

ful when I lived in the natural world like other young ladies of my station; but *now* look at it! look at it *now*, and think of the Bay of Naples by starlight, and the life, the spirit, the exalted soul of that one moment!"

I shall write no more. Enough of all things. Farewell, my Otty. "Now," said I, "put me to bed, my good girl. Don't steal any of the fragments of his letter out of my

bosom when I am asleep; and if I never awake again, be sure to take care they are all buried with me. Now, my dear, kiss me—kiss me once more, as if it came from *him*! Ah, that was from heaven! Happy, happy death! And now good-night to you, dear—and to all else on earth. Lay me out gently—place flowers upon my faded bosom—and put white slippers upon my feet. Good-night, my love!"

THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE REPUBLIC.

[First Paper.]

INTRODUCTION.—OUR COLONIAL PROGRESS.

FIFTY-ONE doubtful and divided men, of infinite variety in opinions, education, and character, met in the hot days of July, 1776, in that plain room at Philadelphia where was decided the chief event of modern history, to found a republic. They were about to reverse all the inculcations of recent experience, and to enter at once upon a new era of uncertainty. From all the models of the past they could borrow little, and they overleaped barriers that had affrighted all former legislators. Not Cromwell and Hampden, not the plebeians of Rome and the Demos of Athens, not the republicans of Venice nor the Calvinists of Holland and Geneva, had ventured upon that tremendous stride in human progress that would alone satisfy the reformers of America. Educated in the strict conceptions of rank and caste which even Massachusetts had cultivated and Virginia carried to a ludicrous extreme, they threw aside the artificial distinction forever, and declared all men equal. One sad exception they made, but only by implication. Rousseau had said that men born to be free were every where enslaved; but Adams and Jefferson demanded for all mankind freedom and perfect self-control. Yet still the same dark shade rested upon their conception of independence. But in all other matters they were uniformly consistent. In all other lands, in all other ages, the church had been united to the state. The American reformers claimed a perfect freedom for every creed. Men trained in the rigid prelatial rule of Virginia and the rigorous Calvinism of Massachusetts joined in discarding from their new republic every trace of sectarianism. Religion and the state were severed for the first time since Constantine. Of the many important and radical changes that must take place in human affairs from the prevalence of the principles they enunciated a large part of the assembly were probably unconscious. Yet upon one point in their new political creed all seemed to be unanimous. The people were in future to be the only sovereigns. The most heterodox

of all theories to European reasoners, the plainest contradiction to all the experience of human history, they set forth distinctly, and never wavered in its defense. The English Commons had been content to derive all their privileges from the condescension of the crown. The people of France were the abject slaves of a corrupt despotism. Two or three democratic cantons in Switzerland alone relieved the prevalence of a rigid aristocracy. All over Germany, Italy, and Scandinavia the people were so contemned, derided, and oppressed as scarcely to deserve the notice of the ruling classes. The few ruled over the many, and slavery was the common lot of man. Nor when the reformers of America proclaimed the sovereignty of the despised people, torn and dismembered by the tyranny of ages, could they hope to escape the reproach of wild enthusiasm, or to be looked upon as more than idle dreamers.

Yet the chiefs of the republican party were men so resolute, pure, sagacious, as to deserve the esteem of the most eminent of the Europeans. Touched by a secret pang of admiration for an integrity which he did not share, the historian Gibbon, in the midst of a stately review of the miseries and the joys of all mankind, confessed the sentiment while he clung to his salary and his place. Robinson and Hume, bound to the scheme of royalty by pensions, honors, and official station, dropped a sigh for that independence which they were never to know. Adam Smith lent the Americans a full and generous sympathy. Fox, Burke, and Barré, Wilkes, and even Chatham, joined the brilliant but narrow circle of the friends of America. On the Continent philosophers and poets, princes and statesmen, watched with a singular attention the revolt of the New World against the traditions of the Old. Voltaire from his Swiss retreat, or in the assemblies of Paris, rejoiced over "Franklin's republic." Vergennes was amazed at the blindness of the English ministry, and the folly of their king. And when the story of Bunker Hill and of the rising fame of Washington came like a sudden illumination

over the Atlantic, all Europe began to study with critical interest the characters and the histories of the men who had already shown a consciousness of their natural rights and a power to defend them. The congress of deputies at Philadelphia was no longer an obscure and isolated assemblage; it was plainly laboring upon a grand political problem under the scrutiny of all mankind.

In the following sketch of the progress of the colonies up to the period of freedom I shall endeavor to describe the country as it appeared to Adams and Jefferson, Chatham and Burke, its poor resources, its savage territory, its isolated and divided people. Nothing, indeed, gives us a clearer view of the mental vigor of our ancestors than that they should have foreseen and secured the union of so many distant settlements into one grand nation,¹ and should have predicted with John Adams that the day of independence was the opening of a new era of hope for millions yet to come. A notion had prevailed among Europeans that America could only be the parent of degenerate and feeble races. Buffon had suggested and Raynal confirmed the theory. No man of intellectual ability, no poet, philosopher, or statesman, Raynal said, has yet appeared in the New World. Franklin, Washington, the two Adamses, Jefferson, rose up before mankind almost while he spoke. Yet whoever surveyed the slow advance of civilization in the wilderness under the restraints and discouragements of the English control might scarcely wonder at the doubts of the French philosophers, or hardly see in the long chain of feeble settlements the future homes of civilization.

At the founding of the republic the colonists were accustomed to boast that their territory extended fifteen hundred miles in length, and was already the seat of a powerful nation. But of this vast expanse the larger part even along the sea-coast was still an uninhabited wilderness.² Although more than a century and a half had passed since the first settlements in Massachusetts and Virginia, only a thin line of insignificant towns and villages reached from Maine to Georgia. In the century since the Declaration of Independence a whole continent has been seamed with railroads and filled with people, but the slow growth of the preceding century had scarcely disturbed the reign of the savage on his native plains. On the coast the province of Maine possessed only a few towns, and an unbroken solitude spread from Port-

land to the St. Lawrence. A few hardy settlers were just founding a State among the Green Mountains destined to be the home of a spotless freedom. In New York, still inferior to several of its fellow-colonies in population, the cultivated portions were confined to the bay and shores of the Hudson. The rich fields of the Genesee Valley and the Mohawk were famous already, but the savages had checked the course of settlement. It was not until many years after the war of independence that the fairest part of New York was despoiled of its wealth by a careless agriculture. Schenectady was a frontier town, noted for a mournful doom, and even Albany and Kingston were not wholly secure from the stealthy invasions of the Indian. Pennsylvania, a frontier State, comparatively populous and wealthy, protected New Jersey and Delaware from their assaults; but Pittsburg was still only a military post, and the larger part of the population of the colony was gathered in the neighborhood of the capital.³ Woods, mountains, and morasses filled up that fair region where now the immense wealth of coal and iron has produced the Birmingham of America.²

The southern colonies had grown with more rapidity in population and wealth than New York and Pennsylvania. Virginia and the Carolinas had extended their settlements westward far into the interior. Some emigrants had even wandered to Western Tennessee. Daniel Boone had led the way to Kentucky. A few English or Americans had colonized Natchez, on the Mississippi. But the settlers in Kentucky and Tennessee lived with rifle in hand, seldom safe from the attacks of the natives, and were to form in the war of independence that admirable corps of riflemen and sharpshooters who were noted for their courage and skill from the siege of Boston to the fall of Cornwallis. The Virginians were settled in the Tennessee mountains long before the people of New York had ventured to build a village on the shores of Lake Erie or the Pennsylvanians crossed the Alleghanies. But still even Virginia is represented to us about this period as in great part a wilderness.³ Its own lands were yet uncultivated, and its territory nearly clothed in forests. And in general we may conclude that the true boundary of the well-settled portions of the allied colonies did not in any degree approach the interior of the continent. In the North the line of cultivated country must be drawn along the shores of the Hudson River, omitting the dispersed settlements in two or three inland districts. The Delaware and a distance of

¹ "A voluntary association or coalition of the colonies, at least a permanent one, is almost as difficult to be supposed; for fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies," says Burnaby, Pinkert., vol. xiii. p. 751. Yet in 1742 Kalm saw the coldness of the people toward England. Pinkert., vol. xiii. p. 461. He was even told that in thirty or forty years they would form a separate, independent state.

² Holmes, Annals. Bancroft. Gordon. Ramsay.

¹ Before 1795 there were few settlements north of the Ohio. Cincinnati had then only ninety-four cabins, and five hundred inhabitants.

² Hist. Col. Penn., Day, p. 59.

³ Winterbotham, U. S., i. Great part of Virginia is a wilderness, says Burnaby, Pinkert., xiii., p. 716.

perhaps fifty miles to the westward included all the wealth and population of Pennsylvania. The Alleghenies infolded the civilized portions of Virginia, and North and South Carolina can not be said to have reached beyond their mountains. So slowly had the people of North America made their way from the sea-coast.

But little was known¹ of the nature of the country spreading from the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia to the Mississippi. It was called the Wilderness. It was usually painted in the fairest colors by those who had explored it. The table-land near the Ohio was supposed to be one of the fairest and most fertile portions of the world;² the rich plains of Kentucky might support a nation; and the forests, the meadows, and the valleys lay waiting to be possessed. But the fear of the savage still guarded the tempting region. The dark and bloody ground had no charm for the pacific settler; the wilderness was pathless, and it was a journey of twelve days in wagons from Baltimore to Pittsburg. But of the immense and impenetrable regions beyond the Mississippi our ancestors had scarcely formed a conception.³ It was a land of fable, where countless hosts of savages were believed to rule over endless plains, and to engage in ceaseless battles. Long afterward it was thought that the vast tide of the Missouri might in some way mingle with the waters of the Pacific.⁴ The great Northwest, now the granary of the world, the peaks of the Rocky Mountains, and the rivers of Columbia were all unknown; nor could the most acute observer, shut up in the narrow limits of the Hudson and the Delaware, suppose that within a hundred years the Atlantic would be joined to the Pacific by frequent highways, or that the frightful solitude beyond the great river would be the centre of a throng of vigorous republics.

Within the cultivated districts a population usually, but probably erroneously, estimated at three millions were thinly scattered over a narrow strip of land. The number can scarcely be maintained. The New England colonies could have had not more than 800,000 inhabitants; the middle colonies as many more; the southern a little over a million. New York had a population of 248,000, and was surpassed by Virginia, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and

was at least equaled if not exceeded by North Carolina. Its growth had been singularly slow. The small population of the union was composed of different races and of almost hostile communities. There was a lasting feud between the Dutch at Albany and the people of New England, for it was believed that the former had held a correspondence with the Indians during the recent war, and purchased the spoil taken from the New England villages. The Germans settled in Pennsylvania retained their national customs and language, and were almost an alien race. Huguenot colonies existed in several portions of the country. The north of Ireland had poured forth a stream of emigrants. Swedish settlements attracted the notice of Kalm along the Delaware. In North Carolina a clan of Highlanders had brought to the New World an intense loyalty and an extreme ignorance. The divisions of race and language offered a strong obstacle to any perfect union of the different colonies. But a still more striking opposition existed in the political institutions of the various sections. In the South royalty, aristocracy, and the worst form of human slavery had grown up together. In no part of the world were the distinctions of rank more closely observed, or mechanical and agricultural industry more perfectly contemned. In New England the institutions were democratic, and honest labor was thought no shame. In the South episcopacy was rigorously established by law; in New England a tolerant Puritanism had succeeded the persecuting spirit of Cotton Mather and Winthrop.

In the period before the Revolution it was the custom to look upon the southern colonies as the land of wealth and material splendor. Their soil produced the chief exports of the New World; their system of agriculture, however abhorrent to the feelings of the more cultivated Northerner, was attended by a remarkable success; their population grew rapidly; they held a ruling position among the colonies in the eyes of all strangers. Virginia had so far surpassed all the other colonies as to seem almost the mother and mistress of the whole. Her own people had named her the "ancient dominion," and her progress was so rapid as to suffer no hope that New York or Massachusetts could ever rival her wealth and power. The population of Virginia alone was half a million—more than twice that of New York.¹ Her exports of tobacco, corn, and other productions reached a value of nearly three millions of dollars. Her ample territory was

¹ Holmes. Bancroft. The French Jesuits had explored the country, and hoped to rule it. Parkman, Pioneers.

² "The Ohio," says Winterbotham, 1. 189—twenty years later—"is the most beautiful river on earth;" but as late as 1819 Michigan was thought to be a worthless waste, and Cass first explored its rich fields. Life of Cass, p. 79.

³ St. Louis was settled in 1763, but was still a small frontier town, scarcely known to the colonists.

⁴ New York Hist. Magazine, August, 1871. "The Missouri has been navigated for 2500 miles; there appears a probability of a communication by this channel with the western ocean." This was said in 1803.

¹ Holmes, 1732, Annals and Note. The population of Virginia was estimated very differently by different observers; but Holmes inclines to the largest number. The census of 1790 seems conclusive. It gives Virginia 876,000, while New York had but 340,120, Pennsylvania 434,373. See Ramsay.

penetrated by navigable rivers, and it was supposed that the James and the Potomac must at some time form the outlets for the commerce of the West—a hope from which the Hudson seemed forever cut off by the difficulties of transport from Albany to the lakes.¹ But, with all its advantages, Virginia was weighed down by influences that careful observers saw must lead to a speedy decay. No colony, indeed, was apparently less likely to become the founder of a republic and the patron of human equality. Through all its earlier history Virginia had been noted for its intense loyalty to the Stuarts and its hatred of every element of reform. The planters of Virginia ruled over their abject commonalty with a severity that the English aristocracy had never for many generations equaled. All those feudal restrictions and abuses which the Massachusetts colonists had come to the New World to avoid had been brought over to Virginia by its earlier settlers, and fostered into more than European strength. The church establishment was supported by the colony, and all religious toleration was unknown, at least to the constitution. Nowhere had ecclesiastical tyranny been so fostered by the government. The industrial classes of Virginia had been kept by law in stolid ignorance, when Connecticut had enforced the education of all its citizens. Governor Berkeley had boasted, in 1671, that the colony had neither printing-presses, colleges, nor schools, and had prayed there might be none there for at least a hundred years. His wish had nearly been fulfilled. In 1771 the commonalty of Virginia were noted for their ignorance and brutality; the gentry alone controlled the politics and managed the finances of the colony. Virginia, too, had been the first of all the colonies to import slaves,² and had set an example that had been too eagerly followed. She had practiced both white and colored slavery. The English government had early made her borders a convict colony, and the records bear frequent accounts of highway robbers who had been reprieved that they might go to Virginia; and on one occasion London sends "one hundred of its worst disposed children, of whom it was desirous of being disburdened," to be apprenticed in the colony.³

The ruling class in Virginia were the planters. They were often cultivated and intelligent men, who had been educated in English universities or in the best schools of their native land. Their possessions were immense, and had usually come to them

from their ancestors. Entails prevented any division of the family property, and it was a common complaint at the time that all the land of Virginia was held by a few hands. Mechanical, agricultural, or commercial pursuits were forbidden by custom to the planting class. It was thought beneath a member of the great families to engage in trade, and Scotch emigrants and foreign adventurers pursued a gainful traffic, engrossing the wealth of the country, while the land-owner slumbered in indolence and fell into poverty on his ancestral estate. The towns of Virginia were small and wretched, fever-stricken and neglected. The wealth of the ruling families was wasted in building immense mansions in the solitude of their plantations, where they emulated the splendors of the English country-seats, and exercised a liberal hospitality. One of the wealthiest of the landed proprietors was Lord Fairfax, the early patron of Washington. In his youth he had cultivated letters, and it was even rumored that he had written for the *Spectator*. His estate in Virginia contained more than five millions of acres.¹ The fine mansion, Belvoir, seated among the fairest scenery of the Potomac, where he lived with his brother, and Greenway Court, which he built in the Shenandoah Valley, where he died, in 1782, were scenes of frequent festivity. But the accomplished lord was ardently loyal; his property, valued at £98,000, was confiscated at his death, and the land he had selfishly withheld was divided among the people. The fair widow whom Washington had wooed and won with stately assiduity was also a large landed proprietor. But the Revolution broke up the system of entails, and gave a new impulse to the prosperity of the colony.

Notwithstanding the establishment of episcopacy, the growth of dissent had been rapid in Virginia, and at the opening of the colonial struggle the Dissenters were more numerous than Churchmen. That valuable race, the Scotch-Irish, had settled in large numbers within its borders. Education, too, had made some progress. William and Mary's College, sluggish as had been its advance, had sent out many cultivated men. Liberal principles and a love of freedom had never been wanting to the people. Eminent Virginians had already become shocked at the fatal results of slavery, and there were no stronger advocates of abolition than Jefferson and Lee. Throughout the whole colony there was a plain desire for enlarged political progress, and, happily for Massachusetts, her wrongs were felt nowhere more deeply than among the Virginia reformers. Nor was the project of independence any where more favorably received than by that large

¹ Winterbotham discusses the question, and decides in favor of the Potomac.

² Gordon, i. 56. Mr. Bancroft has traced with his usual accuracy and force the course of this infamous traffic. Hildreth, i. 565.

³ Calendar, State Papers, English, 1618, 1623, p. 10, 118, 552.

¹ Sabine, Am. Royalists. Fairfax and Sparks. Life of Washington.

class of the population who had felt in their own lives the evils of a tyrannical government. Her immense territory, which reached, at least in theory, over the mountains to the Mississippi, and through the whole valley of the Ohio, her wealth and commerce, her population, greater than that of any other colony, and, above all, the rare abilities and patriotism of her citizens, made Virginia the centre of reform, and perhaps the most effective instrument in binding the whole country into a perfect union. Happy had she followed the teachings of Jefferson¹ and the example of Carter, and destroyed slavery when she cast aside feudalism.

Less corrupted by European traditions than Virginia—a land where the English and the German, the Swiss, the Scotch-Irish, Quakers, the children of Skye, and the sad hosts of Africa were mingled strangely together—North Carolina had early shown a wider liberality of thought than her powerful neighbor. Caste and rank had less prevalence; her people were industrious, and her prosperity great. North Carolina was already the fifth colony in importance; the population reached nearly two hundred and fifty thousand.² South Carolina, less populous, but with nearly twice as many slaves as whites, was noted for the haughty manners of its planters, the ignorance of its people, the high education of some of its leading men, their open dislike for slavery. No South Carolinian of any intelligence at this period but lamented that so dark a stain rested upon his native colony. Maryland, too, possessed a weight in the country in 1775 that must seem strange to the modern politician. It possessed a larger population than either New York or the Carolinas. Its Roman Catholic planters were sometimes intelligent and liberal. Maryland still belonged to the heir of the Calvert family, but its people cared little for a degenerate race whose early excellence had faded away. A colony of Scots from the north of Ireland had settled at Baltimore, and were probably of greater value to the rising State than most of its planters and all its proprietors. But slavery, an established church,³ a proprietary government, a rigid division of rank and caste, had apparently linked Maryland so closely to Virginia and the South in politics as to give little room for the progress of freedom. It was, indeed, the first colony to express a wish to withdraw the declaration of independence when sudden reverses fell upon the republican armies.

The four New England colonies, separated from the South by an immense distance,

and a journey of many days, and sometimes weeks, by sea or land, were altogether different from their neighbors in politics.¹ Two of them, Connecticut and Rhode Island, were free from all internal control from England, elected their own governors, and practiced a democratic republicanism.² In Connecticut, at least, all men were already equal, all were educated, and slavery was abolished practically. In Massachusetts the governor was appointed by the English king, but his salary was regulated by the province; yet the Massachusetts people had been rapidly advancing in political knowledge; mental cultivation had always marked their chief men. Their Puritan clergy had produced many of the early authors of America; they were usually wise, austere, and patriotic. Liberty, even in that imperfect form in which it existed under a colonial rule, had shown its fairest results in New England. The people were prosperous, the government well administered, the courts pure, the clergy respected, the general morality above that of any other community. The sentiment of human equality had already prevailed over the influence of English caste and Puritan theocracy; a bold, free nation had arisen, not quite so numerous as the Dutch, who had defied the arms of Philip II., or the Swiss, who had overthrown the Hapsburgs, yet capable even alone of founding a republic that not all the powers of the Old World could overthrow. Its population was purely English, its manners republican and plain, its people accustomed to labor and to reflect.

The middle colonies were less democratic than New England. New York, like Virginia, had been weighed down by a system of entails and by immense landed estates that limited immigration. It is stated that the German colonists were so badly treated by its land-owners that they imbibed a lasting hostility for its people, moved away in large bodies to Pennsylvania, and prevailed upon all their countrymen to follow them. They hoped to make Pennsylvania a new Germany.³ A kind of colonial aristocracy had grown up in New York. Its Dutch population were, however, attached to freedom, and the presence of a royal governor and council had not tended to increase the respect for English institutions. Strong religious differences had already agitated the people. The Episcopal Church was opposed to the Presbyterian, and Calvinism

¹ Dwight, *New England*, paints some years later the virtues of his countrymen. In Connecticut, he says, "there is a school-house sufficiently near every man's door," i. 178. See Hildreth, i. 508.

² Palfrey, *New England*, ii. 567, 568, notices the unexampled liberality of the two charters.

³ Large numbers of Scotch-Irish also came to Pennsylvania about 1773. *Holmes, Ann.*, ii. 187. They came from Belfast, Galway, Newry, Cork, 3500, with no love for England.

¹ Jefferson proposed the abolition of slavery in Virginia, but found it expedient to withdraw his project.

² I have usually adopted Ramsay's numbers, which seem confirmed by the first census, i. 146.

³ Episcopacy was rigorously established in Maryland after 1688.

led on the way to independence. In Pennsylvania the proprietary government was conservative, and opposed to violent measures. New Jersey, rich, highly cultivated, and prosperous, was strongly affected by its Presbyterian college at Princeton, and was naturally opposed to prelatical England. It is indeed curious to notice how largely the religious element entered into the dispute between the king and the colonies.¹ The English revolution of 1688 was re-enacted in America, and King George dethroned because it was feared that he meant to assail the consciences of the people. Men felt that should the king succeed in conquering them, he would have a prelate in every colony, and a rigid rule against progressive dissent. In the middle colonies the Presbyterians led the way to freedom; in the southern the liberal Churchmen, Huguenots, and Scotch Presbyterians. Thomas Paine, in his famous argument for separation, relied much upon the fact that the people of America were in no sense English, but rather a union of different races met for a common purpose in the New World, and resolute chiefly to be free. It was this common aim that produced that harmony which was so seldom interrupted between the various inhabitants of the different colonies, and which formed them at last into one nation.

In the course of a century within their narrow fringe of country the colonists had transformed the wilderness into a fertile and productive territory.² Agriculture was their favorite pursuit. Travelers from Europe were struck with the skill with which they cultivated the rich and abundant soil, the fine farm-houses that filled the landscape, the barns overflowing with harvests, the cattle, the sheep.³ The northern and middle colonies were famous for wheat and corn. Pennsylvania was the granary of the nation. In New Jersey the fine farms that spread from Trenton to Elizabethtown excited the admiration of the scientific Kalm.⁴ Long Island was the garden of America, and all along the valleys opening upon the Hudson the Dutch and Huguenot colonists had acquired ease and opulence by a careful agriculture. The farm-houses, usually built of stone, with tall roofs and narrow windows, were scenes of intelligent industry. While the young men labored in the fields, the mothers and daughters spun wool and flax, and prepared a large part of the clothing of

the family. The farm-house was a manufactory for all the articles of daily use. Even nails were hammered out in the winter, and the farmer was his own mechanic. A school and a church were provided for almost every village. Few children were left untaught by the Dutch dominie, who was sometimes paid in wampum, or the New England student, who lived among his patrons, and was not always fed upon the daintiest fare. On Sunday labor ceased, the church-bell tolled in the distance, a happy calm settled upon the rural region, and the farmer and his family, in their neatest dress, rode or walked to the village church. The farming class, usually intelligent and rational, formed in the northern colonies the sure reliance of freedom, and when the invasion came the Hessians were driven out of New Jersey by the general rising of its laboring farmers, and Burgoyne was captured by the resolution of the people rather than by the timid generalship of Gates.

The progress of agriculture at the South was even more rapid and remarkable than at the North. The wilderness was swiftly converted into a productive region. The coast, from St. Mary's to the Delaware, with its inland country, became within a century the most valuable portion of the earth. Its products were eagerly sought for in all the capitals of Europe, and one noxious plant of Virginia had supplied mankind with a new vice and a new pleasure. It would be useless to relate again the story of the growth of the tobacco trade. Its cultivation in Virginia was an epoch in the history of man. Tobacco was to Virginia the life of trade and intercourse; prices were estimated in it; the salaries of the clergy were fixed at so many pounds of tobacco. All other products of the soil were neglected in order to raise the savage plant. Ships from England came over annually to gather in the great crops of the large planters, and Washington, one of the most successful of the Virginia land-owners and agriculturists, was accustomed to watch keenly over the vessels and their captains who sailed up the Potomac to his very dock.¹ The English traders seem to have been often anxious to depreciate his cargoes and lower his prices. Virginia grew enormously rich from the sudden rise of an artificial taste. From 1624, when the production of tobacco was first made a royal monopoly, until the close of the colonial period the production and the consumption rose with equal rapidity, and in 1775, 85,000 hogsheads were exported annually, and the sale of tobacco brought in nearly \$4,000,000 to the southern colonies.² This was equal to about one-third of the whole export of the

¹ J. Adams to Morse, December 2, 1815; and see Gordon, i. 143. Mr. Whitefield tells the colonists in 1764 their danger.

² Burnaby, Pinkert., xiii. 731, notices the flourishing condition of Pennsylvania, and observes that its courteous people are "great republicans."

³ Burnaby, p. 734. "The country I passed through," he says of New Jersey, "is exceedingly rich and beautiful."

⁴ Kalm, Pinkert., vol. xiii. p. 448, notices the rich farms near Trenton.

¹ Washington to his factors.

² Pitkin, Commerce U. S. Doyle, American Colonies, 1869, has gathered together many useful details.

colonies. Happily since that period the proportion has rapidly decreased, and more useful articles have formed the larger part of the export from the New World to the Old.

One of these was rice. A Governor of South Carolina, it is related, had been in Madagascar, and seen the plant cultivated in its hot swamps.¹ He lived in Charleston, on the bay, and it struck him that a marshy spot in his garden might well serve for a plantation of rice. Just then (1694) a vessel put in from Madagascar in distress, whose commander the Governor had formerly known. Her wants were liberally relieved. In gratitude for the kindness he received the master gave the Governor a bag of rice. It was sown, and produced abundantly. The soil proved singularly favorable for its culture. The marshes of Georgia and South Carolina were soon covered with rice plantations. A large part of the crop was exported to England. In 1724, 100,000 barrels were sent out from South Carolina alone. In 1761, the value of its rice crop was more than \$1,500,000. Its white population could not then have been more than 45,000, and it is easy to conceive the tide of wealth that was distributed annually among its small band of planters. They built costly mansions on the coasts and bays, lived in fatal luxury, were noted for their wild excesses, and often fell speedy victims to the fevers of the malarious soil. Indigo, sugar, molasses, tar, pitch, and a great variety of valuable productions added to the wealth of the South. But cotton, which has grown through many vicissitudes to be the chief staple of British and American trade, was, at this period, only cultivated in small quantities for the use of the farmers. It was spun into coarse cloths. But it was not until Whitney's invention, in 1793, that it could be readily prepared for commerce, and to the inventive genius of Connecticut the Southern States owe the larger part of their wealth and political importance.

Extensive as had been the results of the labors of the American farmer at this period, he had achieved the conquest of the wilderness in the face of dangers and obstacles that seemed almost overwhelming. None of the appliances of modern agriculture lay at his command. His tools were rude yet costly, his plow a heavy mass of iron, his cattle expensive, and at first scarcely to be obtained. The fevers and malaria of the new climate, the sharp frosts, the unknown changes, even the not infrequent earthquakes and celestial phenomena, must have covered him with alarm. Before him lay the dark and pathless wilderness, behind him the raging seas. A whole ocean separated him from his kind. In front the savage hovered

over the advancing settlements, and not seldom filled the thin line of cultivated country from Albany to Savannah with the tidings of fearful massacres. Often the frontier families came flying from their blazing homes, scarred and decimated, to seek shelter from the unsparing foe. Yet more cruel or more unfriendly than the terrors of the wilderness, the climate, or even the savage, seemed to the colonists the conduct of their royal government in England. Instead of aiding the struggling settlers in their contest for life, it had treated them as objects of suspicion and dislike. A fear that they might plan at some future time a separation from the mother country governed all the English legislation.¹ Hence laws were early imposed upon them that might well have checked the whole progress of their agriculture. They were forced to purchase all their supplies from England. They were scarcely permitted to have any commercial intercourse with any foreign country, or even with each other.² They were obliged to send all their tobacco, sugar, indigo, rice, furs, ores, pitch, and tar directly to England, and there accept the price the English traders were willing to give. It was forbidden them even to send their produce to Ireland. These jealous restrictions must have kept many an acre from being planted, and prevented that rapid progress which free trade could alone incite. Franklin showed clearly that in this way the colonies had always paid a heavy tax to England, of far greater value than any stamp act could ever give, and that the English merchants and traders had already grown rich by the onerous burdens they had laid on America.³ Had the colonial ports been opened to foreign traffic, every article must have risen in price, or the demand for it increased beyond conception. But the English had always treated the colonists with a severity like that which Spain once practiced in South America, and which she now exercises over the creoles of Cuba. Corrupt and worthless Englishmen were sent out as governors, councillors, judges, and even clergymen. They looked with disdain on the colonists they plundered, and hastened back to England to defame the reputation of the abject race. It is plain that most Englishmen looked upon the Americans as serfs. They had no rights that Parliament could not abrogate, and no security even for their own earnings. England plundered the American farmer almost at will, and robbed of his just profits the sturdy laborer in the

¹ England now treats her colonies with the gentleness advised by Burke and Franklin, and her authors condemn the old tyranny as strongly as Americans. Mr. Doyle, of Oxford, has produced a careful essay on the progress of the colonies, 1869.

² Ships might sail for wines to Madeira and some Spanish ports, under certain restrictions.

³ Franklin to Shirley, December, 1754.

¹ The legend is told by Pitkin, 101, and Ramsay.

valleys of Vermont, and the wealthy rice planter in the swamps of South Carolina.

The commerce of the colonies flourished equally with their agriculture. It was chiefly in the northern colonies that ships were built, and that hardy race of sailors formed whose courage became renowned in every sea. But the English navigation laws weighed heavily upon American trade. Its ships were, with a few exceptions, only allowed to sail to the ports of Great Britain. No foreign ship was suffered to enter the American harbors. The people of England were resolved to prevent all foreign interference in the trade of the colonies, and the American ports were rigidly shut out from the commerce of the world. Isolated from the great centres of traffic, and even from exchanging many articles with each other, bound by a most oppressive monopoly, restrained by a selfish policy, the colonists yet contrived to build large numbers of ships, and even to sell yearly more than a hundred of them in England. The ship-yards of New England were already renowned. Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were seats of an important trade. On the island of Nantucket the whale-fishery had been established that was to prove for a brief period the source of great profit, and a school of accomplished seamen. The spermaceti-whale was still seen along the American coast, but the New England whaler had already penetrated Hudson Bay, and even pierced the antarctic. The Revolutionary War broke up the trade, and the English captured two hundred of its ships, besides burning the oil stored on the island.¹ In consequence of the rigid navigation laws, smuggling prevailed along all the American coast, and swift vessels and daring sailors made their way to the ports of France and Spain to bring back valuable cargoes of wine and silks. Boston was the chief seat of ship-building, and its fast-sailing vessels were sent to the West Indies to be exchanged for rum and sugar. In 1743² it was estimated that New England employed one thousand ships in its trade, besides its fishing barks. But when the laws were more strictly enforced, the shipping trade of Boston declined. British war vessels watched the colonial ports, and cut off that large source of wealth which the colonists had found in an illicit commerce with Spain and the West India Islands, and it was with no kindly feeling that New England and New York saw the gainful traffic destroyed which had brought them in a stream of French and Spanish gold.³ The rude English officials not seldom made illegal seizures. Every custom-house officer was turned into an informer, and no cargo seemed altogether secure.

There was no redress except in an appeal to England. Yet the American commerce still flourished, even within the narrow limit to which it was confined, and the colonists bore with admirable patience the exactions and restrictions to which they were subjected in order that New York and Boston might not compete with London and Bristol. In fact, the navigation laws had prevented altogether that natural and healthy growth which might have made the colonial sea-ports even in 1775 considerable cities. But twenty-four thousand tons of shipping were built in the colonies in 1771, and the whole exports were in 1770 three millions of pounds sterling, and the imports about two and a half millions. It was noticed that the value of the tobacco exported was one-fourth larger than that of the wheat and rye.¹ The rise of American commerce had seemed wonderful to Burke, Barré, and all those Englishmen who were capable of looking beyond the politics of their own narrow island; but no sooner had America become free than its trade doubled, trebled, and soon rose to what in 1775 would have seemed incredible proportions. New York, Boston, and Philadelphia became at once large cities, and England was enriched by American freedom.

One gainful source of traffic to the colonial and British merchants had been the slave-trade. Immense numbers of these unwilling emigrants were forced upon the colonial markets, chiefly by the inhuman policy of England. A strong feeling of disapprobation for this species of merchandise had early grown up in the minds of the Americans, and Pennsylvania, New England, and even South Carolina were anxious to discourage it by imposing a heavy tax on slaves. But the English Parliament abrogated all their humane legislation. No sentiment of Christian mercy seems to have moved the bishops, lords, and accomplished statesmen who held the control of the American trade. The English merchants insisted upon their monstrous traffic. In one year six thousand slaves were brought to South Carolina; fifteen thousand were forced upon all the colonies. It is at least an indication of the higher degree of civilization to which the inhabitants of the New World had attained that they were the first to exclaim against the horrors of slavery, and that they taught the English intellect one of the most striking principles of modern progress. If in any particular men have risen beyond the cruel selfishness of the earlier ages, it is in the recognition of the principle that human slavery shall no more be tolerated. The Pennsylvanians as early as 1713 protested against the barbarous traffic.² One of the chief grievances of New England was that

¹ Pitkin. Mrs. Farrar's Recollections, p. 2, whose father was a chief sufferer.

² Holmes, Annals, 1743.

³ Gordon, i. 153.

¹ M'Pherson. Pitkin, p. 11.

² Memoirs Hist. Soc. Penn., vol. i. part i. p. 362. George Fox had always disapproved of slavery.

the English were resolute to force slaves upon them; and when the colonies became free, they proceeded at once to indicate a period after which no more Africans should be imported into America. They were the first to fix the ban of civilization upon an infamous traffic, which had been sanctioned by the usages of all ages. If they did not abolish slavery itself, it was because the cruel legislation of English statesmen had implanted the evil so deeply in the midst of the new nation that nothing but a fearful civil convulsion could eliminate and destroy.

In manufactures the colonists can be said to have made but little progress. The English government had rigorously forbidden them to attempt to make their own wares. A keen watch had been kept over them, and it was resolved that they should never be suffered to compete with the artisans of England. The governors of the different colonies were directed to make a careful report to the home government of the condition of the colonial manufactures, in order that they might be effectually destroyed.¹ From their authentic but perhaps not always accurate survey it is possible to form a general conception of the slow advance of this branch of labor. South of Connecticut, we are told, there were scarcely any manufactures. The people imported every thing that they required from Great Britain. Kalm, indeed, found leather made at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, as good as the English, and much cheaper. He praises the American mechanics; but, in general, we may accept the report of the governors that all manufactured articles employed in the family or in trade were made abroad. Linens and fine cloths, silks, implements of iron and steel, furniture, arms, powder, were purchased of the London merchants. But this was not always the case in busy New England. Here the jealous London traders discovered that iron foundries and even slitting-mills were already in operation; that fur hats were manufactured for exportation in Connecticut and Boston; that the people were beginning to supply their own wants, and even to threaten the factories of England with a dangerous rivalry. The English traders petitioned the government for relief from this colonial insubordination, and Parliament hastened to suppress the poor slitting-mills and hat manufactories of our ancestors by an express law.² The hatters, who seem to have especially excited the jealousy of their London brethren, were forbidden to export hats even to the next colony, and were allowed to take only two apprentices at a time. Iron and steel works were also prohibited. Wool and flax manufactures were suppressed by stringent provisions. American factories were

declared "nuisances." No wool or manufacture of wool could be carried from one colony to another; and, what was a more extraordinary instance of oppression, no Bible was suffered to be printed in America.¹

Under this rigid tyranny American manufactures had sunk into neglect. Massachusetts had ventured to offer a bounty on paper-making, and some Scottish-Irish had introduced the manufacture of linen; iron furnaces had been erected in various parts of the country, and its immense mineral wealth was not altogether unknown. But it is safe to conclude that from Maine to Georgia no species of artistic manufactures existed within the colonial limits. The farm-house and the spinning-wheel were the only centres of a native industry which the British Parliament could not suppress. Of those two great sources of American progress, coal and iron, the latter had assumed some importance. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Virginia had begun to produce pig-iron in an imperfect state. The ore might be exported to England, and even Ireland, and it was already known that the colonies could produce such large quantities of the metal as would supply their own wants, and perhaps those of Europe.² As they were not suffered to manufacture even a nail or a pin, a wheel or a plow, England made immense profits by returning the raw iron to America in various articles of trade. Coal was known to exist within the colonies, and was mined in Virginia.³ Speculative observers foresaw the day when furnaces and factories might spring up along the banks of the Delaware and the Potomac, and the mineral wealth of the country be made to contribute to the prosperity of the colonies. But of that immense and inexhaustible store-house of the finest coal the world possesses which lies in the Lehigh Valley and upon Mauch Chunk Mountain our ancestors could have had no conception. No one supposed that beneath the rude and pathless forest, on lands that seemed destined to perpetual sterility, covered with savages, and terrible even to the hunter, there lay mines richer than Golconda, and stores of wealth beyond that of Ormuz and the Ind. Or had any statesman of 1775 ventured to predict that on the site of Fort Pitt, in the heart of a terrible wilderness, at the junction of two impetuous streams, was to spring up, within a century, a city where coal and iron, lying together in its midst, should be the source of a boundless opulence, he would have lost forever all

¹ Bancroft, v. 266.

² Kalm, Pinkert., xiii., p. 473. Pennsylvania, he thought, can supply all the globe with iron, so easily was it procured. "But coals have not yet been found in Pennsylvania [p. 405], though people pretend to have seen them higher up," he says.

³ M'Farlane, Coal Regions. The mines near Richmond were worked long before the anthracite bed of Pennsylvania was discovered, p. 514.

¹ Report of Board of Trade.

² Pitkin, 7.

reputation for discretion. The journey from the Delaware to Pittsburg was long the terror of the Western settler.

It was long after the Revolution that a hunter who had been out all day on Mauch Chunk Mountain, and had found no game, and who was returning weary and disheartened to his cabin, with no means to purchase food for his family, struck with his foot as he passed along a black crystal. He stooped and examined it.¹ The first specimen of that priceless mineral which has transformed the wilderness into a populous nation, and contributed to the comfort of millions, lay before him. The rain fell fast. The hunter was tired and hungry. Yet he took up the apparently worthless stone and carried it with him to his cabin. Mauch Chunk then lay bare and bleak, the haunt of wild beasts and savage men, and had not the hunter preserved his shining mineral, might still have hidden its secret stores for another decade. He showed the specimen to a friend; it was taken to Philadelphia. The mountain was explored, and a company formed to work the mine. But it was at first unsuccessful, and many years elapsed before Pennsylvania became conscious of its hidden treasures, and discovered that it possessed mines richer than those of the Incas and perennial fountains of industrial progress. The unlucky discoverer, it seems, reaped little profit from his good fortune. His land was taken from him by a prior claim. He died in poverty. Great companies, possessed of enormous capital, and spanning with their combined railroads half the continent, now encircle the Mauch Chunk Mountain with their avenues of trade. Coal has been found heaped upon the sides of the hills, and compressed in huge masses in the valleys. The richest and almost the only bed of anthracite in the world has been discovered beneath the path of the solitary hunter.

The wild men of the woods and marshes were to our ancestors objects of interest as well as terror.² In the earlier period of the colonial history their numbers had been exaggerated, and it was believed that a hundred thousand painted savages might at some moment throw themselves on the white settlements. But it was found at length that one nation was alone formidable, and that an Indian empire had risen beneath the shadows of the forest that resembled in its extent, its cruelty, and its love of glory the most renowned of European sovereignties and conquerors. In the seventeenth century the Six Nations had their seat in that fair and fertile portion of New York that reaches from Albany to Lake Erie. Onondaga was their capital. A single sachem ruled with un-

disputed authority over the obedient league.¹ A passion for conquest and a love of martial fame had led this singular confederacy to exploits of daring that seem almost incredible. They held in a kind of subjection all the territory from Connecticut to the Mississippi. The wild tribes of Long Island obeyed the commands of Onondaga; and even the feeble Canarsie, on its distant shore, trembled at the name of the Mohawk. Under the shade of the endless forests, over the trackless mountains, and across rapid rivers, the war parties of the Six Nations had pressed on to the conquest of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and all Virginia yielded to their arms.² They fought with the Cherokees on the dark and bloody ground of Kentucky. The Illinois fled before them on the fair prairies, now the granary of the continent. The savages seem to have resembled the extinct races whose bones are found in the prehistoric caves of Kent and Dordogne. They were cruel, and rejoiced in the tortures of their captives. Their wigwams were filthy and smeared with smoke, adorned with scalps, and hung with weapons of war. Cunning and deceit formed a large part of their tactics. They rejoiced to fall upon their enemies by night and massacre the flying inhabitants of the blazing wigwams. Yet in their rude society the savages manifested the elements of all those impulses and passions that mark the civilization of Europe.³ They were fond of fine dress, and their women produced rich leather robes, glittering with decorations in colored grasses and beads, head coverings, adorned with feathers, and moccasins of singular beauty. They danced, they sang, with a skill, vigor, and precision that Taglioni might have envied or a Patti approved. The Iroquois boasted that they had themselves invented twenty-six different dances. They exchanged visits from wigwam to wigwam, and practiced a courtesy that might have instructed Paris. They had their orators, who polished their sentences with the accuracy of Cicero. With a simple faith they worshiped the Supreme Spirit; and yearly, in February, when the germs of life were opening, met to return thanks to their Maker that he had preserved their lives for another year. A white dog was sacrificed, prayers were offered, hymns of thanksgiving sung,⁴ and on the wild shores of the Seneca or Cayuga lake a natural worship hallowed the savage scene.

¹ Schoolcraft, Notes on the Iroquois, p. 88. Onondaga was the seat of government from the earliest period.

² Morgan, League of the Iroquois, p. 13. They penetrated to Virginia in 1607; in 1660-1700 the French assailed them.

³ Schoolcraft, 125-139. Morgan, 384.

⁴ Morgan, 39. They even confessed their sins of the past year, we are told. Their belief in witchcraft, omens, dreams, is told by Schoolcraft, p. 141. They had a vampire, he thinks.

¹ Mem. Penn. Hist. Soc., i. part ii. p. 317.

² The Indians had the vanity of all feeble intellects, and thought themselves the superiors of all mankind. Colden, i. 3.

Of the numbers of the Indian tribes it is of course impossible to form any exact estimate. But it is believed that in the height of their power the Six Nations never possessed more than seventeen thousand warriors, and that in the year 1774 they had scarcely two thousand. Their whole number was then estimated at ten thousand souls.¹ Their wars with the French and with the native races had rapidly reduced their strength. It was stated by Tryon at this time that the wilderness from Lake Erie to the Mississippi could furnish twenty-five thousand warriors, and was inhabited by one hundred and thirty thousand Indians. In the South the Cherokees were the ruling race, and might, with their allies, produce several thousand men. It was with these fierce and relentless warriors that the English hoped to devastate the long line of frontier settlements from Lake Ontario to the Savannah. Twenty thousand Indians, it was thought, would fall upon the unprotected colonists, and with the scalping knife and the musket force them to submit to the British king. Nothing more incited the colonies to independence than this unheard-of barbarity. It was when all the distant settlements were threatened by an Indian invasion that they resolved upon perfect freedom; and even the patient Washington when he heard the news could not restrain his malediction upon the cruel tyrant, and urged an instant separation.² In periods of peace the Indians had afforded the colonies an important branch of trade. Furs and skins were exported in large quantities to Europe, and the most successful trappers were the Six Nations, who brought their wares to Albany, and the less warlike tribes who dealt with the merchants of Fort Pitt. Gold and silver were of no value to the savages. They would only receive their payment in wampum or strings of shells³—a currency that passed freely over all the continent—or in powder, shot, and muskets, rum, and sometimes articles of dress. A fine uniform or a glittering coat was sometimes exchanged for large tracts of land. A string of periwinkle shells, purple or white, was valued at a dollar; and the first church in New Jersey, it is related, was built and paid for from contributions in wampum.⁴ New York and Albany in the early Dutch period had almost adopted the currency of the savage. There are, indeed, marked traces of the influence of Indian customs and superstitions among the whites. Their omens, dreams, and intense belief in witchcraft, their incantations and spells, seem to have convinced Cotton Mather

and the New England divines of their close connection with the spirit of evil,¹ and helped to increase the sense of a present Satan in the neighboring forests. To the wild hunters of the border the savages taught their keen study of nature, their caution, and their impassiveness. The frontiersmen borrowed their moccasins, hunting shirts of leather, and caps, their patience of cold and hunger, and rivaled them at last in the pursuit of game. At the close of the Revolution the power of the Six Nations was broken forever. They had taken the side of the English, except only the friendly Oneidas, and the last of the Mohawks found a refuge in Canada.² The other tribes sold their possessions, and nearly all moved away. Canandaigua, Cayuga, Oneida, Onondaga, gave names to flourishing white colonies from New England, and with the destruction of the Indian rule New York rose rapidly to the first place in population and power among its sister States.

Next to the Indians, along that wide fringe of border land that skirted the banks of the Hudson, the declivities of the Alleghanies, and the western counties of the Carolinas on the brink of the Wilderness, lived the hardy race of the pioneers. The home of the woodsman was usually a log-cabin; his chief wealth his musket and a family of healthy children. Far away from the centres of civilization, more familiar with the manners of the wigwam than of the city, generous, fanciful, fond of nature, and of the trees and rivers, mountains and plains, around him, always ready for change and new adventure, the pioneer lived in ceaseless excitement, and sank at last to rest under the green sod of some untried land. His life was, indeed, never secure from the treacherous assaults of the wild men of the woods. The Indians were as fickle as they were mobile and active. The pioneers, trained in constant watchfulness, produced some of the most noted and possibly the most eminent of the men of the Revolution. Washington himself was in his early youth educated in the arts of frontier life. Poor, self-instructed, accurate,³ truthful, at nineteen he had as a surveyor studied the wilderness west of the Alleghanies, and learned the life of the woods. At a later period he traveled on foot with a pack on his shoulders from Winchester to the Ohio, through the heart of the forest. Later still he led the provincial troops through the woods and mountains, and became famous as a commander; and when the fate of freedom rested on him alone, his experience in the forest and the wilderness

¹ Campbell, Tryon County, p. 24 and note.

² Washington to Reed. Reed, Original Letter, p. 66. He denounces "the tyrant and his diabolical ministry."

³ Schoolcraft, p. 358.

⁴ Colden, i. 11, notices that they had no slaves. They adopted the captives they saved alive.

¹ Satan was believed to haunt the New England woods in the form of a "little black man." Cotton Mather.

² Morgan, p. 30.

³ The careful drawings of the self-taught Washington show the methodical nature of his mind. See Sparks, Life.

guided him to the victories of Trenton and Princeton. Daniel Boone, the founder of a State, was a more accurate example of this wayward class. From his cottage on the Yadkin, where, surrounded by wife, children, and comparative ease, he might well have lived content, an irresistible desire to explore the mysterious wilderness drew him away. He climbed the tall Cumberland Mountains, and saw with a kind of rapture, he relates, the lovely plains of Kentucky, the buffaloes cropping the rich meadows, the flowers blooming in the waste.¹ He descended into the paradise, was captured by some Indians, who came upon him and his companion from a cane-brake, escaped, was found by his brother in the wilderness, to his unspeakable joy; and when his brother left him, built a hut, and lived alone, he declares, in inexpressible happiness. From the summit of some commanding hill he delighted to trace the windings of the Kentucky through its ample plains, or hunted for his daily food through the teeming woods. "Through an uninterrupted scene of sylvan pleasures," he writes, "I spent my time."² He resolved to return to North Carolina for his family, and found a settlement in the smiling waste. He sold his farm. With wife and children and a small band of settlers, he climbed again the wild Cumberland Mountains. The Indians attacked the small party, his son fell in battle, but the ardent pioneer persisted in his vision, and founded Boonesborough, on the banks of the Kentucky, in the wilderness he loved so well. A small stockade was built. It was attacked by the Indians. Boone was taken prisoner in a warlike expedition, but instead of torturing him, the Shawanese adopted him into their tribe and treated him as a brother. Again he escaped, and in his wooden fort at Boonesborough sustained a siege that had nearly proved successful. The savages were repulsed, peace and liberty came together, and the bold pioneer died in the scene he had looked upon with rapture, the founder of a new nation, and surrounded by a grateful people.³

Such were the men who led the way to the frontier settlements, who first crossed the Alleghanies, who penetrated beneath the shadow of Lookout Mountain, or ventured into Cherry Valley, when the Six Nations still ruled over Western New York. They formed a long line of isolated colonies, and disputed with the savages the possession of the wilderness. Behind them, protected by their necessary vigilance, the more peaceful settlers cultivated their ample farms and lived in prosperous ease. Yet the border land was never safe from a hostile invasion.

When the English first incited the savage tribes to a general rising the whole frontier was penetrated by a series of murderous attacks. The settlers on the outskirts of North and South Carolina fled from their blazing homes or perished in an unsparing massacre. The Indians who followed Burgoyne filled New York with slaughter. Vermont and New Hampshire trembled before their threats. Cherry Valley armed in its defense.¹ The fate of Wyoming has been told in immortal song. The shores of the Hudson were no longer safe. Brandt and his band of savages penetrated into Orange County, and the massacre of Minisink alarmed the Huguenot farmers in the rich valleys of the Shawangunk and the Dutch in the hill country around Goshen. As the savages pressed on into Orange County they came to a school-house which was yet filled with its children. They took the school-master into the woods and killed him. They clove the skulls of several of the boys with their tomahawks; but the little girls, who stood looking on horror-struck and waiting for an instant death, were spared. A tall savage—it was Brandt—dashed a mark of black paint upon their aprons, and when the other savages saw it they left them unharmed. Swift as an inspiration the little girls resolved to save their brothers.² They flung over them their aprons, and when the next Indians passed by they were spared for the mark they bore. The school-master's wife hid in a ditch and escaped. It was amidst such dangers that our ancestors founded their new republic, and forced on the course of progress.

Within the more cultivated portions of the country the most influential person in every town was usually the clergyman. In New England the authority of the ministers was no longer what it had been in the days of Cotton and the Mathers. A revolt had taken place against the spiritual hierarchy which had opened the way for intellectual freedom. But the New England pastor was distinguished always for virtues and attainments that gave him a lasting prominence. In his youth he had passed through a spiritual exercise which had fixed him in the path of virtue. He examined his own nature with the accuracy of a Pythagorean. He had laid down rules to himself that formed the guiding principles of his life. Sloth he abhorred; he resolved to lose no moment of time; to do nothing that he should be afraid to do in his last hour; to consecrate himself to the service of his Maker.³ The image of ideal virtue had dawned upon him in its surpassing loveliness, and he wandered away into the still woods and pleasant fields filled

¹ Filson's Kentucky. Boone's Narrative.

² Narrative, p. 36.

³ Tilson, p. 49. "He lived at last," it is said, "in peace, delighted by the love and gratitude of his countrymen."

¹ Campbell, Tryon County, is full of the trials of frontier life.

² Eager, Orange County, p. 391. It was July, 1779.

³ Edwards, Diary and Life.

with sweet visions of the divine Messiah. Yet he knew that the world was full of trouble and vexation, and that it would never be another kind of a world. It was thus that Jonathan Edwards meditated in the dawn of his intellectual youth, and many another ardent follower of Calvin. The New England minister was fond of scholastic theology. He keenly pursued the delicate and refined distinctions of election and grace, of free-will and predestination, but seldom wandered far from the decisions of the Geneva school. Yet he had learned self-control, and was well fitted to direct the conduct of others. Elected by the voice of the people to the ministry of a town or city congregation, his scholarship and his decision gave him a political and personal influence that he was not afraid to use.¹ The clerical families were often connected by the closest ties of relationship, and the pastorate descended from generation to generation. The Cottons and Mathers ruled over Boston for nearly sixty years. Edwards was the grandson of a clergyman, succeeded to his charge, married a clergyman's daughter, and married his own daughter to the Rev. Aaron Burr. Yet the people of Northampton, where he was settled, with the largest salary in New England, rebelled against his authority. He removed to Stockbridge, and became at last president of the College of New Jersey on the death of his son-in-law, Burr.

These cultivated men were usually ardent patriots. But their patriotism was no doubt stimulated by the dread of a religious rather than political tyranny. A fear prevailed in all New England that Parliament and the king were resolved to impose bishops upon each of the colonies, and to enforce by law the ritual of the Church of England. Whitefield had warned the colonies of a coming woe. The imprudent conversation of young Episcopal ministers in Connecticut and Boston added to the apprehension. Archbishop Secker had suggested the idea of an American episcopate,² and the project was already entertained in England of reducing New England to a subjection to the national Church by lavish bribes to its independent clergy, and by the reform or suppression of all the colonial charters. Cambridge had even been suggested as the seat of a colonial bishop, and an Episcopal church had already sprung up beneath the shadow of Harvard College under the auspices of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in America. Then Mayhew of Boston began a series of publica-

tions that sounded an alarm throughout the country. He felt the danger; he saw the unscrupulous nature of the men who ruled in England. The "overbearing spirit of the Episcopalians"¹ he brooded over, until he almost felt once more the clerical tyranny from which the gentle Robinson had fled, and which had impelled the *Mayflower* over the stormy sea. "Will they never let us rest in peace," he cried, "except where all the weary are at rest?" Is it not enough that they persecuted us out of the Old World?" Yet Mayhew was still sufficiently loyal to hope that King George was "too good and noble" to suffer it. When the controversy with England began, Mayhew was ever ready to support the liberties of his country, and his pulpit resounded with patriotic exhortations. Almost every Congregational minister was equally faithful. Like the Huguenot and the Covenanter, they even fought in the ranks, and sometimes led their townsmen to battle, and fell among the first.

The clergy of the middle and southern colonies were persons less distinctly the leaders of the people than in New England. The Episcopalian ministers were often mild and amiable men who cared nothing for politics. They were inclined to the English rule, but were not unwilling to share the fortunes of a new nation. Some, however, were bitter and relentless in their Toryism; their violence helped to bring discredit on their cause, and their religious intolerance led them to their ruin. In New York the Dutch and Presbyterian clergy were often eminent for their virtues and their scholarship; their churches in the city were to the eyes of our ancestors splendid, their salaries high, their congregations numerous and attentive. The Presbyterian church in Wall Street, the new Dutch church, and even the old, were scarcely surpassed by Trinity and St. Paul's. Meantime a new religious influence had been impressed upon the nation by the preaching of Whitefield, and in 1742 a revival had swept over the country that never lost its effect. Villages and cities had been stirred by the impulse of reform. Many strange and some not attractive scenes had followed it. Children held their meetings for prayer apart.³ Women had been roused to unreflecting fanaticism, and imposture and hypocrisy had flourished in the general excitement. Yet it was acknowledged that every where morality had received a real impulse at the hands of faith. The clergy themselves profited by the general movement, and became better fitted to guide the people. The Roman Catholic clergy at this period had lost much of their early intolerance. The Society of the Jesuits had been abolished, a series of

¹ The minister was sometimes obliged to rule his people with no tender hand, and violent controversy often arose, which sometimes "came to hard blows." Life of Edwards, i. 464. The people of Northampton were of "a difficult and turbulent temper," etc.

² Gordon, i. 143, gives the general apprehension and the plan.

¹ Mayhew, Second Defense, p. 64.

² Observations, p. 156.

³ Edwards, Life.

moderate and reputable popes had ruled at Rome, and reform seemed about to invade the councils of the Vatican. The fanatical reaction of the nineteenth century had not yet begun.

In the towns and villages the lawyers shared with the clergy the intellectual influence of the time. Many of them were well-read and accomplished men, who joined to their technical knowledge a considerable acquaintance with letters, or were noted for their natural eloquence. John Adams had prepared himself by a careful study of his profession to defend with legal accuracy the rights of his countrymen. William Smith, of New York, was known as a faithful historian as well as jurist, and formed the intellect of John Jay. Colden wrote well. In Virginia Patrick Henry had won his first renown by an impassioned appeal against the avarice and the ambition of the Established Church. Jefferson had trained himself by practice in the courts before he essayed to condense in a brief memorial the rights of man. Nothing indeed is more remarkable at this period than the nicety and clearness with which the various points in dispute between the colonies and England were discussed in every part of the country, and the superiority in argument which the legal writers of America showed over their opponents in London when they treated of the professional elements of the controversy. Otis and Adams reasoned with calmness and force, while Johnson raved and Mansfield blundered. In the grand argument which the American lawyers addressed to the suffrages of the civilized world there was a depth of reflection and a wide acquaintance with the principles of the common and international law that proved to acute observers their just claim to freedom. No one could think such men unworthy to found a state.

The chief cities of our ancestors were all scattered along the sea-coast. There were no large towns in the interior. Albany was still a small village, Schenectady a cluster of houses. To those vast inland capitals which have sprung up on the lakes and great rivers of the West our country offered no parallel. Chicago and St. Louis, the centres of enormous wealth and unlimited commerce, had yet no predecessors. Pleasant villages had sprung up in New England, New Jersey, and on the banks of the Hudson, but they could pretend to no rivalry with those flourishing cities which lined the sea-coast or its estuaries, and seemed to our ancestors the abodes of luxury and splendor. Yet even New York, Philadelphia, and Boston,¹ extensive as they appeared to the colonists, were insignificant towns compared to

¹ Burnaby describes Boston as the most cultivated of the American cities. Dwight thinks New York "magnificent" at a later period.

the European capitals, and gave no promise of ever approaching that grandeur which seemed to be reserved especially for London and Paris. In 1774 the population of New York was perhaps 20,000; that of London 600,000. The latter was thirty times larger than the former, and in wealth and political importance was so infinitely its superior that a comparison between them would have been absurd. Boston, which has crowned Beacon Hill, pressed over the Neck, and even covered with a magnificent quarter a large surface that was once the bed of the Charles River, was in 1774 a town of 15,000 or 18,000 inhabitants, closely confined to the neighborhood of the bay. The Long Wharf may still be seen on the ancient maps; the Common was used as a public resort;² the Hancock House was illuminated at the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the Sons of Liberty raised on the Common a pyramid of lamps, from the top of which fire-works lighted up the neighboring fields. But Beacon Hill was still used by its owner as a gravel-pit, and it was feared by the citizens that he might level it altogether. The Boston of 1774, which proclaimed freedom and defied the power of England, would scarcely rank to-day among the more important country towns. New York was more populous, but it was still confined to the narrow point of land below the Park. The thickly built part of the town lay in the neighborhood of Whitehall. Some fine houses lined Broadway and Broad Street,³ but to the west of Broadway green lawns stretched down from Trinity and St. Paul's to the water. Trees were planted thickly before the houses; on the roofs railings or balconies were placed,⁴ and in the summer evenings the people gathered on the house-top to catch the cool air. Lamps had already been placed on the streets.⁵ Fair villas covered the environs, and even the Baroness Riedesel, who had visited in the royal palaces of Europe, was charmed with the scenery and homes of the citizens. Extravagance had already corrupted the plainer habits of the earlier period. The examples of London and Paris had already affected the American cities. The people of New York drank fiery Madeira, and were noted for their luxury. Broadway was thought the most splendid of avenues, although it ended at Chambers Street. And twenty years later, when the City Hall was built, it was called by Dwight (a good scholar) the finest building in America.⁶ The streets of New York and Boston were usual-

¹ Drake, Boston, 685.

² Riedesel, Mem., iii. 170, etc.

³ Kalm, Riedesel, Mem., iii. 170. Watson, Annals New York, p. 227. A stage ran to Philadelphia in 1776.

⁴ New York, Miss Mary L. Booth. Gordon, i. 138, notices the heavy taxes of Boston—higher than those of London.

⁵ Dwight, Travels, iii. 329, notices the magnificent style of living, etc.

ly crooked and narrow, but the foresight of Penn had made Philadelphia a model of regularity. Market and Broad streets were ample and stately. The city was as populous as New York, and perhaps the possessor of more wealth. It was the first city on the continent, and the fame of Franklin had already given it a European renown.¹ Yet Philadelphia when it rebelled against George III. was only an insignificant town, clinging to the banks of the river; and New York invited the attack of the chief naval power of the world with its harbor undefended and its whole population exposed to the guns of the enemy's ships. The southern cities were yet of little importance. Baltimore was a small village. Virginia had no large town. Charleston had a few thousand inhabitants. Along that immense line of sea-coast now covered with populous cities the smallest of which would have made the New York and Boston of our ancestors seem insignificant, only these few and isolated centres of commerce had sprung up. The wilderness still covered the shores of Long Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and the Carolinas almost as in the days of Raleigh.

To pass from one city to another along this desolate shore was, in 1775, a long and difficult journey. Roads had been early built in most of the colonies. In Massachusetts they were good, except where they passed over the hills. In New York a good road ran through Orange and Ulster counties to Albany. That between New York and Philadelphia was probably tolerable. In the southern colonies but little attention was paid to road-building, and even those in the neighborhood of Philadelphia were often almost impassable. A stage-coach ran in two days from New York to Philadelphia, but the passengers were requested to cross over the evening before to Powle's Hook, that they might set out early in the morning.² Sloops sailed to Albany in seven or eight days.³ From Boston to New York was a week's journey. In fair weather the roads of the time were tolerable; but in winter and spring they became little better than quagmires. There was therefore but little intercourse between the people of the distant colonies, and in winter all communication by land and water must have been nearly cut off. Had it been told to our ancestors that within a century men would ride from New York to Philadelphia within three hours, or pass from the Atlantic to the Pacific in seven days, that the passage from Boston to Charleston would be made within three days, or from Liverpool to New York within ten, they would have placed no more confidence in the prediction than in the

speculations of Laputa. Nor did they dream that Franklin's discoveries had made the closer union of the human race still more certain. The northern cities were usually built of brick or of stone, and many of the farm-houses were of the latter material.¹ The former had been imported from Holland for the first New York buildings; and even Schenectady, a frontier town, was so purely Dutch as to have been early decorated with Holland brick. In the country stone was easily gathered from the abundant quarries on the Hudson or along the New England hills. Many large, low, stone houses, with lofty roofs and massive windows, may still be seen in the rich valleys opening upon the Hudson, almost in the same condition in which they were left by their Huguenot or Dutch builders, and apparently capable of enduring the storms of another century.² Brick-making was soon introduced into the colonies, and the abundant forests supplied all the materials for the mechanic. Fortunately no palaces were built, no royal parks required, no Versailles nor Marly indispensable to our ancestors, no monasteries, no cathedrals. A general equality in condition was nearly reached. Not five men, we are told, in New York and Philadelphia expended ten thousand dollars a year on their families. The manners of the people were simple; their expenses moderate. Yet nowhere was labor so well rewarded nor poverty so rare. Franklin, who had seen the terrible destitution of England and of France, pronounced his own country the most prosperous part of the globe, and was only anxious to protect it from that tyranny which had reduced Europe to starvation, and snatched their honest earnings from the hands of the working classes. He saw that those who labored were the best fitted to govern. The wages of the farm laborer in the northern colonies was probably three times that of the English peasant, and the general abundance of food rendered his condition easier. Fuel, however, before the discovery of coal, seems to have been sometimes scarce and dear. Kalm notices that complaints of its dearth were frequent in Philadelphia—now the seat of the chief coal market of the world.³ Wines and liquors were freely consumed by our ancestors, and even New England had as yet no high repute for temperance. Rum was taken as a common restorative. The liquor shops of New York had long been a public annoyance. In the farther southern colonies, we are told, the planter began his day with a strong glass of spirits, and closed it by carousing, gam-

¹ Watson, Philadelphia.

² Advertisement, *The Flying Post*. Watson, *Ann. Phil.*, p. 257, notices the bad roads.

³ Trumbull, *Mem.*, p. 26.

¹ Kalm. Burnaby. Mr. Stone's valuable edition of the Riedesel memoirs throws much light upon the condition of the colonies.

² Early New York (1669) "was built most of brick and stone, and covered with bed tiles." Brodhead, *New York*, ii. 153.

³ Pinkert, xiii. 407.

bling, or talking politics in the village tavern. Our ancestors were extraordinarily fond of money, if we may trust the judgment of Washington, who seems to have found too many of them willing to improve their fortunes from the resources of the impoverished community.¹ But in general it must be inferred that the standard of public morals was not low. In comparison with the corrupt statesmen of England and France, or with the members of the English Parliament, who were nearly all willing to accept and to give bribes, the American politicians seemed to the European thinkers the most admirable of men. Washington rose above his species, and Franklin, Samuel and John Adams, Jefferson, Gadsden, and Lee were wise and prudent beyond example. Our generals and soldiers, when compared to those England sent over to conquer them, were evidently of a higher and purer race. Burgoyne,² Howe, and the greater part of their associates shocked the rising refinement of colonial society by their gross vices and shameless profligacy as much as by their inhumanity. Gates, Arnold, and Lee, who imitated them, were exceptions to the general purity of the American officers, and of these two were English-born and one a traitor.

The desire for a higher and purer life was indeed the finest trait of American politics and society. The Declaration of Independence embodied the real feeling of the people. They were anxious to promote human equality, to enforce the common brotherhood of man, to cultivate refinement, to escape from the gross vices of mediæval barbarism which still covered all Europe. They had learned the necessity of religious and political toleration by the slow course of experience. In the opening of their history religious toleration had been unknown. New England had persecuted Episcopalians, Quakers, Dissenters. Stuyvesant, in New York, had sent Quakers in chains to Holland, and been reproved by his superiors at the Hague. Virginia was bitterly intolerant, and by the boasted constitution of Maryland in 1649 the Socinian was deemed worthy of death, and whoever reproached the Virgin Mary was fined, imprisoned, or banished.³ But these harsh laws were gradually swept away, and in 1775 a practical toleration prevailed in all the colonies. No one of any intelligence any longer desired to propagate his

faith by penal laws. An equal progress had been made in politics. Virginia was willing to abandon its entails and its oligarchy; Massachusetts to assert a democratic equality; New York to break down its colonial aristocracy forever. All the colonies united in throwing aside the restrictions of European prejudice, and by a remarkable revolution provided for the creation of a republic, in which the people should be the only rulers.

I shall conclude this imperfect sketch by a brief review of the intellectual condition of America. It had produced no Shakspeare nor Milton, it possessed no poets and historians; but it is quite probable that the Northern States of America were better educated in the ideas of Milton and Shakspeare than even England or France. Of the people of New England the larger proportion could read and write, while of the two centres of European civilization the great majority of the population were sunk in hopeless ignorance. From the dawn of its history New England had insisted that its people should all be educated; and New York and Pennsylvania had not lingered far behind it.¹ Connecticut imposed a heavy fine upon every father of a family who had neglected to teach his household the elements of knowledge,² Massachusetts had enforced a similar provision, and even South Carolina had directed a school to be planted in every township. It was the aim of the New World to open the minds of all its people to the light of literature, and to cultivate the whole community. It sought mental as well as political equality. But in France and England the royal governments found no leisure and had little inclination to teach their people. It was only in Protestant Holland and Germany that men were yet allowed to learn the "sweet influences" of a rule of letters.

In their eager and resolute desire to make knowledge free to all, our ancestors at once planted in the wilderness the printing-press. Three years had not passed after the landing of the first colony in Pennsylvania when the clank of the machine that had reformed Europe and discovered America resounded under the shade of the primeval forest.³ It was with knowledge rather than arms that the followers of Penn hoped to found their state; and fifty years earlier Massachusetts had erected its first printing-press at Cambridge, and had consecrated New England to literature and thought. Our ancestors were plainly resolved that the New World should be a land of printers. Pamphlets, sermons,

¹ Washington to Reed, Reed's Original Letters, p. 63.

² Riedesel, Mem., iii. p. 125. Lord Anckland was constantly intoxicated. Burgoyne and his mistress spent half the night drinking Champagne while his troops were starving. Such were the morals England taught to the colonies.

³ Bozman, Maryland. Lord Baltimore probably hoped to make Maryland a purely Roman Catholic colony, but in 1649 England would not permit it, i. p. 351; ii. p. 662.

¹ Ramsay, i. 26.

² Ramsay, i. 78. In Connecticut the parent neglecting education was fined twenty shillings. Baroness Riedesel noticed that all the women of New England could read. The Virginians of the back country she finds ignorant and "inert." They sometimes exchange wives, are cruel to their slaves; but she was no friendly judge.

³ Thomas, Printing, and Bancroft.

political pieces, resounded through the wilderness, and before the close of the seventeenth century Cotton Mather alone had printed in England and America three hundred and eighty-two of his own productions. In the opening of the eighteenth (1704) a weekly paper, *The News Letter*, was published at Boston.¹ It was then the only newspaper printed in British America. It was a foolscap half sheet, and was thought sufficient to contain all the news of the day. In 1725 William Bradford issued at New York the *New York Gazette*, a foolscap sheet. The two Franklins, James and Benjamin, edited at Boston the *New England Courant*; and suits for libel, imprisonment, and fines were the reward of several of the early editors. James Franklin was in jail for four weeks; Zenger, of the *New York Courant* (1733), was also soon in the grasp of the law. But through all its early trials the printing-press passed successfully. The newspaper became as necessary to the colonists as their daily food. In 1775 five were printed in New York, and as many each in Philadelphia and Boston. The free school proved the best ally of the printer, and popular education laid the foundation of a nation of readers. The power of the press was soon manifested. Reform and revolution followed in its path. Yet the rude machine at which Franklin and Bradford labored seemed to lag behind the wants of even an early age; to print a few hundred copies of a small sheet required incessant toil; and Faust himself² must have looked with amazement and awe upon one of those giant printing-presses that in our day consume their miles of paper, pour forth ten thousand huge sheets of accurate typography every hour, and relate the story of mankind.

Various colleges or schools for the higher education of the people had already been planted in America. Harvard had long held a high renown even in Europe, and had been fostered by liberal donations from English Dissenters. In its earlier history it had been unlucky in its principals: one had proved to be a Jesuit, another a Baptist.³ To preside over Harvard was a favorite aim of Cotton Mather that was never gratified. Many of the eminent men of the colony had been cultivated in its careful course of study. Samuel and John Adams were its graduates, and it had long been the school of Massachusetts and of Boston. Classical learning still formed the foundation of all mental training, and no one was thought capable of professional excellence who was not learn-

ed in the languages of Greece and Rome. Yet it is worthy of notice that Washington had never construed a line of Virgil, and was wholly self-educated, and that Franklin learned his pure style and strong passion for letters and science in the composing-room.

Dartmouth College had been recently founded to teach the Indians, which it failed to do. Yale was more flourishing. Columbia College, in New York, founded in 1756, had but two professors and twenty-five students; but among them were to be numbered John Jay and Alexander Hamilton. In New Jersey Princeton College, under the presidency of Dr. Witherspoon, a cultivated Scotchman, flourished, though with a poor endowment;¹ it had sixty students and fine buildings. In Virginia William and Mary's College had been founded with an ample liberality by the two sovereigns whose names it bore; it was endowed with a large income, and was designed to make Virginia a scene of wide intelligence. But the region of slavery could not be made favorable to mental progress. The college languished;² its students were few; it is chiefly memorable as having furnished Jefferson with some facilities for study.

In all the American colleges it is doubtful if three hundred students were educated annually. More scholars are now gathered at a single university than in the year 1775 were found in all the famous seats of learning of the country. Yet the colleges, however imperfect, were still of real value to the people. They spread an acquaintance with the chief masters in science and letters, and helped to supply the press with literature, and diffuse knowledge. Yet of the earlier American authors who attained fame, the chief had never passed through a regular course of study. Irving had gathered the charms of his perfect style from nature and practice in the newspapers. Cooper, Halleck, Drake, were self-educated and refined. Pure literature, in fact, is seldom taught in colleges, which have usually been little more than professional schools. The chief aim of education must always be to excite inquiry and awaken the slumbering faculties. A just conception of its purpose our ancestors had formed. They saw that there should be no limit to the spread of knowledge, and hoped that a system of instruction would grow up among the people that would prove a lasting bond of union. Their extravagant vision has been in part fulfilled. The common-school system has flowed from the germs which the Puritans, Huguenots, and Dutch planted in the wilderness, and the college is gradually assuming a more popu-

¹ Mr. Hudson, in his interesting account of American journalism, notices a previous newspaper, in 1690, which had the unusual fate of lasting only one day, p. 44.

² The invention of Hoe's rotary press has made the cheap newspaper possible, and cultivated the minds of millions.

³ Winthrop.

¹ Burnaby, Pinkert., xiii. 733. Princeton College had only "two professors besides the provost."

² Ramsay, i. 263, notices its decay. Burnaby, Pinkert., xiii. p. 714.

lar character.¹ In the period of the Revolution, with one or perhaps two exceptions, the colleges were firmly on the side of progress. Harvard gave its brightest geniuses to the cause of freedom, its transatlantic Hampden to fall at Bunker Hill, its Adams to found a nation. Yale was rigidly patriotic. Princeton College, under Witherspoon, formed a bulwark of independence. Yet the influence of the colleges was only a faint impulse compared to that of the general intelligence of our educated people, and that strong passion for liberty which had grown up from the simpler school-house and the modest library.

Books, which had discovered America and first disturbed the wilderness, were not wanting to our ancestors. The booksellers sold freely the new works of Johnson, Burke, or the famous Dr. Goldsmith, and one Boston house numbered ten thousand volumes on its shelves. Several public and private libraries already existed. Kalm mentions the collection of excellent works, chiefly English, in the public library founded by Franklin in 1742 at Philadelphia. The wealthier people of the town paid forty shillings currency in the beginning, besides ten shillings annually. Several smaller libraries were also founded near it. Boston showed a "more general turn for music, painting, and the fine arts" than either of the more southern towns.² But literature still hesitated to flourish in the New World. Mather, Edwards, sermons, pamphlets, newspapers, were the chief sources of the mental progress of our ancestors. It was idle to look for a Homer or Shakspeare in so wild a land;³ nor is it likely that a fourth epic will be sung for many a cycle. But reading was a characteristic trait of the whole people, and curiosity and inquiry the chief impulses of their civilization. In military affairs the colonists had shown courage and capacity. New England troops had grown famous at the conquest of Louisbourg, the siege of Havana, and the fall of Quebec. While the English ministry were denouncing them as a feeble, abject race, more intelligent observers in England knew that the colonists were only cowards in cruel and inhuman deeds. Virginia's troops had fought bravely in the wilderness, and Washington was the most renowned of the colonial commanders. In military stores, guns, powder, arms, the country was deficient; nor did its people suppose that they would ever be drawn into another great war.

Around the thin line of settlements occu-

¹ In cities, it is said, colleges seldom flourish, yet the eagerness with which students avail themselves of the advantages of the Boston Latin School or the New York Free College, a school of mines or a popular law school, shows that utility must be one trait of the college course.

² Burnaby, Pinkert., xiii. 747.

³ Ramsay, i. 275. Its earliest poems were in Latin.

ried by our ancestors a circle of various and almost hostile races hemmed in their progress. Between the austere and Puritanic New Englander and the loose, profligate,¹ yet often courageous clergy and people of Quebec there could be no friendship. Canada refused to join in the cause of independence. Its French population turned with aversion from an alliance with heretics and Saxons. To the westward the Canadian and clerical influence governed all the Indian tribes. The Mississippi was held by the Spaniards and by a few English planters who steadfastly refused to join the colonists.² New Orleans, recently transferred to Spain, was at first unwilling to sell arms and powder to the boats that had sailed down the great river from Pittsburg. The English in West Florida were hostile to the colonies; Spanish Florida was still undecided. It was with no confidence in any exterior aid that the colonists looked out upon their beleaguered territory in the hot days of July, 1776. On every side around them they saw the impending horrors of a war of extirpation. Canada teemed with military preparations; the savages were aroused through all the wilderness; the cities on the coast were threatened with sudden ruin; Howe was already landing on Staten Island; disunion tore the ranks of the reformers. Yet on the 2d of July, 1776, a bell rang cheerfully over Philadelphia that spoke the liberation of America. Samuel Adams had won his cause.³ The 2d of July seemed to John Adams the grandest day of all the ages.

THE BEAKER.

I PLEDGE to thee this golden cup,
Filled with my life's red wine;
Drain if thou wilt the generous draught,
For every drop is thine.

Look down into its sparkling depths,
And watch the bubbles bright
That rise from out its ruby heart
And break in foamy light.

Then take the cup I pledge to thee,
Filled with a draught divine;
My soul lies trembling on the brim,
And every drop is thine:

Is thine to take or to reject;
But if reject thou must,
Toss to the winds the worthless wine,
And crush the cup to dust!

¹ Riedesel, Mem., iii. p. 87. Macgregor, Progress of Commerce, i. 141, notices the immorality of the Canadians. One minister of state stole £400,000.

² Gayarré, Louisiana, Spanish Dominion, p. 109. Finally the Spaniards attack the English.

³ Samuel Adams, to his disciple and kinsman John, was the "wedge of steel" that split the bond between England and America. J. Adams to William Tudor, June 5, 1817. So Jefferson looked to Samuel Adams as his guide and teacher.