening their fame at the same time with cruelties as unutterable as those of the Spaniards themselves. They carried about with them certain tatters of religion, offering devout prayers for rich booty before an engagement, and singing Te Deums in the churches of the cities that they had sacked and ruined. The Protestants and Catholics among them sometimes

fell asunder from theological differences, the English pirates showing the truly reformed state of their religion by shooting at images in the Spanish churches or defiling the altars with licentious orgies. The filibuster Daniel, on the other hand, displayed the ardor of his piety somewhat ostentatiously by shooting one of his men in church for irreverent behavior during the mass. One French gentleman who has left a book of his experience went a-filibustering in order to pay his debts, "as an honest man should"; and Monbars, "the exterminator," pursued the life of a buccaneer disinterestedly, in order to wreak vengeance on the Spanish people for the cruelties inflicted by some of them on the American Indians. Buccaneering was but one of many tokens of the confusion into which the world's moral judgments had fallen.

From the buccaneers there came out ships' crews, who, throwing off the slender pretense to legitimate war, took rank among the common pirates, preying not alone upon the Spanish, but upon all, while tales recounted in Europe and in the colonies of the fabulous wealth won by freebooters in lucky onslaughts set many seamen on like courses. The common practice of privateering and the brutalizing slave-trade were prosperous schools for outlaws. Legitimate war was so much a matter of plunder at that day that the seaman's conscience was not able to make the distinction between taking prizes under sanction of letters of marque and taking them without. "I am a free prince," said the pirate Bellamy, "and have as much right to make war on all the world as he who has a hundred sail at sea." The love of adventure and the sentimentalism left over from the times of chivalry, which made every bold fighter a hero, led a few men of social standing to "sail upon the grand account," and even two Amazonian women achieved fame as fighting pirates. The ultra-democratic sentiment, which broke into revolution in the eighteenth century, found its home in the seventeenth among the sea-rovers. The code which governed the relations of the buccaneers to one another was at first very democratic and equitable, and some of the pirates set up for political theorists and social reformers. Such was the Frenchman Misson, who, with the aid of an ex-priest from Italy, founded a Utopian state upon the coast of Madagascar a century before the outbreak of the French Revolution. This democracy lived by plunder, but gave liberty, fraternity, and equality to the men of various nations who composed it; the negroes captured in slave-ships were freely admitted to the brotherhood, and there was even a dash of puritanism about its

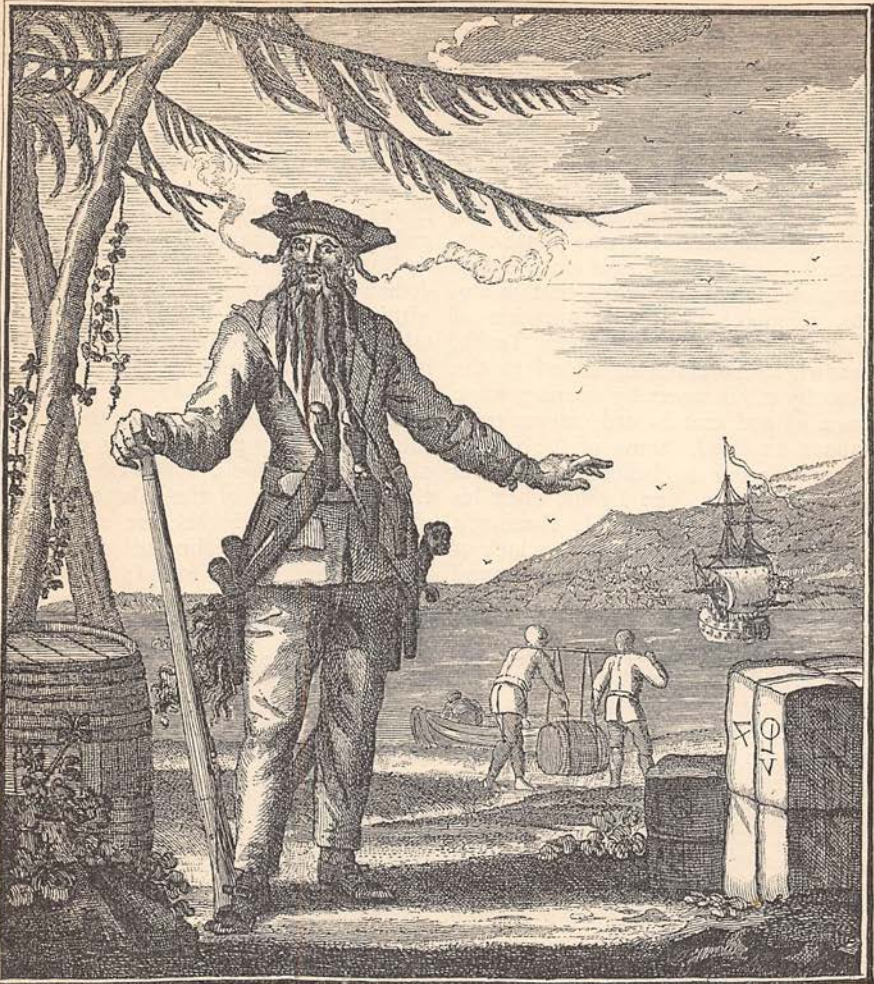
laws which prohibited swearing and drunkenness.

But most of the later pirates assumed an attitude of melodramatic heroism, or tried to play the incarnate fiend. Roberts, who took four hundred sail before his own capture, wore in fighting a rich crimson damask waistcoat and breeches, a red feather in his hat, and a gold chain about his neck with a diamond cross attached. All true pirate captains carried their great pistols on a silken cord slung over their shoulders, that in any encounter it might not be a question of expedition in "drawing." Captain Teach, better known as Blackbeard, added to the native ferocity of his aspect by wearing, when in action, a lighted match-cord conveniently bound about his head. Some of the pirates believed, or affected to believe, themselves favorites of the devil; one Lewis, when his topmast was carried away while chasing a Carolina ship, ran up aloft and tore a lock of hair from his head, throwing it to the winds and crying, "Take that, good devil, till I come!" Another compelled certain New England fishermen whom he had captured to jump up three times and say, "Curse Cotton Mather."

The same confusion of moral ideas that carried so many seamen into outlawry existed on shore, and the pirates easily found places in which to trade or enjoy their gains. Earl Bellomont, on his arrival at New York as royal governor, pronounced the town "a nest of pirates." Fletcher, the preceding governor, had fixed the price of immunity to pirate seamen at a hundred dollars a head, though it could now and then be cheapened a little. Men enriched by an unlawful trade with the "Red Sea men," or the Madagascar pirate settlements, sat at the governor's council board. South Carolina was "a common receptacle" for sea-rovers for many years; the courts of justice and public sentiment were debauched by their lavish expenditures, and some of them settled there with their spoils. The Rhode Island ports were also resorts for men "from the seas," who preferred to be tried and acquitted by friendly courts as a sort of immunity from further molestation. Blackbeard is said to have secretly frequented the taverns and to have bought supplies in Philadelphia. The small ports and convenient creeks of eastern Long Island were pirate-haunted. But the shallow inlets of North Carolina were the last stronghold of the pirates in American waters. Blackbeard had the governor of that province for partner, and stored his booty in the secretary's barn. Sea-outlaws found the more sympathy because the people generally were demoralized by resistance to the navigation laws and by smuggling.

Throughout the seventeenth century piracy acted as a depressing influence on the nascent trade of the colonies, and as commerce became more extensive and offered more tempting prizes the evil increased in proportion. The pirates captured nearly forty vessels off the Carolina coast between 1717 and 1721. Rice culture was unprofitable, because it was impossible to export the product. The audacious Blackbeard, holding leading citizens as hostages, once sent up to Charleston to demand medicines. Vessels were captured within the capes of Virginia; others were taken out of the Delaware; Philadelphia trembled lest its reputation for non-resistance should tempt some bold rover, like Teach, to sack the town. A watch was therefore set in the lower bay to give warning of the arrival of suspicious vessels. Even the poverty-stricken fisher people of the Isles of Shoals were plundered. Piracy became a sort of epidemic; privateers, failing of an enemy, plundered what they found; ships seeking treasure in a wreck without success made profitable wrecks of other ships rather than return bootless. Settlements of pirates were made on the Island of New Providence and at Cape Fear. Promises of pardon brought many pirates, about 1717, to reform and settle on the coast, Blackbeard among the rest. When their money was spent, most of these penitents, having gained valuable information and secured accomplices, betook them again to the high seas, becoming a greater terror than before.

One of the earliest efforts to put down the pirates was the sending out of a respectable privateer, Captain William Kid, in 1695, to win fame and find fortune for himself and the gentleman who had fitted him out, by making prizes of the pirates that frequented the Indian Ocean, many of whom were from the American coast. Failing to find those whom he sought, Kid was easily drawn into piracy himself to satisfy the greedy crew of scoundrels who had flocked to him out of New York and New Jersey in hopes of getting booty. He expiated his crimes at Execution Dock, near London, and became immediately a hero of melodramatic stories and street ballads, though he was but a half-hearted outlaw. To such governors as Bellomont and Spotswood the suppression of piracy was chiefly due. Virginia and Massachusetts always set their faces against it. There was a trial for piracy in Virginia as early as 1694, and Boston had some great and imposing executions of pirates, who were hanged at the water's edge with much preaching and praying, and in sight of great multitudes on land and in boats. One of them, named Fly, was in 1726 left hanging in chains, in full view of all



CAPTAIN EDWARD TEACH, COMMONLY CALLED BLACKBEARD, AS REPRESENTED IN THE "HISTORY OF THE PIRATES,"
BY CAPTAIN CHARLES JOHNSON, 1734.

mariners who sailed in and out of the port, "to be a spectacle, and so a warning, to others." In 1718 Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, sent Lieutenant Maynard to capture Blackbeard. The battle in Ocracoke Inlet was most desperate. One of Blackbeard's men stood with lighted match ready to blow up his ship, while the pirates and Maynard fought hand to hand with cutlass and pistol on the deck of Maynard's vessel until Blackbeard was slain. The victorious officer went back to James River in triumph with his prisoners and his booty, and with the pirate's head dangling at the bowsprit. About the same time Colonel William Rhett sailed out of Charleston and chased the pirate Steed Bonnett to bay at his haunt in Cape Fear River. In the battle Rhett was wounded, but he took Bonnett and about forty men. These were hanged at wholesale, below high-water mark, as became those whose

crimes were committed at sea. Governor Robert Johnson, of South Carolina, personally pursued the pirate Worley's sloop into the same waters, and fought until the pirates, refusing to surrender, were all killed, except the leader and one man, and these were both so desperately cut up that they were expeditiously hanged to save their dying more honorably of their wounds. In 1723 twenty-eight pirates were hanged in a batch at Gravelly Beach, near Newport, and buried between high and low water mark.

Such vigorous courses made piracy less attractive, and the commerce of the colonies was little molested by freebooters after 1725. They still lingered along the whole coast in legends and ballads, and to this day the credulous continue to dig the sands, now here, now there, from New England to Carolina, in search of doubloons and pieces of eight hidden by Kid or Blackbeard.