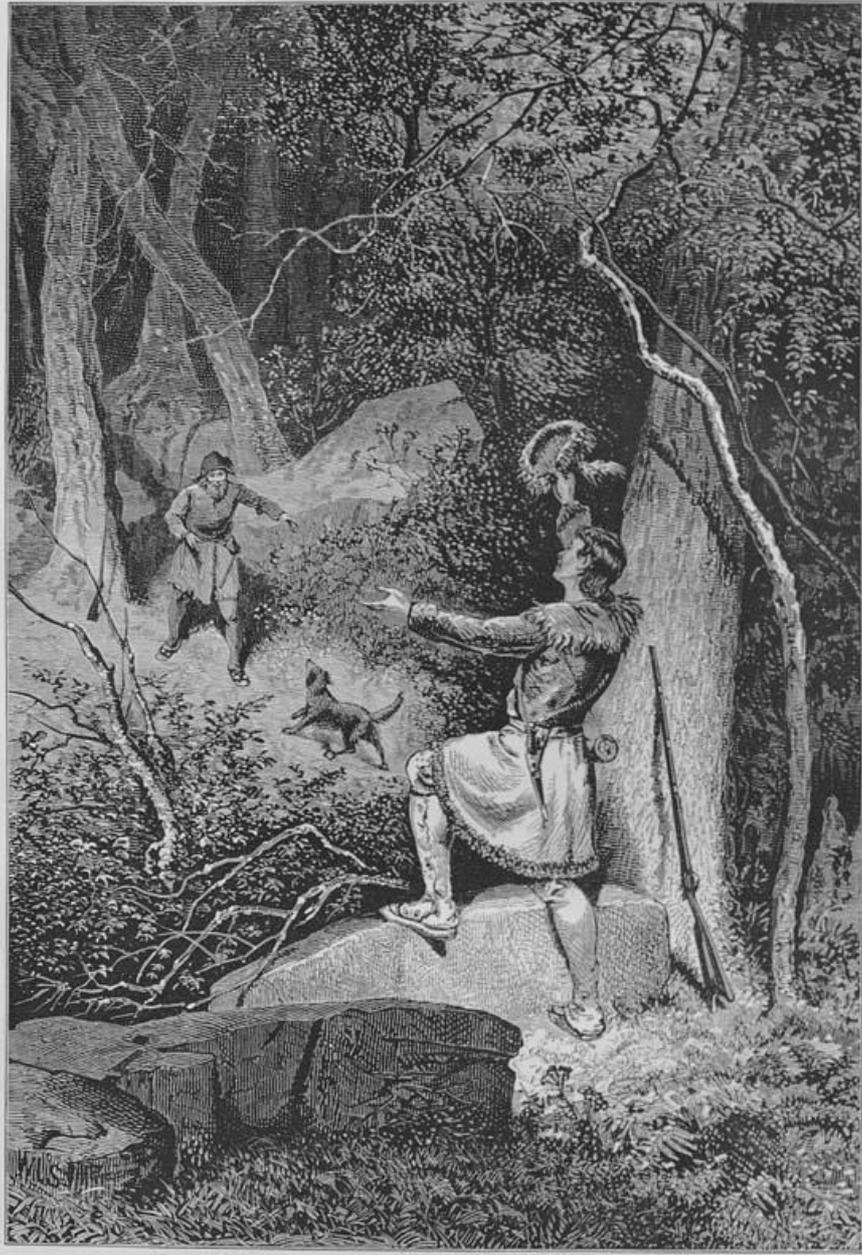


Dr. Phiman



A PLEASANT ENCOUNTER.

PIONEERS

IN THE

SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA



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PIONEERS

IN THE

SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA:

FROM FLORIDA IN 1510 TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849.

BY

WILLIAM A. ^{Augustus} CRAFTS.

ELEGANTLY ILLUSTRATED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF GEORGE T. ANDREW,

FROM ORIGINAL DESIGNS

BY F. O. C. DARLEY, WM. L. SHEPARD, GRANVILLE PERKINS, ETC.

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19 SPRING LANE.

MASSACHUSETTS AND MAINE.



URING the period of D'Aulnay's and La Tour's conflicts, the English settlements in Maine had gradually though slowly grown and increased in number. Fishing-hamlets and trading-posts had grown into permanent villages, forests were felled, not only for the timber but for purposes of agriculture, and in the intervalles along the rivers productive farms were cultivated. But, for want of a general government, the settlements had by no means flourished. Patents which overlapped each other, grants from the various patentees, and Indian deeds, created confusion and contentions. In consequence of the increased number of traders along the coast and the neighborhood of the Massachusetts colony, the settlers were not exposed to the want and privations which the Plymouth colony had endured, and which the first settlers on the Maine shores had experienced. But they had various other troubles, growing out of rival claims, which occasioned discontent. Similar troubles in the New Hampshire settlements had induced them to place themselves under the protection of Massachusetts; and following this example, which proved advantageous in New Hampshire, some of the settlements in Maine sought the same protection.

It is not our purpose to follow the various attempts of Gorges, Rigby, and others, to increase the settlements and establish civil governments, nor the subsequent efforts to maintain the royal provinces, nor the claims of the Duke of York and his agents. With several of these Massachusetts became involved in contests which, with various phases, continued many years. The patentees and patrons of the early settlements, and many of the settlers, were Episcopalians, and they had no liking for the Puritans; but during the civil wars in England, and after the restoration of the monarchy, many dissenters or Puritans who emigrated settled in Maine. These were anxious for the protection of Massachusetts, and the Puritan colony was quite as willing to afford that protection, and to extend its authority.

To do this with the appearance of right, a new construction was placed on the limits of the territory granted by the Massachusetts charter. That charter extended to all the lands "within the space of three English miles to the northward of the river Merrimack, and to the southward of any and every part thereof." When the charter was granted, the course of the Merrimack was not known, and it was probably supposed that its general course was nearly east and west. As the early settlers confined themselves to the coast, the limits of the grant were fixed at three miles north of the mouth of the river, and for some years no thought of claiming beyond was entertained. But when it was known that farther inland the course of the Merrimack was from the north, a wider extent of the grant was suggested. The suggestion soon ripened into a claim, and in 1661 the General Court contended that all the territory south of a line stretching eastward from a point three miles north of the source of the river, belonged to Massachusetts.

The provincial government of Maine by no means acquiesced in this new claim, and Massachusetts appointed a commission to ascertain the latitude of a point three miles above the northernmost head of Merrimack River. This commission, with expert surveyors, traced the Merrimack to its head, "where it issues out of the lake called Winnipiseogee," and found the latitude of the place to be $43^{\circ} 40' 12''$, and the point from which a line was to be drawn eastward was $43^{\circ} 43' 12''$. The line extended eastward from this point brought nearly

all the settlements of the province of Maine within the asserted jurisdiction of Massachusetts. That colony maintained its claim with a sturdy and inflexible will, and, notwithstanding the resistance of the provincial government, succeeded in establishing its jurisdiction, which was acceptable to a majority of the people of Maine. The struggle between king and parliament in England left the provincial government helpless, and, during the Commonwealth, affairs were conducted peaceably, except with the opposition of individuals, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, in whose General Court the principal towns had deputies.

After the restoration of the monarchy, the grant of the Sagadahock territory to the Duke of York, and the visit of the royal commissioners to regulate the affairs of New England, the hold of Massachusetts on Maine was loosened, and in the conflict of authority political matters relapsed into confusion. Delegates were no longer sent to the Massachusetts General Court, and the jurisdiction of that colony, under which the settlements had prospered, was greatly missed. Many of the leading men, disgusted with the condition of affairs, besought the Massachusetts government to resume jurisdiction over the province, and afford them a more certain administration of justice. The General Court did not long hesitate to comply with the request, and sent commissioners to resume jurisdiction, organize courts, and re-establish the authority of colonial government. The commissioners proceeded to Maine with a military escort, and at York they held a court, and proclaimed the purpose of their visit. The justices appointed by the royal commissioners undertook to dispute the authority of the Massachusetts representatives, and a war of words with some ludicrous scenes of confusion followed. The justices stole a march on the commissioners, and with their partisans took possession of the meeting-house, and held it, at a time appointed for the reopening of the court. The Puritan deputies were persistent men, and were by no means intimidated or disconcerted by this opposition. Preceded by their marshal, and backed by their military guard, they entered the church and ordered it to be cleared. A scene of confusion succeeded, the justices protested, their partisans vociferated, but the contest did not proceed beyond words, and the royalists finally retired. By bold but discreet action the commissioners

re-established the authority of Massachusetts throughout the province of Maine; and though the displaced royalists were loud and bitter in their complaints, a majority of the people were highly satisfied with the better administration of justice, and the increased security to their rights and privileges which followed.

From Sagadahock eastward Charles II. granted the territory to his brother, the Duke of York. When Acadia was restored to France, the French resumed their settlements as far west as the Penobscot, and, by virtue of the indefinite extent of Acadia, claimed jurisdiction as far west as the Kennebec. The administration of affairs in the duke's province was in the hands of the justices appointed by the royal commissioners, subject to the duke's governor in New York, who, however, paid little attention to this part of his master's territory. The duke's friendly relations with France, and his proclivity towards Papacy, were well known, and, in connection with the claims of the bigoted French governor of Acadia, caused no little alarm among the settlers and in Massachusetts, lest the French claims should be acquiesced in by the duke. While the justices, perhaps, shared in this alarm, they were hostile to Massachusetts; but many of the people were anxious to have the jurisdiction of that colony extended over them.

To satisfy their own ambition and the desires of the Sagadahock settlers, the Massachusetts authorities again resorted to the new construction of their patent, and, doubting the correctness of the former survey, employed George Mountjoy, a celebrated surveyor of that day, to fix the latitude of the northernmost waters of the Merrimack. Mountjoy made the source of the river two leagues farther north than did his predecessors, and the northernmost limit of the patent was thus found to be in latitude $43^{\circ} 49' 12''$. A line drawn due east from this point was found to terminate at an island in Penobscot Bay. Notwithstanding the rather suspicious character of this new survey, circumstances favored the pretensions of Massachusetts. The recapture of New Amsterdam by the Dutch sent the duke's governor to England, and the justices of Sagadahock were left without support from any superior authority. The jurisdiction of Massachusetts was therefore extended over this province, also, without serious opposition, though there was a constant anxiety lest the Duke of York's agents and the French should combine to oust the Puritan commonwealth.

Meanwhile, to strengthen herself in the province of Maine, Massachusetts commenced negotiations with the grandson of Sir Ferdinand Gorges for the purchase of his patent, and, after a long delay, succeeded in making the purchase for twelve hundred and fifty pounds. While a large number of the settlers in Maine sympathized with the religion of the Puritan colony, there were not a few who, by their complaints and claims, caused no little trouble and anxiety to the Massachusetts rulers. At this stage of affairs King Philip's war broke out in Massachusetts; and soon, in a mysterious manner, a like hostile spirit was manifested by the Indians of Maine.

INDIAN WAR IN MAINE.



UNTIL the breaking out of King Philip's war in Massachusetts, the Indians of Maine had been peaceable and friendly. In the earliest days they had committed some hostile acts, but as the settlements grew, and they found they could profit by trade, and were usually treated without any gross injustice, they remained quiet, though their natural treachery occasionally manifested itself. A fierce war with the Mohawks afforded them all the pastime they required in that line. The sale of fire-arms and ammunition to the Indians was prohibited in the English settlements, but not unfrequently a reckless trader would disregard the prohibition for the sake of the liberal quantity of furs which the natives were always ready to give for arms. The French, however, had no scruples or fears to deter them, and they dealt freely in the articles which afforded them the largest returns. The Indians, therefore, not only of the tribes near the French settlements, but throughout Maine, were gradually supplied with fire-arms, in the use of which they soon became expert. The bow and arrow was discarded for the more effective gun, and the chase, upon which the natives depended for subsistence, yielded a more certain supply of game. The possession of the same formidable weapons which had formerly so terrified them, made the Indians more confident, and they ceased to recognize the superiority of the whites in the arts which alone commended themselves to the savage mind.

It probably required but little provocation to induce many of the savages to turn their much-prized weapons from bird and beast upon

the people who were possessing themselves of their lands. When King Philip, after much disquietude, determined on open hostilities, swift-footed runners threaded the forest to announce the fact to all the New England tribes, and to urge them to join in the war against a common foe. The young braves were eager to go upon the war-path; but the action of the tribes was generally controlled by the course of the principal chiefs, and a few of these, from friendship or policy, were not disposed to join at once in the war. The son and successor of Passaconaway, the chief of the Penacooks, whose territory was principally in New Hampshire, like his father, was friendly to the English, and resolved to take no part in the quarrel. With most of his tribe he withdrew into the wilderness, and remained there during the war. One or two others, of less note, professed friendship for the English, and with rather doubtful fidelity undertook to serve them. The Baron Castine, at this time, was at the height of his influence with the Tarratines or Penobscot Indians, and, as he was engaged in a profitable traffic, he was opposed to their participation in the war. The sagamore of the tribe, Madockawando, whose daughter Castine had married, so long as he was not disturbed by the English, was also disinclined to join in the war; but some of the sachems and young warriors of the tribe were more disposed to hostilities, and among these was Mugg, who had lived with the English, and may have received some injury or slight which he desired to avenge.

Among those who were the most ready to respond to the call of Philip were several of the ablest and most influential chiefs, who had long entertained a dislike of the English. Squando, sagamore of the Sosoki branch of the Abenakis, was a man of remarkable influence with his countrymen. He had imbibed some religious ideas from the whites, and adapted them to the superstitious notions of the Indians. Claiming to have intercourse with invisible spirits, he was regarded with veneration by his tribe; and when he declared that the Great Spirit himself had told him that "he had left the English to be destroyed by the Indians," he awakened in his savage followers a thirst for the white man's blood. Tarumkin, the sagamore of another branch of the Abenakis, though a man of less ability, was equally jealous of the encroachments of the English, and was eager to join with all his race for the

extermination of the white intruders. Among the Canibas branch of the nation, while the sagamore professed reluctance to make war upon the English, his son and other young warriors were anxious to distinguish themselves, and had influence enough to carry the tribe with them.

These hostile tribes comprised nearly all the Indians of Maine west of the Penobscot. When the messengers of Philip, visiting each in turn, announced that chieftain's purpose to avenge his wrongs by a relentless warfare upon the white settlers, the Maine savages remembered their own injuries, and recalled the traditions of those suffered by their fathers. In their councils they recounted every encroachment, every wrong, real or imaginary, and every slight suffered at the hands of the English, and held as a special grievance the refusal to sell them arms and ammunition. Thus were the vindictive passions of the savages aroused; and hostilities had scarcely commenced in Plymouth before the Indians of Maine were preparing for similar demonstrations. They became bold and insolent, and seemed anxious to precipitate a quarrel.

This conduct on the part of the Indians created great alarm among the settlers, and the General Court of Massachusetts, being informed of their fears, appointed three of the leading men at Sagadahock a committee of military affairs, with instructions to provide arms and ammunition, and adopt other measures for the common defence. It was also proposed to take from the Indians along the coast their fire-arms. This proposition, however, was of little avail, for though one or two of the settlers, who had some influence with the natives in their immediate vicinity, induced them to surrender their arms, the general temper of the Indians was such that any attempt to disarm them, even by persuasion, would have been regarded as a new affront.

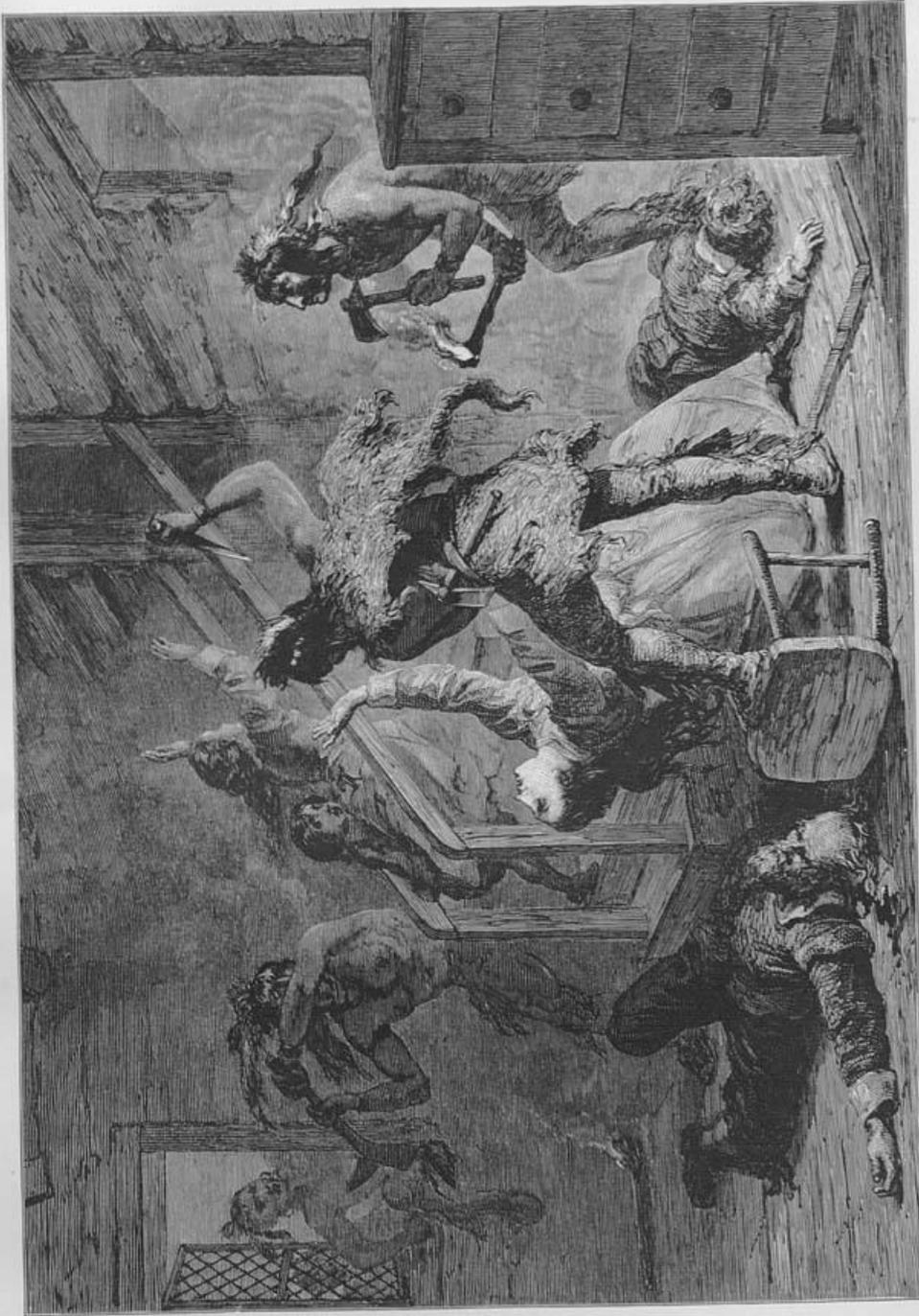
While the Indians were in this state of uncasiness, and the settlers were yet uncertain whether they might not yet be restrained from any hostile acts, Squando, the bitter enemy of the English, received a new affront, which naturally provoked his resentment. As his squaw, with her infant child, was paddling a canoe on the Saco, some reckless sailors, who had heard that Indian children could swim as naturally as young dogs, mischievously overturned the canoe, that they might see

the wonder for themselves. The child sank; and though the mother, diving, brought it to the surface alive, it soon after died from the effects of its sudden plunge. Squando was exasperated; but his anger was not confined to the perpetrators of the outrage; it extended to all the English, and, throwing off all restraint, he exerted himself, with all his eloquence and his arts of pretended intercourse with invisible powers, to excite the Indians against the settlers. It was not long before he saw his wishes realized by the waging of a petty warfare on the more exposed farm-houses and settlements.

The first decided act of hostility by the Indians was at the house of Thomas Purchas, who was one of the earliest settlers of Maine, and lived in the Sagadahock territory in a somewhat isolated situation. He had long been on friendly terms with the Indians, and had pursued a profitable trade with them. He was probably somewhat sharp at a bargain, and when the natives began to recount their wrongs, they reckoned up a score of petty grievances which they wished to wipe out. Purchas had sometimes been annoyed by the Indians coming to his well, and had ordered them away, or exacted some payment of furs for the privilege; and this was one of the affronts which they remembered, and were determined to revenge. A party of twenty Indians came to his house when he and his sons were absent, and none but women were at home. They pretended that they wanted to trade, but their purpose was hostile; and had Purchas been at home, they would doubtless have provoked a quarrel, which would have ended in bloodshed. When they found that he and his sons were away, they threw off their disguise, displayed their weapons, and proceeded to rob the house of arms, ammunition, and liquor, and killed a calf and a number of sheep. They were making merry over the liquor, a taste of which they had often before obtained from Purchas in payment for furs, when one of the old settler's sons returned on horseback. He was close upon them before he perceived the mischief, and as he could not, alone and unarmed, contend with such a number of savages, he turned his horse and fled, hotly pursued, for a short distance, by several of the Indians, who, however, did not fire upon him. When they had appropriated all the property they wanted, they departed without harming the inmates, but leaving them with the comfortable assurance that others would soon come and treat them worse.

This exploit was soon followed by others of a more bloody character, which showed that the Indians were really bent on war. On the Presumpscot River, in Falmouth, remote from neighbors, lived John Wakely, with his family, consisting of his wife and four children, and there were also with him at this time his father and mother and a younger sister, a girl of about eleven years. This family had probably given no provocation to the savages, and were unsuspecting of danger and unprepared for resistance. Coming upon them suddenly, a band of Indians killed the entire family, with the exception of the girl above named, treating some of them in the most barbarous manner, and then setting fire to the house. The young girl, who witnessed the murder of all her family, was carried into captivity. She was obliged to follow the ever-moving Indians through the wilderness, enduring fatigue, hunger, ill treatment, and the remembrance of that terrible day when all who were dear to her were murdered before her eyes. During the winter she was carried as far south as Narragansett, whither the savages went to plot more mischief. Early the next summer, however, she was again taken towards Maine, and Squando, who by turns exhibited the noblest traits of character and the most fearful cruelty, restored the unhappy child to freedom by delivering her to Major Waldron, at Dover.

There was no longer any doubt as to the purpose of the Indians to wage a bloody war upon the settlers, and attacks on exposed houses throughout the region between the Piscataqua and the Androscoggin followed in quick succession. Such military forces as could be collected in the settlements were organized to resist them; but the Indians were cunning, and moved swiftly on places which were defenceless. Soon after the visit of the savages to the house of Mr. Purchas, a party of twenty-five men was sent to that neighborhood to bring away the few remaining settlers and their corn. They went thither in a sloop, and as they approached the little settlement below Purchas's house, they discovered that the Indians were engaged in rifling the houses, the inmates of which had fled. Landing, they endeavored to cut off the savages from the woods; but, in doing so, they came upon three spies, or sentinels, one of whom was shot, while the other two escaped,—one to a canoe, in which he crossed the river, and the other to the woods,



MASSACRE OF THE WAKELY FAMILY AT PALMOUTH, MAINE.

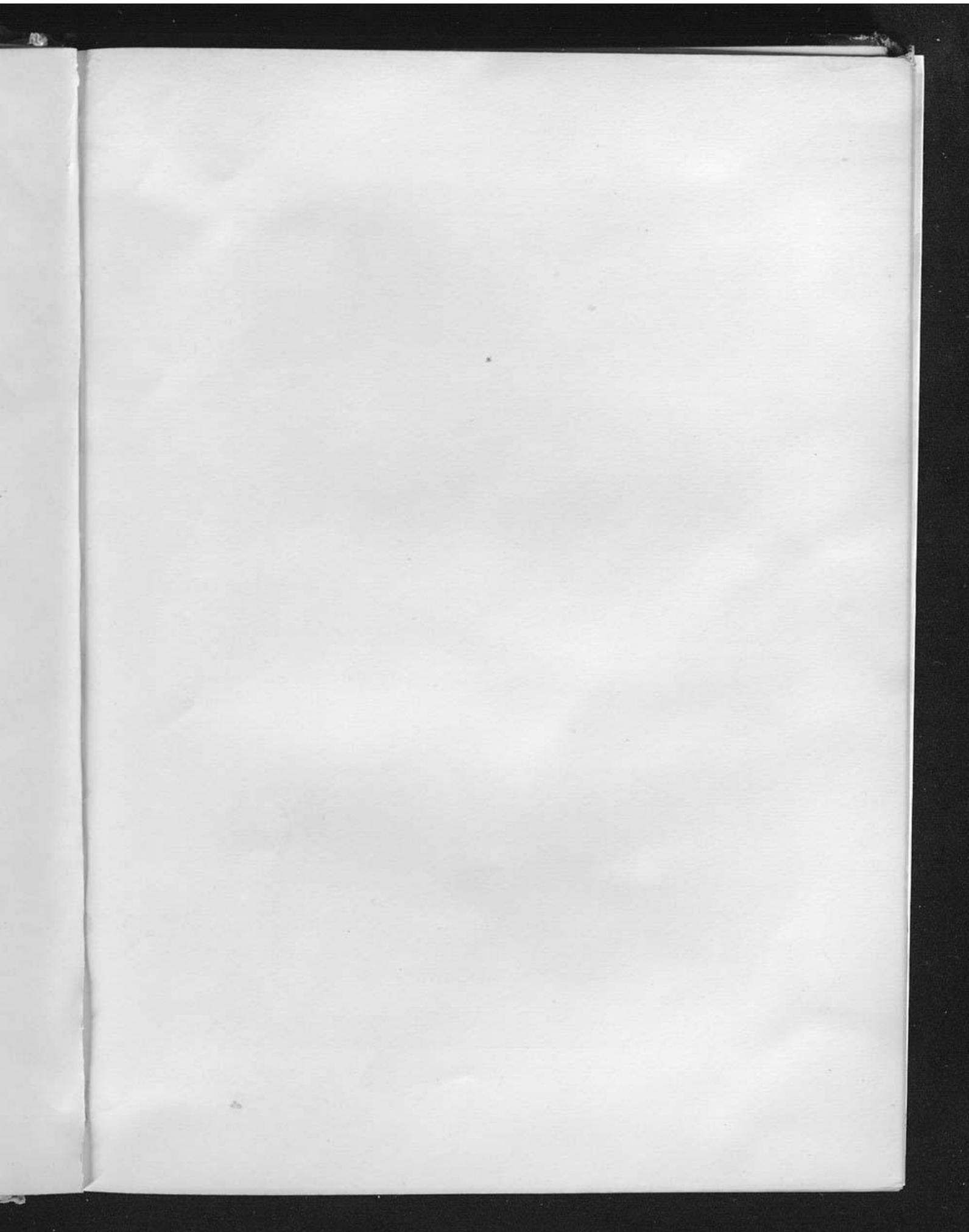
shouting an alarm as he ran. The Indians immediately concealed themselves, and watched the English as they proceeded to gather the corn, which was ripe in the fields, and to load it into their boats. This work was nearly completed, when, with a fearful yell, the savages rushed from their hiding-places in numbers exceeding the English, and made an attack in which they wounded several, and drove the whole party to the sloop. They then carried off the boat-loads of corn in triumph. This success had the effect to embolden the Indians, who hitherto had stood in fear of the whites when armed.

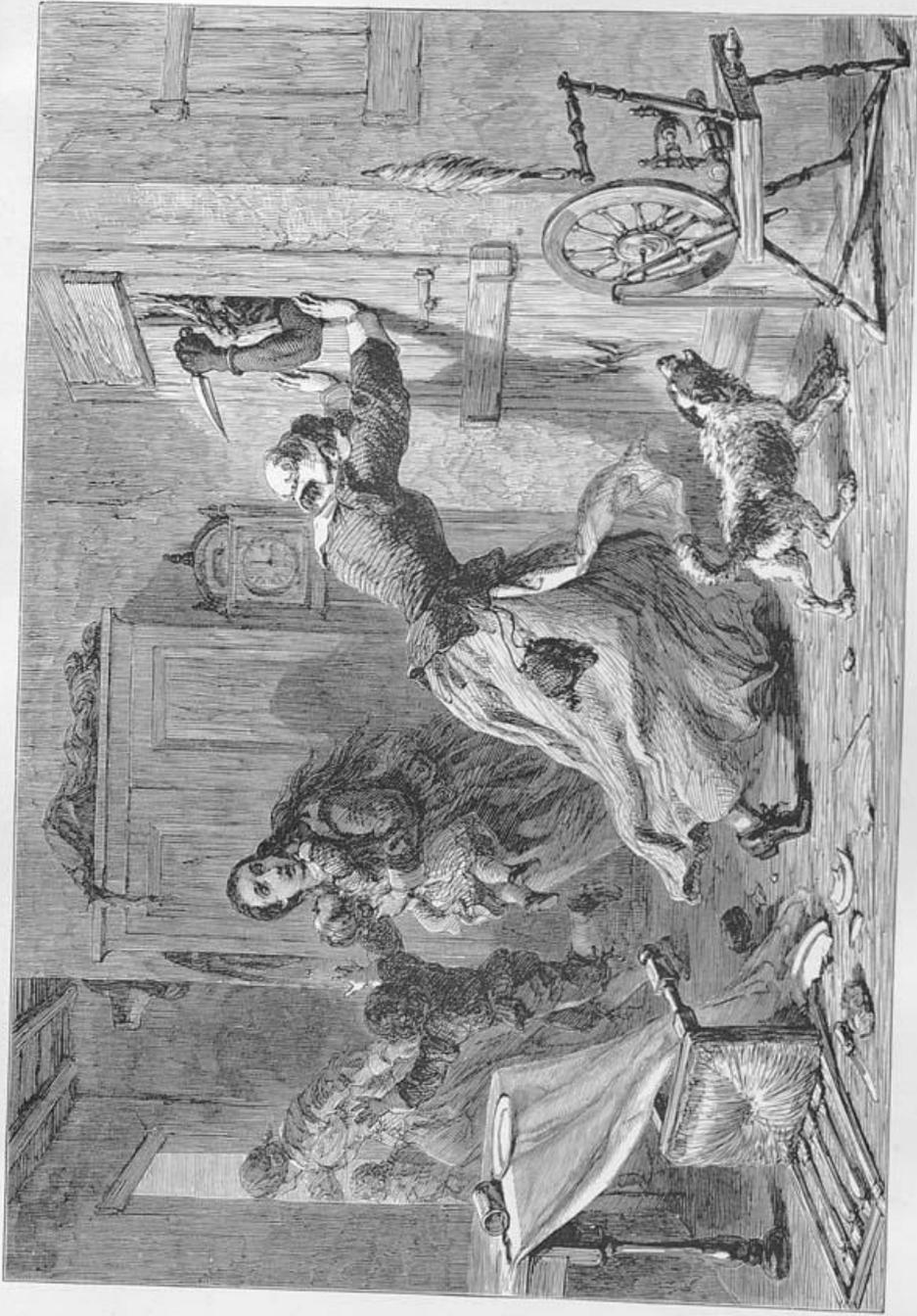
These events had hardly taken place, when a band of the savages appeared at Saco. The most exposed houses here were those of John Bonyton and Major Phillips, one on each side of the river, and for fear of unfriendly visits they had been to some extent fortified. One night, shortly before, a friendly native went to Bonyton's house and told him that some strange Indians were in the neighborhood endeavoring to persuade all the natives to join in a war against the whites, and warned him that they would soon be joined by others from the east, and would attack the settlement. Bonyton immediately alarmed the other settlers, and a number of them withdrew, with their families, to the house of Major Phillips, which was more capable of defence. This removal had hardly been effected when, at nightfall, Bonyton saw his house in flames, and soon after an Indian was seen skulking near Phillips' house. While looking from a chamber-window for any further sign of the enemy's approach, Major Phillips was wounded in the shoulder by a shot from a lurking Indian; and, as they saw him fall, the savages started from their concealment with a shout of triumph. In the house there were fifty persons, many of them women and children, and not more than ten or twelve were effective men; but these were disposed in the house, and behind the breastwork of logs that flanked each side, where they could fire upon any assailants. As soon as the Indians exposed themselves a volley was discharged, which killed or wounded several of them. They continued the attack, however, and endeavored, sometimes by threats and sometimes by offers of safety to all the inmates, to induce the garrison to surrender. Setting fire to some out-buildings and a mill, they challenged the "English dogs" to come and put out the fire. But this challenge was as unsuc-

cessful as the threats and promises. The moon, which had afforded light for the garrison to see the assailants, had now set, and the Indians resorted to a new expedient. Taking a cart, they filled the body with combustibles, and constructed a screen upon it, behind which they could push it towards the house without being exposed to sight, and could then thrust the burning materials against it and set it on fire. But, as they did this, one wheel sank in a ditch and caused the vehicle to turn, so that the party that was pushing it was exposed to view in the light of the flaming combustibles, and within pistol-shot of the house. A volley from one of the side defences laid the whole party low, and the assailants, discouraged, soon after withdrew.

The settlers at Saco were now, with reason, greatly alarmed, and in answer to their call for help, Captain Wincoln, with sixteen men, hastened from Newichawannock, or South Berwick, to their relief. Landing at the mouth of Winter-harbor, not far from the settlement, they were met by several prowling Indians, who fired upon them and then fled to the woods, sounding their war-whoop to alarm their fellows. Soon not less than a hundred and fifty Indians made their appearance, and commenced firing upon the little band of whites. Before this large force Wincoln and his men were obliged to retire, though returning the fire of the savages. Fortunately there was a pile of timber near by, behind which they took shelter, and being able to fire with more precision, they compelled the enemy to retire before their fatal shots. A party of eleven men who, hearing the guns, came from the settlement to join in the engagement, were less fortunate, for, falling into an ambush, they were all killed or wounded by an unexpected volley.

The Indians, always hovering about the settlements in bands of more or less formidable numbers, were well informed of the movements of the English, and were ready to take advantage of the absence of the men from their homes, or the weakness of a garrison. While Wincoln and his men were gone to Saco, a party of savages, led by a neighboring Indian, appeared at the house of John Zozier, who was one of Wincoln's party. The house was the most exposed in the settlement, and the family, consisting of fifteen persons, all women and children, were left in it wholly unprotected. The Indians were seen





AN UNKNOWN HEROINE.

approaching by a young woman of eighteen, who gave the alarm, and closing the door, held it while the family escaped at the rear of the house. The savages cut through the door with their hatchets, and forced an entrance in spite of the heroic efforts of the girl, who still remained at her post. They struck her with repeated blows, and left her for dead, while, finding the rest of the family had fled, they started in pursuit. They overtook two of the children, and one of them being but three years old, they immediately dispatched it, because too young to travel; the other was carried away into captivity, but was subsequently ransomed. The brave girl, whose heroism had saved the family from captivity or death, remained senseless till the savages had retired from the neighborhood. Fortunately, for some reason, they did not follow their usual practice and set fire to the house, and she was thus saved from a terrible death. She at last revived, and, being discovered by some men from the garrison, was carried away to a place of safety, and recovered. History records few instances of self-devotion more memorable than that shown by this young girl, yet even her name is forgotten!

The Indians, who knew of Wincoln's expedition, were eager to be revenged, and they set fire to his house and barns, which were entirely destroyed, with property of much value for that time. Fortunately, his family had been removed to a more secure place, and thus escaped the fate intended for them. Newichawannock seems to have been especially an object of vengeance with the savages. They continued to lurk in the vicinity, and shot several persons who imprudently exposed themselves at a distance from the settlement. Shortly afterwards, a party of about a hundred attacked the house of one of the settlers, killed him, and carried his son into captivity. The garrison at this place was under the command of Lieutenant Plaisted, who saw the attack from a distance. As the Indians apparently retired, he sent a party of nine men to reconnoitre, and ascertain their movements. The savages, seeing this party approach, according to their custom concealed themselves, and the men fell into an ambush, when three of them were killed, and the rest, with difficulty, escaped to the fort.

Plaisted was a brave man, and he determined that the bodies of the murdered settler and his fallen comrades should not be exposed to

further barbarities. Accordingly, with twenty of his men and an ox-team, he went to bring in the bodies for interment. They proceeded first to the house of the unfortunate settler, and, having placed his body in the cart, were returning to the spot where the others had fallen, when suddenly, from behind logs and bushes, a large number of Indians fired a volley, and immediately followed up the attack, rushing from their hiding-places with furious yells. The oxen took fright, and ran towards the garrison, while Plaisted and his men withdrew to a better position, where he attempted to make a stand against numbers greatly exceeding his own. The men, however, were not inspired with their commander's bravery; some of them were wounded, and the force of the savages seemed overwhelming, and, after firing a few volleys, most of them sought safety by retreating to the fort. Plaisted himself disdained to fly, and refused to surrender, though repeatedly urged thus to save his life. Supported only by his son and one other, he held his ground, and fought with desperate bravery; but, when the men retreated, the savages rushed forward and literally hewed him down with their hatchets. His two companions, who had been unwilling to leave him, fled before this onset, but they, too, were overtaken and killed. Another son of the brave lieutenant was severely wounded at the commencement of the engagement, and subsequently died of his wounds. Plaisted was a man of note in this region, and had represented Kittery in the General Court of Massachusetts. His loss was greatly lamented, and his heroism was long remembered by the settlers, who piously interred his remains, and those of his son, on his own land, and erected a simple monument over his grave.

The Indians were still bent on mischief, and though they did not venture to attack the more compact settlement, which was defended by the garrison, they burned several outlying houses and barns, and killed the cattle. Then proceeding to another small settlement at Sturgeon-Creek, they burned a dwelling-house and killed two men. When they attacked another house, on the outskirts of the settlement, they were frightened away by a shrewd but rather ludicrous stratagem. Captain Frost, the owner of this house, was at some distance from it when the Indians approached, and narrowly escaped being shot before he reached it. The only other occupants of the house were three

boys; but, as the Indians came near, the captain shouted his orders as if he was commanding a company of soldiers: "Load quick! fire then!" And when two or three guns were discharged he cried, "Well done, brave men!" The Indians believing that the house was garrisoned, withdrew without further molesting him.

The savages next made their appearance at Wells, where they destroyed one or two houses and killed several men. This was the last of their exploits during the year 1675, and was succeeded by a temporary quiet. Without making any determined attack upon a compact settlement, by attacking exposed houses they had inflicted a severe loss upon the English, having in three months killed or captured eighty persons, burned a large number of buildings, slaughtered many cattle and sheep, and destroyed much other property of great value to the settlers.

Meanwhile the hostile and barbarous acts of the Indians had excited both alarm and a desire for vengeance on the part of the whites, and many of them, unwisely, treated even those natives who were disposed to be friendly as equally guilty with the marauders. At Monhegan the settlers offered a bounty of five pounds for every Indian's head that should be brought in, and the conduct of the people of other places was such as to estrange the friendly natives and drive them to an association with the avowed enemies of the whites.

Exposed houses were abandoned, and the occupants were hurried to the more compact settlements, where men, women, and children were crowded together in strong timber houses which were flanked by timber breastworks and defended by small garrisons. The products of many farms had been left ungathered, or were stored in barns to which at any moment the torch might be applied by the ever-moving savages. While the settlers sought safety in or near the garrisoned houses, by direction of the General Court of Massachusetts a force was collected to follow the Indians into the wilderness and attack them in their winter-quarters. But before this force was ready to march, the snow had fallen to such a depth that it was difficult and dangerous to move, except on snow-shoes, and with these the men were not provided. It therefore became necessary to abandon the expedition.

The Indians had abandoned the chase to follow the war-path, and

the winter found them more scantily provided than was usual with food and furs. Wasteful and improvident, they had destroyed quantities of corn and many animals, which, if carried away, might have supplied their wants. Their necessities now made them less warlike, and they applied to the commissioners, who had been appointed by Massachusetts to provide for the defence of Maine, for a truce and the means of obtaining food. A treaty was accordingly entered into with the sagamores, who engaged that their followers should be peaceful and submissive to the government, and should return all the captives they held. The treaty was fairly observed by the Indians, who from time to time restored their captives, and for a period of seven months there were no attacks by the savages.

This truce might perhaps have led to a permanent peace had not the whites lived in constant fear of a new outbreak on the part of the Indians, which led them to believe all sorts of rumors concerning the movements and intentions of the savages, and to adopt measures that resulted in grievous wrongs to the natives. Their fears were not wholly without reason, for Castine and other French traders were driving a brisk trade in fire-arms and ammunition with the Tarratines; and though few of this tribe had hitherto been engaged in hostilities, they might be encouraged by the French to make war upon the English, or they might dispose of their arms to Indians who still nursed a spirit of revenge. It was reported that the sagamores of the hostile tribes were plotting the destruction of all the English settlements; and whether the report was well founded or not, it was so fully believed, that Major Waldron, the principal commissioner, issued warrants for the arrest of every Indian known to have been engaged in the war, or suspected of being concerned in the new conspiracy.

Some unscrupulous ship-masters trading along the coast obtained such warrants, and succeeded in taking a number of Indians who manifested no signs of hostility and carried them away to be sold as slaves. These outrages provoked the resentment of the Indians; but they did not, as might have been expected, resort at once to retaliation. They complained to Mr. Shurte, at Pemaquid, whose friendly conduct had always won the confidence of the natives, that many of their brothers were missing, and that some of their number had perished by starva-

tion because the English had driven them from their cornfields on the Kennebec, and had then withheld powder and shot with which to provide food. Shurte tried to conciliate them, and told them that their friends should be returned, and the kidnappers should be arrested and punished. He urged them to make a treaty of peace, and his influence was such that their good will was apparently restored; and shortly afterwards a messenger came from them inviting him to meet the sagamores of the more eastern tribes in council.

Shurte desired to act by authority, and laying the matter before the commissioners, or "council of war," he was authorized, with a Captain Davis, to meet the Indians as they proposed. The meeting was appointed to take place at Teconnet, the chief village of one of the tribes, and on the arrival of Shurte and Davis they found a large assemblage of Indians. They were received with a salute of fire-arms, and conducted to the council-lodge, where Madockawando, Tarumkin, and others of the principal sagamores of the several tribes, awaited them; but they noticed that Squando, the ablest, most influential, and most hostile chief, was not present. After a formal shaking of hands, a custom heartily adopted by the Indians, the whole party seated themselves on the ground, and the council commenced, as usual, with a long silence.

The chief speaker of the Indians then addressed the visitors, first assuring them of their safety. "It is not our custom," said he, "like Mohawks, to seize the messengers that come to us with words of peace. We never do as some of your people did to a party of our brothers who came to treat with you—taking away their guns, and setting a guard over them. You told us to come and give up our guns and powder, or you would kill us. We did not desire to go upon the war-path, and that we might retain our wigwams and our corn, we gave up our hunting-guns. It was a great loss to us, and its weight is heavy on our thoughts."

To this speech Shurte replied, "We desire to treat you well. Our men who have wronged you are bad men. If the arm of our rulers can reach them, they shall be punished. All the Indians know that they are treated kindly at Pemaquid. We come now to make a lasting peace. We wish to see Squando, and to hear Tarumkin speak."

Tarumkin, who had not yet taken part in hostilities, then spoke. "I

have been westward," said he, "and found three sagamores wishing for peace, but many Indians unwilling to bury the hatchet. I love the clear waters of friendship, and, for myself, I choose the shades of peace. My heart is true, and I give you my hand in pledge of friendship."

Several of the sagamores offered the same token of amity; but the agents doubted their sincerity, or their ability to make good their pledges. Squando, whose presence had been promised, did not appear, and no treaty would be of much value unless that fierce and influential chief should participate in it. They asked again for Squando, and hesitated in answering the demands of the Indians for powder and shot till he could be heard from. Madockawando saw their distrust, and, impatient at the delay, exclaimed,—

"Have we not met here as equals to pledge good things? Where shall we buy powder and shot for our winter's hunting when we have eaten our corn? Shall we leave the English and go to the French? or shall we let our people starve? We wait long to hear; now tell us—shall we have powder?"

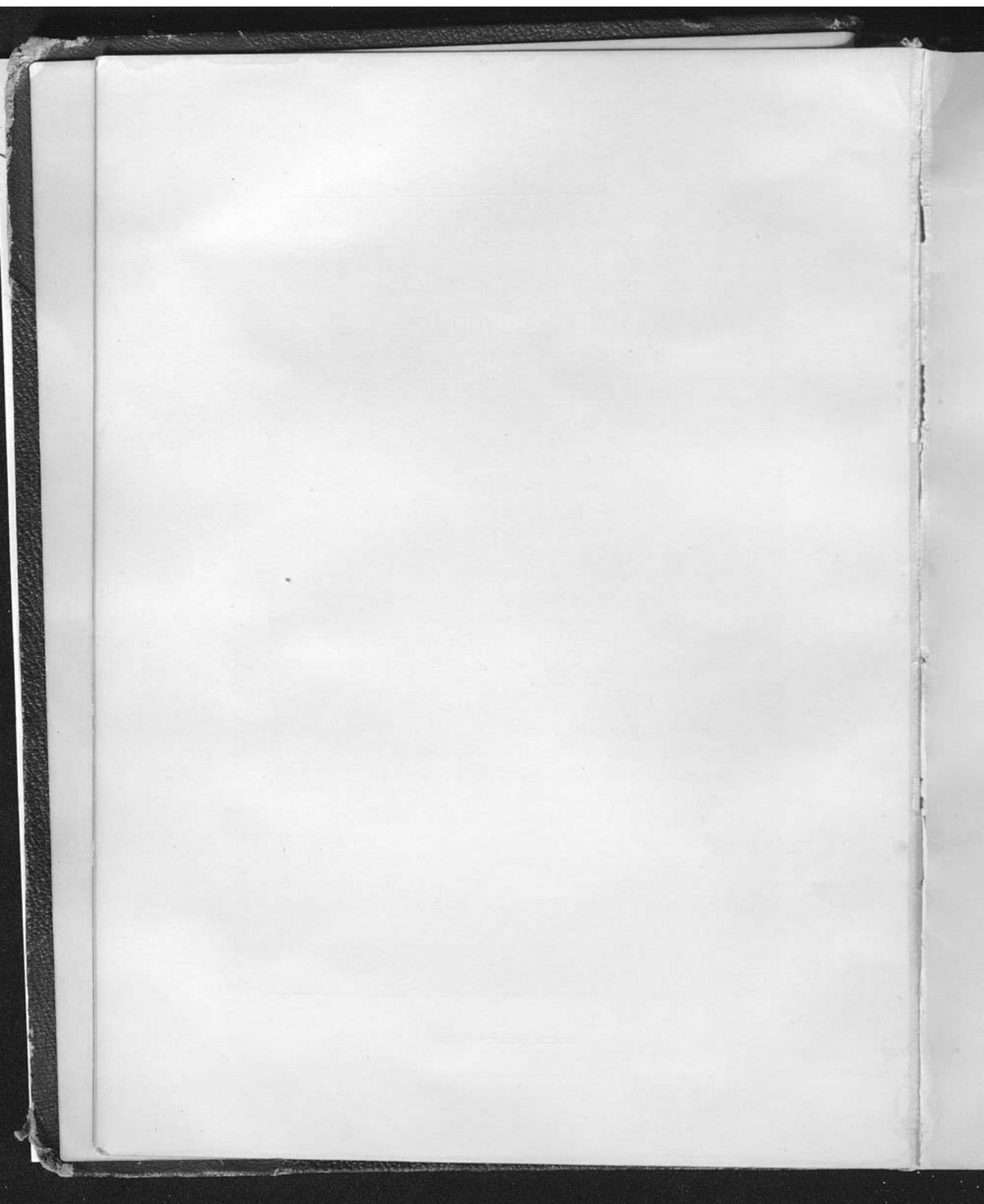
"You may have powder," replied Shurte, "for necessary use in hunting; but you tell us there are many western Indians who do not want peace. Should you let them have the powder we sell you, we should simply cut our own throats. This is the best answer we can give you, though you wait ten years."

This curt reply offended the sagamores, and they refused to continue the talk. The negotiations were abruptly broken off, and Shurte and Davis returned home with a report of their failure, which increased the apprehension of a speedy renewal of hostilities.

Meanwhile, in Massachusetts, the Indians had met with severe losses, and Philip, with a few followers, had retired to his home at Mount Hope. His death soon after substantially ended the war in that region, but it led to far different results in Maine. Those of his followers who escaped death or capture fled to New Hampshire or Maine, where they mingled with the natives of that part of the country; and burning to revenge the death of their chief and their friends, they endeavored, by reciting their wrongs, to excite the tribes that harbored them against all the English. In Squando they found a ready ally. The disposition



DEATH OF KING PHILIP.



of some of the sagamores to enter into a treaty of peace had disgusted him; but now he took fresh courage, and again announcing that a spirit had revealed to him the certain destruction of the English, he aroused not only his own followers but the Indians of other tribes to hostile acts.

The revengeful Pokanoket fugitives, however, did not wait for Squando to commence the war. They found enough followers to join in the treacherous and petty attacks most attractive to the savage. The first of these outrages was committed at Falmouth, where one of these fugitives, named by the English "Simon," had made himself familiar. Anthony Brackett, a settler of that place, lost a cow; and Simon, a few days after, said he would show the fellows who killed the creature; and then he went away as if he intended to bring in the culprits. Brackett and his neighbors suspected some treachery, and sent messengers to Major Waldron, who was then at Dover, to inform him of their suspicions and fears. But the messengers had hardly gone before Simon appeared with a party of savages at Brackett's house, exclaiming, "Here are the Indians that took your cow!" and immediately the intruders seized all the arms in sight, and bound Brackett, his wife, several children, and a negro servant. A brother of Mrs. Brackett, who resisted them, was killed. They then went to other houses, and, after killing four or five men, took the women and children captives, and departed.

The Indians, anxious to continue their ravages, hastened forward, leaving their prisoners in the rear, under threats of fearful punishment if they did not follow, and a promise of a share in the spoils if they did. But when the savages were gone, the captives thought only of escape. They were on the eastern shore of Casco Bay, and Mrs. Brackett, with maternal anxiety, was the most ready with expedients. Her watchful eye discovered a dilapidated birchen canoe, which seemed to her to offer a chance for escape if it could be made to bear them. In a deserted house she was so fortunate as to find a needle and thread, and with these she applied herself to repairing the canoe. It was no easy or brief task, and, as time passed, the captives were in dread lest the Indians, discovering that they had not followed, should return and inflict the threatened vengeance upon them. But at last the canoe was repaired, and in this frail bark, with her husband, children, and

the negro man, she embarked, trusting to the mercy of the waves rather than that of the Indians. Without a sail, and with only some poor paddles, they ventured out across the bay. The canoe, though heavily laden, floated triumphantly over the swell of the ocean, and the fugitives thus sailed ten or twelve miles across the bay to Black Point. Here again they feared that they might encounter savages, should they land, or at best a desolated plantation; but to their great joy, as they entered the harbor, they discovered a vessel at anchor, on board of which they were kindly received and carried to Piscataqua.

Immediately after the attack at Falmouth a party of Indians appeared at the house of Richard Hammond, at Stinson's Point, in the Sagadahock region. Hammond had been for a long time a trader with the Indians, and there was perhaps some ground for their complaints that he had cheated them. In their present temper they probably magnified his offences, and charged him with some imaginary wrongs, for all of which they were now determined to be revenged. A young girl, terrified at their appearance, attempted to run away, but was overtaken by an Indian and brought back, with the assurance that she should not be harmed; but, watching her opportunity, she escaped, and travelled ten miles to Sheepscot settlement, where she gave the alarm. The Indians took their revenge on Hammond by killing him and two other men, taking sixteen women and children prisoners, and burning all the buildings.

At Arrowsick Island, two or three miles distant from Hammond's place, two enterprising merchants of Massachusetts, Clark and Lake, had established a plantation which was then in a flourishing condition. On it they had erected, at great cost, a fortification, a mansion-house, a mill, barns, and out-buildings, about which were some cultivated fields. Captain Davis was their agent for managing the plantation, and they were themselves frequent visitors to the place. At this time Captain Lake was present, being one of the officers appointed by the Massachusetts government to look after the defence of the Maine settlements. When the Indians had finished their work of destruction at Hammond's place, they paddled away in their canoes, and at nightfall landed in silence on Arrowsick, where they stealthily approached the fort. A solitary sentinel was posted outside the palisade, but suspecting no

danger, he grew tired of pacing to and fro to no purpose, and withdrew before the usual hour, and without waiting to be relieved. Under the palisades the Indians crouched unseen, and as he entered the gate they closely followed him. Before he discovered his error the savages were already in the fort, and, dispatching him, they closed the port-holes and were masters of the place. Most of the little garrison were asleep, but, wakened by the triumphant yells of the Indians, they sprang to their arms, and a desperate hand-to-hand conflict ensued. But the Indians had now entered in too great numbers, and Captains Lake and Davis, with others, fled through a back door, and the two officers, jumping into a canoe, attempted to reach another island. They were closely followed, however, by the savages, and were overtaken just as they were stepping on shore. Lake presented his pistol at the leading pursuer, but before he could fire was killed by a musket-shot. Davis was wounded, but succeeded in creeping into a cleft in the rocks, where he was unseen. Two days after, when the Indians had disappeared, he found a canoe, and was able to paddle to the mainland.

A dozen others of the garrison, escaping from the fort, fled to the farther extremity of the island and succeeded in getting off; but all the other occupants of the fort, thirty-five in number, some of them women and children, were either killed or carried away as captives. Before the sun rose, all the buildings were in flames, and when the savages departed, red with blood and laden with spoils, they left the plantation, which had been one of the most costly and flourishing in Maine, a heap of smouldering ruins.

The war was now fairly renewed, and the Indians made sudden attacks upon all the exposed settlements in this region. In one month fifteen leagues of coast eastward of Casco Neck were laid waste. Some of the inhabitants fled to the islands or more remote places for safety; but many were either massacred or carried into captivity, and most of their dwellings were burned. Success made the savages more bold and fierce, and everywhere they waged a relentless and cruel war. Help was sought from Massachusetts, and at last the General Court, having been convened, ordered two hundred men to be enlisted and sent to the relief of the Maine settlements. At the same time Major Waldron, of Dover, and Major Frost, of York, were ordered to detach

as many men as they could spare from their respective regiments to join the troops from Massachusetts. The latter consisted of one hundred and thirty English and forty Natick Indians, and at Coheco, or Dover, in New Hampshire, they met the men under Waldron.

For some reason not explained, about four hundred Indians had assembled near the same place. Some of them were fugitive Narragansetts and Pokanokets, some were hostile members of the eastern tribes who had treacherously violated their treaty promises, and had engaged in the recent massacres, while others had hitherto been neutral or professedly friendly. But all now seemed to be acting in concert, and it was difficult to tell what would be the result of this unexpected assemblage. To solve the difficulty, Waldron resorted to a stratagem which will be more fully related in a subsequent chapter. By an act of treachery, which reflected little credit on the whites, he succeeded in disarming the whole body of Indians, and then made prisoners of those known or supposed to have been engaged in the massacres and robberies in Maine, nearly two hundred in number. These were sent to Boston, where they were tried by the magistrates, and seven or eight, being found guilty of murder, were executed, while others, convicted of hostile acts, were sentenced to "banishment," which, in their case, meant to be sold in foreign lands as slaves.

The heavy loss inflicted on the Indians by this treacherous exploit, instead of discouraging, served to inflame them with a desire for revenge. Moving rapidly from place to place in small parties, they avoided the force sent against them, and fell upon exposed houses and small garrisons, killing or taking prisoners all the whites they could reach, and by cunning or treachery gaining possession of some fortified houses. Encouraged by their successes they at last appeared in some force at Wells, where the remaining inhabitants had taken refuge in the block-house fort at one end of the settlement. They sent one of their prisoners to demand a surrender; but the commander of the garrison replied, "Never shall the gates be opened till every one within is dead!" This defiance rather disconcerted the Indians, who did not attempt an attack upon the strong fort, but they succeeded in killing two or three persons who exposed themselves, and cut the throats of a number of cattle.

The savages continued the war in this manner till the approach of winter, when they gradually withdrew, finding it necessary to resort to hunting for subsistence. Supposing that they had retired to one of their great forts on the Ossipee, Captain Hawthorn, who commanded the force sent from Massachusetts, marched towards that place. Wading through the snows that were now falling, and crossing half-frozen streams, the troops suffered severe hardships, and found only an empty fort. Not an Indian was seen, and, after an absence of two months, the force returned, from their fruitless expedition, to Berwick.

Meanwhile the Tarratines, influenced perhaps by Castine, expressed a desire for peace; and Mugg, who was a sort of prime minister of the sagamore of that tribe, went to Piscataqua to make proposals for a treaty. Mugg was one of the most cunning and able of the Indians, who was friendly and hostile by turns. For a savage, he was skilled in diplomacy, and he was also an adept in lying and treachery, as well as a fierce warrior. He came now with a promise that some of the captives recently taken should be restored, and a proposal of a treaty of amity. He was accordingly sent to Boston to treat with the governor and magistrates; and there a treaty was negotiated, which he signed in behalf of the sagamore of the Tarratines. Having placed his mark upon the treaty, Mugg said, with Indian solemnity, —

“In token of my good faith and honor I pledge myself a hostage in your hands till the captives, vessels, and goods are restored; and I lift my hand to heaven in witness of my honest heart.”

Mugg was sent to Penobscot in company with an English messenger to secure a ratification of the treaty by his superior, who, without delay, approved of all the stipulations, even that which required him to make war against those tribes who should still persist in hostility to the English. A number of captives were restored, and the release of those held by other tribes was confidently promised. The cunning emissary then went to visit the other tribes, and to use his powers of persuasion for the release of the captives and the establishment of peace. He pretended to fear that, coming on such an errand among those hostile Indians, he might himself be treated as an enemy, and he told the English messenger, as he departed, “If I do not return in four days, you may be sure I am dead or a captive.” More than twice four

days elapsed, and Mugg did not appear; the messenger, therefore, believing that he was forcibly detained, returned to Boston. But the treacherous Mugg had probably grown tired of his *rôle* of peacemaker, and, having got among the hostile Indians, was ready to pledge his faith to them; for the following spring found him the leader of a war-party which for three days laid siege to the block-house at Black Point (Scarborough). The Indians exhibited unusual pertinacity in this attack; but a well-aimed shot from the garrison killed one of their most prominent warriors, who proved to be no other than Mugg; and the loss of so bold and cunning a leader discouraged them so that they soon abandoned the siege. Dividing their forces, they visited Wells and York, where they killed and captured a number of persons, and then hastened away to other exposed plantations.

The settlements in Maine were in such a critical condition, and so difficult was it to raise forces for their protection among the people of Massachusetts after their own losses in King Philip's war, that the General Court entertained the project of employing the Mohawks of New York as allies. This tribe was on friendly terms with the English, and their warlike character made them a terror to the eastern tribes. A small party of them was accordingly taken into the service of the colony, and led to Maine. Intelligence of the coming of these fierce enemies of all the eastern tribes spread rapidly among the Indians, and served not only to increase the hatred of those who were hostile, but to excite alarm and jealousy among those who were neutral or friendly, and the impression was general that by the employment of these allies the English proposed to exterminate the native tribes. It soon became evident that it was a mistaken policy to continue them in the service, and their employment was abandoned.

But further measures were necessary to defend the more important settlements against destruction. Black Point was a position which it was considered essential to hold, and a company of forty men was enlisted in Massachusetts, and, with a larger number of converted Indians, was sent to that place, where they were to be joined by such men as could be enlisted in Maine. The number thus collected for the garrison at Black Point was considered large enough to defeat any body which the savages could assemble. The garrison was under the

command of Captain Swett and Lieutenant Richardson, and when, soon after their arrival, some Indians were seen lurking in the neighborhood, it was determined to march out in search of them. The men were in high spirits as they moved out in two divisions, one under Swett and the other under Richardson, and ascended a neighboring hill. Here they met with a large party of Indians, supposed to be their main body; and as the natives fell back, a pursuit was ordered. But the retreating party was only acting as a decoy, and the pursuers were led on till, two miles from the fort, they were between a thicket on one side and a swamp on the other, when suddenly, with a fearful yell, a hundred savages fired upon them from an ambush on each side, and the whole force was thrown into confusion. The Indians followed up their advantage by rushing from their concealment for a closer combat. The officers succeeded in partially rallying their men, and, as they fell back, a fierce engagement ensued. Richardson fell early in the fight, and not a few of his comrades shared the same fate. Swett fought with great bravery, and managed the retreat with skill, frequently rallying his men to hold in check the savages, who pressed on with desperate energy. Wounded in several places, and weakened by loss of blood and his great exertions, several times, in a hand-to-hand fight, he maintained his place at the rear of his retreating men till they reached the gate of the fort. As the remnant of his force ceased the contest, and sought safety within the enclosure, the savages rushed upon him, and, throwing him to the ground, barbarously cut him in pieces. In this desperate conflict, besides the two officers, forty English and twenty Indians fell, being more than half of those who had marched out from the fort in the morning full of confidence, and eager to meet the enemy. But the valor of the commanding officer had not suffered the enemy to go unscathed, and, as he repeatedly rallied his men, many of the Indians fell before their volleys.

Their success in killing so many of the whites seemed to satisfy the Indians, and they made no attack upon the fort, but withdrew to enjoy their triumph and lament their fallen warriors. They next made a movement which they had not hitherto attempted, and ventured to attack the vessels, mostly of fishermen, that lay at anchor in the various harbors along the coast. Proceeding silently at night in their canoes,

they surprised the unsuspecting crews and captured them without resistance. Twenty small vessels were seized in this manner; but the crews of three or four others, being alarmed in season, resisted the assailants, and with the loss of several men escaped.

The war had continued two years, with brief intermissions, and the calamities already suffered seemed likely to continue till the whole region along the coast was desolated. But at this juncture relief came from a quarter which rendered it not altogether agreeable to Massachusetts, though grateful enough to the sufferers in Maine. Sir Edmund Andros, governor of the provinces granted to the Duke of York, was at this time in New York, and learning, probably from Randolph, who had visited Maine as the agent of Gorges and Mason, the unhappy condition of affairs in the Sagadahock region, he determined to take possession of this province, which was one of those granted to the duke. He accordingly sent a considerable military force with instructions to build a fort at Pemaquid, establish a custom-house, and exercise authority over the province in the duke's name. The new-comers opened an unrestricted trade with the natives, who consequently became peaceful and friendly. The cessation of hostilities led Massachusetts to again attempt the negotiation of a treaty with Squando and other sagamores who had been engaged in the war. Commissioners were appointed, and in the spring of 1678 a treaty was made by which the sagamores agreed to preserve peace and to restore all captives, on condition of receiving annually a peck of corn for each English family of settlers, and a bushel of corn for Major Phillips, of Saco, "who was a great proprietor."

By many of the English this treaty was regarded as dishonorable in its concessions, but as it relieved them from the terrors of savage warfare, its terms were submitted to with no other opposition than grumbling. The losses by the war had been heavy. Between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec two hundred and sixty whites were known to have been killed or carried into a captivity from which they never returned, and there were probably many others who shared a like fate in exposed places, of whose loss no record was made. A hundred and fifty captives were from time to time released. The dwellings and barns of seven or eight settlements were reduced to ashes

with all their contents, numbers of cattle and sheep were killed, and many of the settlers who escaped with their lives were utterly impoverished. To such, peace was indeed a boon not to be rejected because purchased at the cost of a few pecks of corn.

Subsequently the settlements in Maine suffered severely in the wars which the French inspired and aided the Indians to wage against the English; but these events are of a later period than the plan of this work includes. It may be said, however, that for a long time the frontier settlements of the province were exposed to the terrors of savage warfare, which were scarcely mitigated by the presence of civilized allies. Many a peaceful family was surprised by the stealthy approach of hostile Indians, or aroused at night by the fearful war-whoop, to be massacred or carried away as prisoners, while their homes were burned and their scanty property destroyed. If the miseries of captivity were diminished by the delivery of many of the prisoners to the French, to some, the propagandism of Catholic masters was scarcely less endurable than savage cruelties; and great was the mental anguish of parents and friends of children who, under the influence of priests and nuns, embraced the faith abhorred alike by English Puritan and Churchman.

THE EARLY DAYS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.



JOHN MASON, who had been governor of a plantation in Newfoundland, having become interested with Sir Ferdinand Gorges in plans for the settlement of America, obtained a grant of the lands between Salem River and the farthest head of the Merrimack. He gave his name to this large tract, but did nothing more; and the next year, with Gorges, he took a patent for the territory between the Merrimack and the Kennebec, and extending from the sea back to the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. While Gorges sought to establish settlements or plantations in Maine, Mason directed his attention to that part of the country covered by his original grant. Associating with himself some merchants, he sent out a party to commence plantations on the Piscataqua, which was known for its deep waters and good harbor. This party was in two divisions; one, composed chiefly of fishmongers, was to settle near the mouth of the river, and the other, of traders and laborers, was to proceed farther inland. The greater part of both companies were hired men, with an agent to manage the business of the plantations, and but few came with the purpose of permanently settling in the country. The promoters of the enterprise remained in England, and sought only the acquisition of wealth by trade, Mason having the further object of his own aggrandizement as lord proprietary of a vast estate on which the inhabitants were to be his tenants. In the mountains seen in the distance he imagined gold would be found, and he probably looked for-

ward to the time when numerous settlements on his vast estate would yield him or his descendants a princely revenue.

The company of settlers arrived in the Piscataqua in 1623, and the fishmonger division was established at or near Portsmouth, the place being named Little Harbor, and subsequently Strawberry Bank, while the other division ascended the river and settled at Cochecho, or Dover. Portsmouth and Dover were therefore founded—if they can be said to be founded by such plantations—less than three years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and five years before Endicot came with the advance party of the Puritans to Salem.

The early days of these settlements offer little of interest to the general reader. The parties built a fort and a few houses at each place. The settlers at Cochecho opened a trade with the Indians, whom they found friendly; and the fishmongers at Little Harbor entered upon the business of curing and packing fish brought thither by vessels fitted out by the English proprietors. For some years the settlements received but small accessions in numbers, and made little progress in improvements; but they continued to exist without any suggestion of being abandoned, like some of the earlier plantations in Maine. The most notable event which occurred at this period was a dispute about the possession of a point of land on the river which was claimed by both settlements. This dispute waxed warm, and the rival claimants came near going to war, but it was fortunately settled without bloodshed.

When the charter of Massachusetts was granted, and preparations were being made for a large emigration of Puritans, Mason deemed it advisable to obtain a new patent, and he received a new title to the territory between the Merrimack and the Piscataqua, which was named New Hampshire. This patent conflicted in some degree with that granted to the Massachusetts colony, and Mason still asserted his claims under his first grant as far south as Salem River. His several grants, however, though obtained with the view of securing the wealth and aggrandizement of his family, proved in the end of little value to them, while they entailed tedious lawsuits upon those who derived their title to lands from these grants. When the Plymouth Company surrendered its charter, Mason secured still another grant, covering both his former patents; and he also obtained from Gorges a strip of territory

east of the Piscataqua, on which was the small settlement of Newichawannock, or Berwick.

After obtaining his patent of New Hampshire, Mason adopted a wiser policy, and conveyed some of the lands at Cocheco and Little Harbor to the settlers, or to the merchants who had furnished the means for establishing the plantations. This gave an impulse to the settlement of the country. Strawberry Bank, as the settlement near the mouth of the Piscataqua was named, began to grow, and assumed the appearance of a permanent village. At Cocheco, or Dover, there was a similar change; and though both places grew slowly, they gradually received accessions of permanent settlers with their families, and the colonization of New Hampshire was fairly begun.

When he obtained his last grant, Mason was disposed to assert his claims as far south as Salem River, and sought a confirmation of his patent from the king; but he had not succeeded in obtaining it when he died. His widow, finding that the settlements in her husband's wild domain were too heavy a burden upon her resources, informed her agents and servants at Strawberry Bank and Cocheco that they must provide for themselves. A few of her dependants left; but most of the settlers had become attached to the soil, and remained in possession of the lands and houses they occupied, and there was no one then to dispute their rights.

At the time of the Antinomian controversy in Massachusetts, when Anne Hutchinson and John Wheelwright were driven into exile, Wheelwright and his friends sought refuge on the banks of the Piscataqua, and in 1638 established themselves at Squamscot Falls, where they had previously purchased lands of the Indians, and named their settlement Exeter. Unlike the settlers at Cocheco and Strawberry Bank, this little colony came from devotion to principle, and they combined to form a government for themselves similar in character to the towns in the Bay colony, though they abjured the union of church and state, opposition to which had made them so obnoxious in Massachusetts. Not dependent upon the enterprise of London merchants, and seeking a home where they could enjoy their opinions without molestation, their attention was directed chiefly to agriculture. From time to time they were joined by others who sympathized with the opinions of

Wheelwright, and Exeter became, if not a large and thriving settlement, a community of orderly and contented yeomen.

Soon after the founding of Exeter, two Massachusetts men built a house at Hampton, where they were soon joined by some emigrants from England. While these several settlements were commenced within the patent of New Hampshire, no attempt had been made by Mason to establish any government over his domain, and there was no tribunal to settle disputes or punish crime. But notwithstanding their small numbers, disputes arose among the colonists, and the character of some of the settlers sent over in the employ of merchants was such that there were occasionally offences against good order and decency, as well as the laws of England. The weakness of the several communities made it desirable that they should have the protection of a more powerful government than they could themselves establish, both for the determination of internal disputes, the prevention of disorder and anarchy, and defence against hostile Indians or external foes. They therefore desired that the jurisdiction of Massachusetts might be extended over them.

The government of Massachusetts was well organized and already powerful, and it was not averse to such an extension of jurisdiction. But the settlers of New Hampshire were not Puritans, and there was a difficulty in admitting them to the rights of citizenship under the Massachusetts system, which made only church-members freemen. The matter was fully considered, and the General Court acted with great liberality, and, for New Hampshire, dispensed with the rigid rule observed in Massachusetts. The several towns or settlements were acknowledged as a part of the colony, with the right to send deputies to the General Court, and neither the deputies nor the freemen electing them were required to be church-members. Courts were established, the laws of Massachusetts were extended over New Hampshire, except so far as they involved a connection of civil and religious affairs; and though so different in many respects from the Puritans, the people found safety and peace under the jurisdiction of their more powerful neighbor.

To Wheelwright, however, the union with Massachusetts seemed to be a danger rather than a protection, for it brought him once more

under the laws of the colony, and he feared that he would again be called to account. He therefore went to Wells, in Maine, where he preached for some time; but afterwards returned to New Hampshire, and remained unmolested. During the Protectorate he visited England, where he was received with great cordiality by Cromwell, with whom he had been a fellow-student at Cambridge. He subsequently returned to New Hampshire.

The settlements of New Hampshire continued quietly under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts until the arrival of the royal commissioners appointed by Charles II. to investigate the affairs of New England. When the commissioners found they could make little progress in Massachusetts, they went to New Hampshire and Maine, with the hope of meeting with better success. At Portsmouth they called together the people, and told them "they would release them from the government of Massachusetts, whose jurisdiction should come no farther than the bound-house." This bound-house was erected three miles north of the Merrimack, where the boundary line between the Massachusetts patent and that of Mason had been established by an agreement between Governor Cradock and Mason before the Puritans came over.

The majority of the people of the New Hampshire towns did not desire to be released from the government of Massachusetts, whose protection they had voluntarily sought; but, as might be expected from the origin of the settlements, there was a party disaffected towards the Puritan colony. Abraham Corbett, of Portsmouth, was the active leader of this party, and by authority of the commissioners he presumed to issue certain warrants in the king's name. For this assumption he was called to answer by the General Court, and was fined,—the commissioners, in the mean time, proceeding to Maine, where they found a better field for their efforts. In his resentment, Corbett framed a petition to the king, in the name of the four towns of New Hampshire, complaining in bitter terms of the usurpation of Massachusetts, and asking relief from her oppression. Some of the royalist party signed this petition, but most of the people refused to do so, and sent a memorial to the General Court, praying that they might have an opportunity "to clear themselves of so great and unjust aspersions as were in their name cast upon the government of Massachusetts."

One of the duties required of the royal commissioners was to provide for fortifications to protect the harbors of New England against invasion by the king's enemies; and they issued orders requiring the people of New Hampshire to construct a fort at Portsmouth. The government of Massachusetts, however, forbade any proceedings under the direction of the royal commissioners; but admitting the expediency of erecting fortifications, the General Court appointed its own commissioners to select a site and construct a fort at Portsmouth; and the work was accomplished in total disregard of the royal agents.

The commissioners also undertook to inquire into the proprietary rights, with a view to restoring them to the heir of Mason; but all their proceedings were ignored by Massachusetts, and they accomplished nothing at that time. The Dutch war and the licentiousness of the court caused New England to be neglected, if not forgotten by the king; and for some years New Hampshire continued under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

From the settlements on the coast could be seen the distant mountain tops in the north-west, and, with the credulity common to the age, the settlers believed that there was immense mineral wealth there. But there were none bold enough to explore that rugged region, and their inquiries of the Indians gave them little encouragement. The natives regarded the mountains with awe, as the abode of demons, or of spirits which they must not offend, and they did not venture to penetrate that region, lest they should offend these dreaded spirits. In 1642, one Captain Neal, with two companions, probably allured by the hope of finding gold, undertook a journey to the mountains. To what extent they explored them is uncertain, for Neal gave an extravagant description, which received little confirmation from subsequent explorations. On one of the mountains he reported that he found "a plain of a day's journey over, whereon nothing grew but moss; and at the end of this plain a rude heap of mossy stones piled up on one another a mile high; on which one might ascend from stone to stone, like a pair of winding stairs, to the top, where was another level of about an acre, with a pond of clear water." Ever on the lookout for gold or precious stones, he brought back some crystals, which were reported to be so abundant

that the mountains were first named "Crystal Hills." Wherever he saw a yellow tinge on the rocks he fancied it was an indication of gold. His report of imaginary wealth, however, could not have received much credit, for it did not induce other adventurers to make more careful explorations. Mr. Vines, of Saco, was the only one who visited the mountains soon after Neal, and his report of the mountain region was much more exact and credible, and offered little encouragement to the gold-seeker.

The early days of the New Hampshire settlements do not abound in incidents of a striking character. The people, except those of Exeter, had not come out of devotion to principle, and were actuated by no motives beyond obtaining a living, and a possible increase of wealth in a moderate way. When annexed to Massachusetts, they quietly pursued their avocations, managed their local affairs without much difficulty, chose deputies to the General Court, and submitted their disputes to the courts held by magistrates designated by the government of the Bay colony. Two or three persons and a few occurrences during this period are worthy of mention.

One Rev. Mr. Burdet had come over from England, and for some time had preached acceptably in Massachusetts. He then went to Cocheco, where he also preached to the satisfaction of the nonconformists there. Soon, however, he began to plot mischief, and succeeded in superseding Wiggin in the management of the affairs of the settlement. His preaching changed, and it appeared that he had only been acting a part, and was really a spy of Archbishop Laud. He denounced the religion and government of the Puritan colony, and was summoned to appear before the court for the offence. He had already been guilty of debauchery, and, throwing off the cloak of sanctity, had revealed his true character. He refused to obey the summons of Massachusetts, and his scandalous conduct provoked so much indignation among the people of Cocheco, conformists as well as nonconformists, that he fled to Maine and took refuge at Agamenticus. Even there, where there were no Puritans to take offence at his ravings at their church polity, he succeeded in creating a disturbance. His debauchery scandalized the people of that not over-nice community, and he was brought to trial and punished for his offence. At Cocheco his con-

duct served rather to strengthen the good-will of the people towards Massachusetts, and they were glad enough to be rid of him.

Captain John Underhill, who had distinguished himself in the Pequot war as commander of the Massachusetts contingent, was not much of a Puritan, and by his loose conduct gave great offence to the good people of Boston. His valuable services as a military man probably saved him from a severer punishment, and he was banished from Massachusetts. He sought an asylum at Dover; but, unlike Burdet, he appeared to repent of his sins, and, being granted safe conduct to Boston, he made a humble acknowledgment to the church and the magistrates, and, after probation, his sentence of banishment was revoked. Subsequently he went to New Netherlands, where, with a little army of a hundred men, he protected the Dutch settlements from the hostile Indians.

At the time when Anne Hibbens was accused of witchcraft in Boston, and was tried and condemned for the offence, in 1656, as related in a preceding page, the superstition, always existing at that period, suddenly became active at Little Harbor, as well as at places nearer Boston. The people of that little settlement, however, were not carried away by the delusion, as were the people of Massachusetts at a later day, and the only case which was brought to trial ended in the discomfiture of the accusers. Whether Susannah Faminings owed Goodwife Walford a grudge or not, does not distinctly appear; but she testified that, as she was going home one Sunday night, between Goodman Evans's and Robert Davis's, she heard a rustling in the woods, which she at first thought was occasioned by swine, and presently after there appeared to her a woman whom she apprehended to be old Goodwife Walford. The apparition asked her where her consort was; to which Susannah replied, with a fib, that she had none; but the witch told her that her consort was at home—and then begged a pound of cotton. "I told her," continued the accuser, "that I had but two pounds of cotton in the house, and I would not spare any even to my mother. She said I better have done it; that my sorrow was great already, and it should be greater, for I was going a great journey, but should never come there. She then left me, and I was struck as with a clap of fire on the back; and she vanished

toward the water side in the shape of a cat." To make it clear that the apparition was a witch, Susannah described her dress, which consisted of a white linen hood tied under her chin, a red waistcoat and petticoat, an old green apron, and a black hat on her head.

Goodman Faminings testified to the affliction of his wife by the wicked arts of Goodwife Walford; and others told of strange things brought about by the same agency. If the witnesses persuaded themselves that they were telling the truth, they did not convince the entire community nor the magistrates; and Goody Walford was by no means disposed to submit tamely to the charge of being a witch, and wearing the conventional dress of a witch, and assuming the shape of a cat. She brought her accusers into court to answer for their slanderous charges, and succeeded in recovering damages. That happy result put an end to witchcraft in New Hampshire.

The early settlers of New Hampshire were free from religious bigotry. While most of them adhered to the church of England, non-conformists were not subjected to persecution, and found little difficulty in maintaining their forms of worship. Quakers and other schismatics, who sought martyrdom by proclaiming their doctrines where they gave most offence, did not find much inducement to resort to New Hampshire. In 1662, however, several of this "accursed sect," as they were called, appeared at Cocheco, and some of the people petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for relief against the spreading of the wicked errors of the Quakers among them. Richard Waldron, the most prominent man of the place, and a member of the General Court, was accordingly commissioned to act "against all criminal offenders in said town" to the extent that one magistrate might. Under this authority three Quaker women were brought before him and arraigned for persisting in preaching their heterodoxy. They were found guilty, and sentenced to be led at the cart's tail, and whipped in each of the towns of New Hampshire and Massachusetts from Dover to Dedham, and then driven out of the jurisdiction.

The infliction of this cruel punishment was commenced, and in three towns the unfortunate women received the allotted stripes, suffering to such a degree from the lash, fatigue, and exposure, that they must have died long before reaching the last place of punishment, had

they not been rescued from their impending fate. Walter Barefoote, a man of some note in New Hampshire, who was an adherent of the established church of England, and at a later date a royal governor of the province, took pity on the sufferers, and at Salisbury, by some stratagem, or the connivance of the sheriff, he succeeded in obtaining the custody of them, and, hurrying them away, sent them beyond the jurisdiction of Waldron or the sheriff. This, happily, was the only instance of persecution of the Quakers in New Hampshire. It does not appear that Barefoote was called to account for his humanity, and it is probable that the authorities of Massachusetts, satisfied with the punishment already inflicted, were glad to be rid of the offenders.

Apart from these episodes, the lives of the early settlers of New Hampshire — essentially sober and moral, though not austere — passed peacefully and without excitement. Trading in a limited way with the Indians, cultivating their small fields, and living frugally, they endured the hardships incident to the settlement of a new country, but were never reduced to want; and they found in their new homes a freedom and independence which they had not enjoyed in England, and which made them unsubmitive to oppression from abroad. This characteristic was transmitted to their children and successors.

THE INDIANS.—WHITE TREACHERY AND ITS RESULTS.



FROM the first, the Indians of New Hampshire, not very numerous, and apparently not very warlike, had manifested a friendly disposition. The principal tribe was the Penacooks, who dwelt chiefly on the banks of the upper Merrimack, but ranged over the whole territory between the mountains and the Mystic River in Massachusetts. The great sachem of this tribe was Passaconaway, a man who wielded an extraordinary influence over his followers,—not so much by his exploits in war or the chase, as by his pretended intercourse with spirits, and supernatural knowledge. He always expressed friendly feelings towards the English, and is supposed to have had a presentiment that before this superior race his own would be compelled to recede, and would ultimately be extinguished. He appreciated the superiority of the whites in arms, and always counselled peace, to avoid the early fulfilment of the destiny he foresaw. At one time there was a rumor among the settlers that he was not sincere in his professions of friendship, and that he was meditating some treachery. He was therefore required to deliver up his arms, and give hostages for his good conduct. It turned out that the rumor was unfounded, when his arms were restored, and an apology promptly offered.

When King Philip's runners were visiting all the New England tribes to stir them up to hostilities against the whites, Passaconaway, who was then an old man, assembled his tribe, that he might give them

his last counsel before he departed to the "happy hunting-grounds." He told them of the many winters he had seen, and that now he could count but few days before he should depart on his long journey to join his fathers. He reminded them of the blessings of peace which they had under his counsels enjoyed, and prophesied that a great war was to break out between the whites and the red men, which would result in the destruction of their race, if they engaged in it. "Hearken," said he, "to the last words of your father and friend. The white men are sons of the morning. The Great Spirit is their father. His sun shines bright about them. Never make war with them. Sure as you light the fires, the breath of heaven will turn the flames upon you and destroy you. Listen to my advice. It is the last I shall be allowed to give you. Remember it and live."

The old sachem, who was believed to possess some superhuman knowledge, still retained his influence with his tribe, and most of them withdrew from the neighborhood of the settlements, and held themselves aloof from the Indians who were threatening war. The eastern Indians, who frequented the New Hampshire settlements for the purposes of trade, though they had not manifested a really hostile spirit, had not shown the friendly and honorable disposition of the Penacooks. They had occasionally been guilty of some treacherous and thievish practices, for which they had been called to account; and disputes between them and the whites were not infrequently brought before the courts held by magistrates of Massachusetts, or resident associates appointed for the purpose. Richard Waldron was one of these associates at Coheco, or Dover, and, as will appear, his judgments against the Indians were remembered with savage vindictiveness at a later day. The eastern Indians had from time to time suffered wrongs and outrages from sailors and other adventurers on the coast of Maine, and their savage desire for revenge was ultimately aroused against all the English. From the people of New Hampshire, however, they had suffered no great grievance, and the settlements there were not disturbed during the first years of the war in Maine. But Waldron was a military officer as well as a magistrate; and when the Indians commenced their ravages in Maine, he went there, under orders from Massachusetts, to take measures for the defence of the plantations. His chief military exploit, however,

and the one which made him to some of the savages an object of special hatred, was at Dover. It was the only important event, too, which occurred in New Hampshire during the war with the eastern Indians which followed King Philip's war.

When, after a short term of peace, the Indians again became hostile in Maine, the people there appealed to Massachusetts for aid; and a force of one hundred and thirty English and about forty Natick Indians was sent to their relief. This force proceeded to Dover, where Major Waldron was to join it with more men, and move eastward. While they were at Dover, there was a mysterious assemblage of Indians in the neighborhood, the purpose of which was not explained, but, from the known character of some of them, was supposed to be anything but friendly. Some of them were fugitives from the defeated Massachusetts tribes, some were members of the eastern tribes who had been engaged in the massacres there, and had recently violated their promises of good behavior; while there were with these hostile savages many of the Penacooks and others who had hitherto always been friendly. Passaconaway was dead; and there was danger that the young men of the Penacooks, no longer under his influence, might be led by the revengeful Narragansetts and Pokanokets, and the treacherous eastern Indians, to abjure their peaceful policy, and join in the savage warfare. As yet, however, there were no hostile manifestations, and the result of this unexpected gathering was quite uncertain.

The soldiers from Massachusetts were anxious to attack the Indians at once, while they were apparently not yet determined as to their course; but Waldron—who, from long experience with the natives, knew that this would be a dangerous measure, which might result in fearful acts of retaliation upon unoffending women and children—would not permit it. The officers from Massachusetts had received orders to disarm all suspicious Indians, and they considered it only a fair measure of war to make prisoners of all who were known to be hostile; but Waldron did not wish to make enemies of those who had hitherto been friendly, or who had promised to preserve peace, and it was no easy matter to separate friend from foe. At last he resorted to a novel, and, in view of the risk incurred, an extraordinary stratagem.

The Indians were fond of rude pageants, and before going on the

war-path were accustomed to indulge in a war-dance, in which, with fierce yells and violent contortions, they threatened vengeance on their enemies, and besought the help of their *okis*, or spirits, in the approaching contest. As the whites were "on the war-path," Waldron's proposal was one which the savages could appreciate. This was no less than a sham battle, in which the whites were to represent one party and the Indians the other. The proposal was received with great favor by the savages, who did not suspect the treachery that lurked behind it. They were accordingly marshalled under the direction of Waldron, and conducted through various manœuvres, as if to gain some vantage-ground, while the whites apparently sought to prevent them. When both parties were in a position that suited his purpose, Waldron induced the Indians to fire a grand round in the air; and the moment their guns were discharged, according to a preconcerted plan, the English surrounded the unsuspecting natives, and, with threats of a volley from their loaded guns, disarmed them with but little resistance, and without the loss of a man.

Having thus got them in his power, Waldron proceeded to the difficult task of separating the friendly from the hostile Indians. Those who were known as allies and neutrals were at once discharged, and some others, who stoutly maintained their innocence of any injury to the whites, were also, after some questioning, set at liberty; but all the "strange Indians" whose presence could not be accounted for, and those who were known or strongly suspected of having been engaged in any of the massacres or robberies in Maine, nearly two hundred in number, were held as prisoners, and soon after were sent to Boston to be disposed of by the magistrates.

The victory was complete and bloodless. Its sequel, for which, however, Waldron was not responsible, proved it to be an act of treachery not exceeded by any committed by the savages. A large number of the prisoners were brought to trial before the magistrates of Massachusetts; seven or eight were found guilty of murder, and were executed; others, convicted of hostile acts, were sentenced to "banishment," a punishment which was carried into effect by transporting them, and selling them as slaves in the West Indies. This action of the Puritans is worthy of condemnation; but some palliation may be found in the spirit

of the age, which countenanced, and indeed made common, such treatment of heathen or infidel enemies. It must be remembered, too, that the fears excited by the numerous massacres and cruelties committed by the Indians, justified a resort to some extreme measures for protection.

This exploit at Dover did not contribute to the establishment of peace, but served to inflame the friends and relatives of the Indians who had been captured with a desire for vengeance, and for some time they continued to wage a relentless warfare in Maine. Towards Waldron they cherished a feeling of bitter hostility, and though, during that war, no attacks were made on the settlements of New Hampshire, at a later day they showed that they had not forgotten him. The opportunity to gratify their long-nursed purpose of revenge occurred in 1689. Some time before this, Andros, who was then exercising his authority as governor of New England, foolishly sent an expedition to the Penobscot, which had plundered the Baron Castine's house, and committed other outrages. Incensed at his heavy losses and the wrongs he had suffered, the Frenchman aroused the tribe with which he was connected by his marriage, to retaliate upon the English, and he found little difficulty in inducing all the eastern tribes to join in the hostilities. In King William's war against France, which immediately followed, Castine led his dusky followers in attacks upon the English settlements. But already, before the French sought the alliance of the Indians, the hostility which Castine had aroused was spreading through all the tribes.

While it was known that nearly all the eastern Indians were taking a position of open hostility to the English, the Penacooks and Ossipees, though regarded with some distrust by the people of New Hampshire, had not yet manifested any unfriendly disposition. They frequented the towns and traded with the people more freely and familiarly than in earlier days, and probably more frequently were called to account for offences. Though there was not much reason to apprehend that these tribes would, if left to themselves, indulge in violence and bloodshed, there was danger that "strange Indians" might induce them to join in the war. Accordingly there were at Dover and the other settlements a number of fortified houses to which the inhabitants retired at night.

While this degree of precaution was observed, however, the alarm was not sufficient for the establishment of any watch.

Meanwhile the Indians were daily passing through the town, stopping at the houses, and trading with the inhabitants, and they became familiar with the movements and habits of the people. Some of the squaws dropped mysterious hints, which, though not understood, made some of the people uneasy. Waldron, though now advanced in years, was still the most prominent and influential person in the town; but though in former years he had on all occasions been suspicious of the Indians, and ready to adopt prompt measures against them, long familiarity with them had caused him to regard them more with contempt than fear. Perhaps he remembered his former exploit with regret, and was determined not to be led into any hasty action again. When some of the people expressed their fears, he laughingly bade them go plant their pumpkins, and he would tell them when the Indians would break out. The number of Indians seemed to increase, and they remained about the town in an unusual manner; but Waldron's confidence quieted the apprehensions of most of the people, and they continued careless of all reasonable precautions. The very evening before the fatal night, Waldron assured a young man who told him the town was full of Indians, that he well knew the character and habits of the natives, and there was no danger.

It was a pleasant summer night when two squaws applied at each of the fortified houses, or garrisons, for lodgings, as they frequently had done before. To some of the people this seemed an augury of safety rather than of danger, and the applicants were admitted to all the houses but one. At their request the people showed them how to unbar and open the doors in case they should have occasion to go out during the night. Even this did not excite suspicion or alarm. At Waldron's house not only two squaws came to seek a lodging, but a chief, who was well known to the old major, was a guest at supper. The squaws told him that a number of Indians were coming the next day to trade with him; and the chief, while at supper, said in a familiar way, "Brother Waldron, what would you do if the strange Indians should come?" The major replied with apparent carelessness, though probably with the purpose of impressing the Indian with his power, that he

could muster a hundred men by lifting his finger. He, however, suspected no danger, and the family retired to rest as usual.

When all was still, the squaws, who had lain down on the floor of the hall, quietly opened the gates and gave a preconcerted signal, which summoned to each garrison the Indians who were waiting near by. When the savages entered Waldron's room, the major was awakened by the noise, and, jumping out of bed, he seized his sword, and though eighty years of age, he attacked them with so much vigor that he drove them into the hall, when one succeeded in getting behind him and dealt him a blow upon the head which stunned him. They then placed him in an arm-chair on a table in the hall, and, gathering about him, began in their usual manner to taunt him. "Who shall judge Indians now?" they yelled; and then, gashing his body with their knives, each one exclaimed, "So I cross out my account!" They cut off his nose and ears, and forced them into his mouth; and when at last, under this cruel treatment, the victim sank down from loss of blood, one of them held his own sword under him so that it pierced him through as he fell, and ended his sufferings.

Meanwhile other Indians were sacking the house, and finding Abraham Lee, Waldron's son-in-law, they killed him, and carried his wife and several other women and children away as prisoners, setting the house on fire before leaving. Another party of the savages had obtained an entrance into the next fortified house, that of Otis, where they killed the owner and several other men, and carried away his wife and child. At the third garrison, Elder Wentworth, roused by the barking of a dog, went to secure the gate of the enclosure, which was left open. He reached it just as the Indians were about to enter; but he succeeded in closing it against them, and, bracing himself against it, held it till the people were alarmed and prepared for defence. Two balls were fired through the gate, but fortunately both missed the brave elder; and finding the inmates ready to meet them, the assailants abandoned their attack.

On the opposite side of the river were the fortified houses of Peter Coffin and his son. The elder Coffin's house was surprised like the others; but the savages had no old scores of revenge to cross out, so they spared him and his family, though they pillaged the house. The

younger Coffin had refused to admit the squaws who applied to him for a lodging; and the Indians therefore did not gain an entrance, as they had at the other houses, but, after sacking his father's house, they summoned him to surrender, promising him quarter. He refused, and resolved to defend his castle to the last. The besiegers then brought out his father, and threatened to kill him if their demand was not acceded to; and knowing that they would make good their threat if he refused, or even hesitated, he surrendered. They put both families into a deserted house, while they pillaged the garrisons and burned the neighboring mills, intending, when their ravages were completed, to carry them away as prisoners. But while the savages were intent on their plunder the captives escaped.

So skilfully had the savages planned this surprise, and so quickly had they executed it, that they had accomplished their work and hurried away before the people in other parts of the town could assemble to oppose them. Twenty-three persons had been killed, and twenty-nine were carried into captivity. Among the prisoners was Sarah Gerrish, a child but seven years of age. She was a granddaughter of Major Waldron, and that night lodged at his house. Hearing the Indians in the house, she crept into another bed, more remote than her own, hoping to escape discovery. The keen-eyed savages, however, found her, and ordering her to dress herself, carried her away with the rest. The hardships endured by the prisoners, and the cruelty suffered at the hands of their captors, were terrible, even to the adults; and to a child of such a tender age, who fared no better than the rest, they must have been fearful indeed. They were divided as prizes among the captors, and the little girl, separated from the others, became the property of one of the Indians who was probably neither better nor worse than the others; but she was subjected to many cruel threats, suffered for want of food, and was abused by squaws and Indian children. Once her master, placing her against a tree, loaded his gun, as if he intended to shoot her. But whether he repented of his purpose, or it was merely an idle and cruel threat, he contented himself with terrifying her. She was pushed into a river by a squaw, but fortunately saved herself from drowning by catching at some bushes on the bank. She was left asleep in the wilderness while her captors went on their

way, careless whether or not she perished; but fear lent her strength and speed, and, following their tracks in the snow, she at last overtook them, glad even in their cruel company to escape from the deathly solitude of the woods. At last, the frequent threats of the Indian boys that she was soon to be burnt to death, seemed to her about to be realized. A large fire had been kindled, and her master, calling her to him, told her she must be roasted alive. It may have been an idle threat; but the cruel impulses of the savages sometimes led them to put such threats in execution. To the poor child it was real; and in her terror she burst into tears, and throwing her arms around her master's neck, she entreated him to spare her life. Even his savage nature was touched, and he promised she should not be harmed. At length she was sold to a French lady in Canada, and, after an absence of sixteen months, was restored to her parents.

Not long after the affair at Dover, the Indians made an attack on an exposed but fortified house at Oyster River, a tributary of the Piscataqua. They had observed how many men were in this house, and one morning, seeing the entire number, eighteen in all, go out to work, they quickly cut them off from the house, and killed them all, with one exception. They then attacked the house, in which were only two boys, with some women and young children. The boys bravely defended the place, and kept the enemy at bay for some time, wounding several of them. At last the Indians set the house on fire; but even then the boys refused to surrender till the besiegers promised to spare the lives of all. But the promise was treacherously disregarded, for they wantonly murdered three or four of the children, and then hastened away with the rest of the captives.

During King William's war, the French found willing allies in the eastern and northern tribes, from Nova Scotia to Canada; and they made joint attacks on a number of the exposed towns in New England. In New Hampshire the most notable attack was on the settlement at Oyster River, in July, 1694. This settlement was on both sides of the river, the houses being mostly near its banks. Twelve of the houses were fortified, and were capable of accommodating all the inhabitants; but no danger was apprehended at this time, and some families remained in their own unfortified houses, while the garrisons were but poorly provided with arms and ammunition.

The Indians, with a few Frenchmen, approached the place after nightfall without being discovered; and being formed in two divisions, one of which advanced stealthily on each side of the river, they were distributed in small parties near each house, with the purpose of making a simultaneous attack at daybreak. Their plan was somewhat disconcerted, however, by one of the inhabitants leaving his house before dawn, when all the parties had not arrived at their appointed stations. He was fired at by the Indians, and this was a signal of alarm to the inhabitants, as well as to the Indians for attack. Some of the people were thus enabled to escape, and the garrisons to prepare for defence. But the Indians who were ready immediately began the attack on the greater part of the houses. The unprotected dwellings were nearly all speedily set on fire, and the inmates, with few exceptions, were either killed or taken captive. Five of the garrisoned houses were also destroyed. One of them they entered without meeting any resistance, and in it they killed fourteen persons; another was surrendered on the promise of safety; but the Indians were no sooner in possession than they murdered the owner, and taking the other inmates captive, they made one of his children, a boy of nine years, run before a file of savages, who threw their hatchets at him till he was killed. The other three were abandoned by the inmates, who, under the cover of darkness, succeeded in escaping. Seven of the fortified houses were successfully defended alike against the attacks and the wily promises of the enemy. Unable to gain an entrance, or set fire to these houses, the Indians at length retired, having killed or taken prisoners nearly a hundred persons.

The native treachery of the savages was displayed in a number of instances where the whites surrendered on a promise of safety and were then cruelly murdered. One of the fortified houses was defended by a single man, who was neither deceived by their promises nor terrified into submission. It was situated on the bank of the river, and surrounded by strong palisades. Alarmed by the noise before the enemy reached his house, he sent off his family in a boat, and then securing the gate, he determined to defend his fortress. When the Indians appeared, he kept up as rapid a fire at them as he could, frequently changing his coat and hat, or showing himself without either, and

shouting his commands, that he might give the impression that he had several comrades. When summoned to surrender, he replied, alike to threats and fair promises, by a shot from his gun; and at last the assailants retired discomfited.

The number of killed and captives would have been larger had not the alarm been given earlier than the appointed time, and before the Indians were quite prepared. By this derangement of their plan, a number of families succeeded in making their escape by fleeing from the houses before the savages reached them. One man had just cut a way through the end of his house next to a garrison, and got his family through it, when the Indians forced the door. The darkness prevented the immediate discovery of the mode of escape, and the fugitives reached the garrison in safety. One woman and her daughter were carried by their captors some distance up the river, and left in charge of an old Indian, while the others returned to resume their bloody work. The Indian complained of illness, and asked the woman for a remedy. She had seen in his possession a bottle of rum, which he had taken from her house, and she advised him to try that. The old native had not associated so long with the whites without having acquired an appetite for that beverage, and he took a powerful dose, the effect of which was to make him drowsy and stupid; and the shrewd captive took the opportunity to escape with her child.

MASON'S CLAIMS AND CRANFIELD'S USURPATIONS.



MASON'S title to the territory of New Hampshire descended to his grandson, Robert Tufton, who, after coming of age, took the name of Mason. As the family had adhered to the royal cause, no attempt was made during the Commonwealth to recover the rights of the original grantee; but after the restoration, Mason petitioned Charles II. for relief, setting forth the encroachments of Massachusetts upon his lands, from which she had made grants, and kept him out of his rights. The petition being referred to the attorney-general, he decided that "Robert Mason, grandson and heir to Captain John Mason, had a good and legal title to the province of New Hampshire." Nothing came of this except the attempt of the royal commissioners to create disaffection towards Massachusetts, and to annul the jurisdiction of that colony over New Hampshire, which has already been mentioned.

During the time of King Philip's war, Mason again petitioned the king for the restoration of his property; and again the law-officers of the crown reported that the petitioner, as heir of John Mason, had "a good and legal title to said lands." Massachusetts was required to send agents to England to answer the complaints against her for usurping jurisdiction over the territory thus claimed. This summons, and copies of the complaints, were brought over by Edward Randolph, a man who was very successful in making himself hated by the colonists of New

England. Visiting New Hampshire, he found a few royalists disaffected towards Massachusetts; but on his return to England, he reported that he found the whole country complaining of the usurpation of the magistrates of Boston, and desiring the relief promised them by the royal commissioners. So far was this from being true, that a very large majority of the people were desirous of remaining under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and the people of Dover and Portsmouth respectively sent petitions to the king representing their wishes.

At the hearing of the complaints before the chief-justices of the king's bench and common pleas, the agents of Massachusetts disclaimed all title to the lands claimed by Mason, and to the jurisdiction beyond three miles north of the Merrimack. The judges then reported that they could give no opinion as to the right of soil, as the tenants in possession had not been summoned to defend their titles; and as to right of government, neither Massachusetts nor Mason had any. It was therefore determined that a new jurisdiction should be established, under which the title to the lands could be tried on the territory in the manner to be determined by the king.

The establishment of this new jurisdiction was managed with more policy and tact than the Stuarts were accustomed to show in such cases. Mason was required to declare, under his hand and seal, that he would demand no rents of the inhabitants for the time past, nor molest them in their possessions for the time to come, but would convey the lands to them upon the payment of a certain ground-rent. A government was then established by the creation of a president and council; and to make it acceptable, John Cutts, of Portsmouth, an aged and highly esteemed merchant, was made president, and six well-known men, among whom was Major Waldron, were appointed members of the council, with authority to choose three others. This body was to have executive and judicial authority; and an assembly, elected by the people of the several towns, was to make the necessary laws, with the approval of the council. This privilege of an assembly, the king promised, for himself and his successors, to continue, "unless by inconvenience arising therefrom, he or his heirs should see cause to alter the same." By appointing, as president and council, men who stood high in the estimation of the people, and known to sympathize

with them in their opposition to any change, the king acted with unusual prudence; but this apparent deference to the people was only a pretence to render the introduction of a new form of government more easy; and the people recognized it as such.

Randolph was the unwelcome messenger who brought the royal commission for the new provincial government. The parties named as president and councillors accepted the positions to which they were appointed with great reluctance; but knowing that the proposed change would be made, and if they did not accept, others, who had no sympathy with the people or interest in the welfare of the colony, would be appointed, they determined to assume their offices, and "do what good and keep off what harm they were able." In due time an assembly was elected, and one of its first acts was to refute the reports which had been industriously circulated in England, that they were dissatisfied with the government of Massachusetts, by sending to the General Court, at Boston, an address of gratitude for "the kindness of that colony in taking them under their protection and ruling them well."

Under the administration of Cutts and his council the affairs of New Hampshire went on as nearly as possible in the old way, and with the same spirit as before the separation from Massachusetts. Randolph, however, as collector of the customs throughout New England, caused some trouble; and for seizing a ketch that put into Portsmouth for a few days, while on a voyage to Ireland, the master brought an action against him before the council, and recovered damages. He conducted himself with such insolence before the court, that the council obliged him publicly to acknowledge his offence, and ask pardon. He appealed to the king, but nothing seems to have resulted from his appeal. His deputy, Walter Barefoote, also conducted in such a manner that he was several times fined by the council for his usurpation of authority.

Before the end of the first year of the new government, Mason arrived, to cause further trouble. He brought a mandamus requiring the council to admit him as a member. Having secured this position, he entered on the business for which he came, which was to compel the people to take leases from him. He assumed the title of lord proprietor of the province, threatening those who did not willingly comply

with his demands, and forbidding them to cut firewood or timber. He appointed stewards to collect rents, who soon made themselves obnoxious by their insolent demands and arbitrary proceedings. The people became uneasy under these attempted exactions, and petitioned the council for protection. That body, acting as a court, issued an order prohibiting Mason and his agents from continuing their irregular proceedings; whereupon Mason refused to sit in the council; and when the court threatened to proceed with him as an offender, he appealed to the king, and published a summons to the president and council to appear before his Majesty in three months. For this usurpation of authority a warrant was issued for his arrest; but he succeeded in escaping, and went to England.

During these proceedings, the aged president, Mr. Cutts, died, and was succeeded by his deputy, Major Waldron. After the departure of Mason, the affairs of the province went on smoothly; but on his arrival in England, he solicited from the king a change in the administration of the government, by which he could better accomplish his purposes. To obtain this, he surrendered to the king one fifth of the quit-rents; and Edward Cranfield was then appointed "lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief" of New Hampshire. To induce Cranfield to relinquish a profitable office in England, and accept this more precarious one, Mason mortgaged the whole province to him to secure the payment of one hundred and fifty pounds a year for seven years. Cranfield was commissioned with some extraordinary powers hitherto entirely unknown in New England, being authorized to prorogue and dissolve general courts at his pleasure, to suspend any of the council when he should see just cause, to appoint judges and other officers by his sole authority, and to execute the powers of vice-admiral.

Among those who were appointed members of the council were Waldron, Martyn, and others of the old council, together with Mason, Barefoote, and Chamberlayne, who were of a different stamp. But within six days after Cranfield arrived and assumed the office of governor, he suspended Waldron and Martyn in a manner which showed that it was intended as an act of revenge for their former fidelity to the people. When, a short time afterwards, an assembly was convened, the governor, pretending that he had found the charges against them

insufficient, restored them to their places. Practising the adage "One good turn deserves another," the assembly laid a tax of five hundred pounds, one half of which they voted to present to the governor, in the hope that, finding he was more sure of his emoluments from the people than from Mason, he might be detached from the latter. It was a vain hope, however, and the people soon found that he was bound to enrich himself, and had no scruples as to the manner of accomplishing his purpose.

The next time the assembly met, Cranfield submitted a bill for the support of the government, which they refused to pass; and he forthwith dissolved that body. This unprecedented act caused great excitement, and one Edward Gove, a member of the dissolved assembly, proclaimed "liberty and reform," and went from town to town carrying arms, and endeavoring to arouse the people to rebellion against the arbitrary governor. Though the people were greatly incensed at the despotic action of Cranfield, they regarded Gove's proposal as an act of madness, and some of the principal men considered it their duty to inform against him. Gove collected a small company, who appeared in arms to resist any attempt to arrest him. He was persuaded, however, to surrender, and a special court was immediately organized to try him and some of his associates for high treason. Gove, who defiantly justified his acts, was convicted, and sentenced to be drawn and quartered. The others were convicted as accomplices, but sentence was suspended. The judgment of the court was sent to the king for approval; and he having signified that the governor might pardon such as he considered proper objects of mercy, the prisoners were all set at liberty but Gove, who was sent to England, and confined three years in the Tower of London. At last, after repeated petitions, in which he pleaded a "distemper of mind" as the cause of his treasonable acts, he was released; and on his return to New Hampshire, his estate, which had been forfeited to the crown, was restored.

Cranfield, who was as much interested in establishing Mason's title as the claimant himself, as soon as he had determined upon the course to pursue, called upon the inhabitants to take leases of their lands from Mason within one month. According to the governor's instructions, he was to certify all cases of refusal to make terms with Mason to the

king, for his determination. Accordingly, Waldron and two other of the principal landholders of Dover, within the prescribed time, proposed to Mason that the question of their title should be submitted to the king, from whom they hoped a better show of justice than from Cranfield or his courts. Mason, acting in concert with Cranfield, refused, and his refusal had the effect to determine the people to make no proposals to him, but, since he and the governor had put themselves in the wrong, to let them take their course, and appeal to the king. Finding himself opposed on all sides, Mason threatened to seize the principal estates and beggar their owners, to quarter soldiers upon them and provoke them to rebellion; but these threats only confirmed the people in their determination not to submit.

Cranfield's next step was to suspend Waldron, Martyn, and Gilman from the council; and soon afterwards, Vaughan and two others having died, there were six vacancies, which were filled from time to time by the appointment of royalists who were favorable to Mason and the governor, among whom was Randolph. The council being thus organized to suit his purposes, the governor next appointed judges, sheriffs, and other officers, of the same stamp; and the courts being constituted to determine the cases against the tenants, Mason commenced his suits. The first was against Major Waldron, the most prominent man in the province, and the sturdiest resistant of Mason's claims. By a new law, the sheriff selected the jurors, and they were taken from those who favored Mason's claims, or who had submitted to his demands. Waldron challenged every one as interested parties, and when they declared under oath that they were not concerned in the lands in question, he turned to the people, who were led by their deep interest in the case to throng the court-room, and said aloud that his was a test case; if he were defeated, they must all become tenants of Mason; and that all persons in the province being interested, none of them could legally be of the jury. But the court had its task to perform, and the case proceeded, though Waldron made no defence. Judgment was given against him, and he was fined for seditious language.

As the result in Waldron's case was simply a type of all that were to follow, so his course was an example for all subsequent defendants. Suits followed rapidly, and no defence being offered, a dozen cases

were sometimes disposed of in a day, the costs promising a rich harvest for the empty provincial treasury. Judgment was invariably for Mason; but when he attempted to levy the executions, he found himself no better off than before. He could not keep possession of the estates, and when they were offered for sale there were no purchasers, so that the owners still retained them.

Disappointed in obtaining the emoluments of office which he had anticipated, Cranfield was at last obliged, unwillingly, to convene an assembly to supply his wants. He could hope little from those whom he had oppressed; but he magnified the vague rumor of a foreign war as a means of securing the supplies he needed. He accordingly summoned the assembly to meet at Great Island, where he resided, and then presented to them a bill, which had already been passed by the council, to raise money for the purposes of defence and *other* necessary charges. The assembly was not disposed to waive its prerogative of originating measures for raising money, and, after debating the question a while, adjourned for the night. What provision the governor made for the accommodation and entertainment of the members does not appear; but they were not disposed to remain under his roof, and went to Portsmouth. The next day they returned the bill without their approval, which so enraged the governor that he told them they had been to consult Moody and other enemies of the king, and forthwith dissolved the assembly.

The Rev. Mr. Moody, the Puritan minister of Portsmouth, was an object of special dislike with Cranfield, who, as an adherent of the church of England, not only hated nonconformists, but undertook to enforce the laws of England against them. He attempted to enforce an observance of Christmas against the conscience of a majority of the people, and published an order of the council that the Lord's Supper and baptism should be administered to any persons desiring them according to the liturgy of the church of England, and that any minister refusing so to do should suffer the penalty of the statutes of uniformity.

Believing, or pretending to believe, that the deputies had rejected his bill by the advice of Moody, immediately after dissolving the assembly Cranfield caused the sheriff to serve a notice on the obnoxious minister that he, with Mason and Hinckes, intended to partake

of the Lord's Supper the next Sunday, and requiring him to administer it according to the liturgy. As the governor anticipated, Moody promptly refused, and was immediately prosecuted,—not for any violation of the laws of the province, but of the statutes of England. Barefoote was the judge, with five assistants, who were the appointees of the governor. Moody pleaded that he had not received episcopal ordination, and was therefore not obliged, and had no right to administer the sacrament as commanded, and that the statutes under which he was prosecuted were not intended for these plantations. At the close of the trial, four of the justices were in favor of acquitting him; but the decision being adjourned to the next day, Cranfield found means to influence two of them so that a majority of the court decided for conviction. The two justices who adhered to their first opinion were soon after removed from office.

Moody was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, and, without being permitted to see his family, was immediately confined at a house on Great Island, where Vaughan was also in custody. Here he remained three months, when, by the interposition of friends, he was released on condition that he should not preach within the province. He went to Boston, where he preached for several years; but after the change of government which followed the accession of William and Mary he returned to his old charge at Portsmouth.

After securing the conviction of Moody, Cranfield sent word to the minister at Hampton, that "when he had prepared his soul, he would come and demand the sacrament of him as he had done at Portsmouth." Whatever the minister thought of the probability of the governor's "preparing his soul," after this profane message, he concluded not to wait for his appearance, but immediately retired to Massachusetts. Satisfied with thus silencing the two ministers whom he most hated, Cranfield refrained from further action in this direction.

Finding that he could not compel the assembly to submit to his wishes, Cranfield undertook to manage affairs without them; and under a provision of his commission, which authorized him, with his council, "to continue such taxes as had formerly been levied until a general assembly could be called," he undertook to levy a tax without the aid of an assembly. The threatening movements of the eastern Indians

afforded a pretext for this course; and before making public the levy, the governor gave orders to fortify the meeting-houses and some of the dwellings in each of the towns, to provide supplies of ammunition, and make other preparations against an attack by the savages. He also went to New York to solicit from the governor of that province the aid of a number of Mohawks, who were friendly to the English, and the inveterate and dreaded enemies of the eastern tribes. Meanwhile, some of the complaints of the people had reached England; and on his return, Cranfield found a letter from the Lords of Trade requiring him not to levy any tax on the people except by vote of the assembly. To comply with this order in form, he convened an assembly, and immediately dissolved it, because some of the members were those whom he had, from mere spite, appointed constables. To excuse his action to the home authorities, he represented that the assembly was composed of mutinous and rebellious persons, whom it was not safe to convene, and he was obliged to raise money without them. He also asked for a ship of war to aid him in enforcing his orders.

Having thus, as he considered, justified his usurpation, he caused warrants to be issued for the collection of the unauthorized tax. Then was shown the spirit of the people, who were determined to maintain their rights and resist usurpation. They refused to pay the tax unlawfully levied, and the cattle and goods of some were distrained. Those who concealed their property were imprisoned, and some of the constables, who refused to assist in oppressing their neighbors, shared the same fate. These proceedings caused great excitement, and many of the people associated together for mutual support in resistance to the officers. At Exeter the sheriff, in his attempt to distrain, was openly resisted, and driven off with clubs, while the women showed their readiness to assist with "hot spits and scalding water." At Hampton he was beaten, and his sword taken from him, and he was then placed upon a horse, with his feet tied underneath the animal, and a rope around his neck, and in this sorry plight he was conducted beyond the boundary of the province. An attempt to arrest some of the rioters met with like resistance; the parties arrested were rescued, and the sheriff and the justice who issued the warrant were violently assaulted. In organizing the provincial military force, a troop of horse had been

raised, and placed under the command of Mason. This troop was now ordered to turn out, mounted and completely armed, to aid in suppressing the disorder; but at the appointed time not a single trooper appeared, and the disgusted Mason reported to the mortified governor that he was powerless. The people triumphed over the usurper. Imbued with the principles proclaimed by the champions of popular rights in England, and accustomed to self-government under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, with the stubbornness of English yeomen they were determined to maintain their liberties. The attempt to tax them without their consent only confirmed them in their purpose. That spirit of independence was transmitted to their posterity, and, nearly a century later, the yeomen of New Hampshire were among the first to respond to the call pealed from the guns of Lexington and Concord.

After a long delay, the agent of the New Hampshire settlers in England, in spite of the obstructions contrived by Cranfield, succeeded in getting a hearing on the complaints against the usurpations of the governor. Three of the charges against him were entertained, and he was summoned to answer to them. To the great relief of the people he returned to England, leaving Walter Barefoote, his deputy, to act as governor. Barefoote was disposed to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, and though a royal order had been issued to suspend all further proceedings in the case of Mason till the matter should be brought before the king in council, he suffered some parties against whom Mason had obtained judgment to be imprisoned. This created a new disturbance, and fresh complaints were sent to England. An officer who attempted to levy one of the executions in Dover was forcibly resisted, and was obliged to abandon his purpose. Warrants were then issued against the rioters, and the sheriff with his *posse* undertook to arrest them while they were at church with their neighbors. The attempt created an uproar in the usually staid and quiet congregation, who were determined not to submit to this new exercise of authority. The women joined with the men in driving the intruders from the church, and one young woman distinguished herself by knocking one of the officers down with her Bible. Hustled unceremoniously out of the church, the sheriff and his company speedily left Dover, glad to escape with no worse damage than bruised heads and torn clothes. Barefoote, finding

it useless to contend with a people so resolute to defend their rights, abstained from any further attempts to enforce Mason's claims.

A new government for the province was contemplated, but before it was appointed the king died; and soon after the accession of James II. Sir Edmund Andros was commissioned as governor-general of New England. Under his arbitrary and despotic administration the people of New Hampshire suffered in common with those of the other colonies; but they still maintained their rights with a sturdy independence. Even Mason found no favor with Andros, and suffered with others from the exactions of the hungry officers who administered all public affairs. He conveyed a large tract of unoccupied territory in consideration of a small annual rent; but he gained nothing from the occupied lands, and death put an end to his long cherished hopes. His two sons, despairing of accomplishing more than their father, sold their claim to a London merchant.

When the revolution in England was followed by the overthrow of Andros in Boston, the people of New Hampshire desired to unite themselves again with Massachusetts; but they were misrepresented to the king, and a new provincial government was appointed under a fairly liberal charter.

DUTCH PIONEERS IN NEW NETHERLANDS.



IN September, 1609, Henry Hudson, in the Dutch ship *Half-moon*, passing the Narrows, found himself in the magnificent harbor of what is now the great metropolis of America. Hudson was an English navigator, who twice before, in the employ of some merchants of his own country, had sought a northern passage to the East Indies, and penetrated the Arctic seas to within ten degrees of the pole. Though unsuccessful in accomplishing the object of his enterprising voyages, he still believed that the much-desired passage existed; and when his English employers, disheartened by the costly experiments, declined to make any further venture, he offered his services to the Dutch East India Company, then the richest and most powerful commercial association of the world. Under their auspices he made his third voyage of discovery, and again sought the northern passage to India. But the vast fields of ice, which he could not penetrate, caused him to turn his course towards the south; and from Newfoundland he sailed along the coast to Cape Cod, which, with the region beyond, he named New Netherland. He proceeded as far south as Chesapeake Bay; but knowing that his countrymen had already occupied some portion of this region, he again turned his course to the north, and after visiting Delaware Bay and River—which last was called the South River—he at last passed the highlands of Neversink, and entered what is now New York Bay. As he sailed over the broad expanse of waters, and approached the land covered with noble forests,



HENDRICK HUDSON ASCENDING THE RIVER NAMED FOR HIM.

well might he feel that he had discovered a harbor fit for the commerce of the world, and a country whose beauty and luxuriant vegetation offered a prosperous home for all who would choose to come.

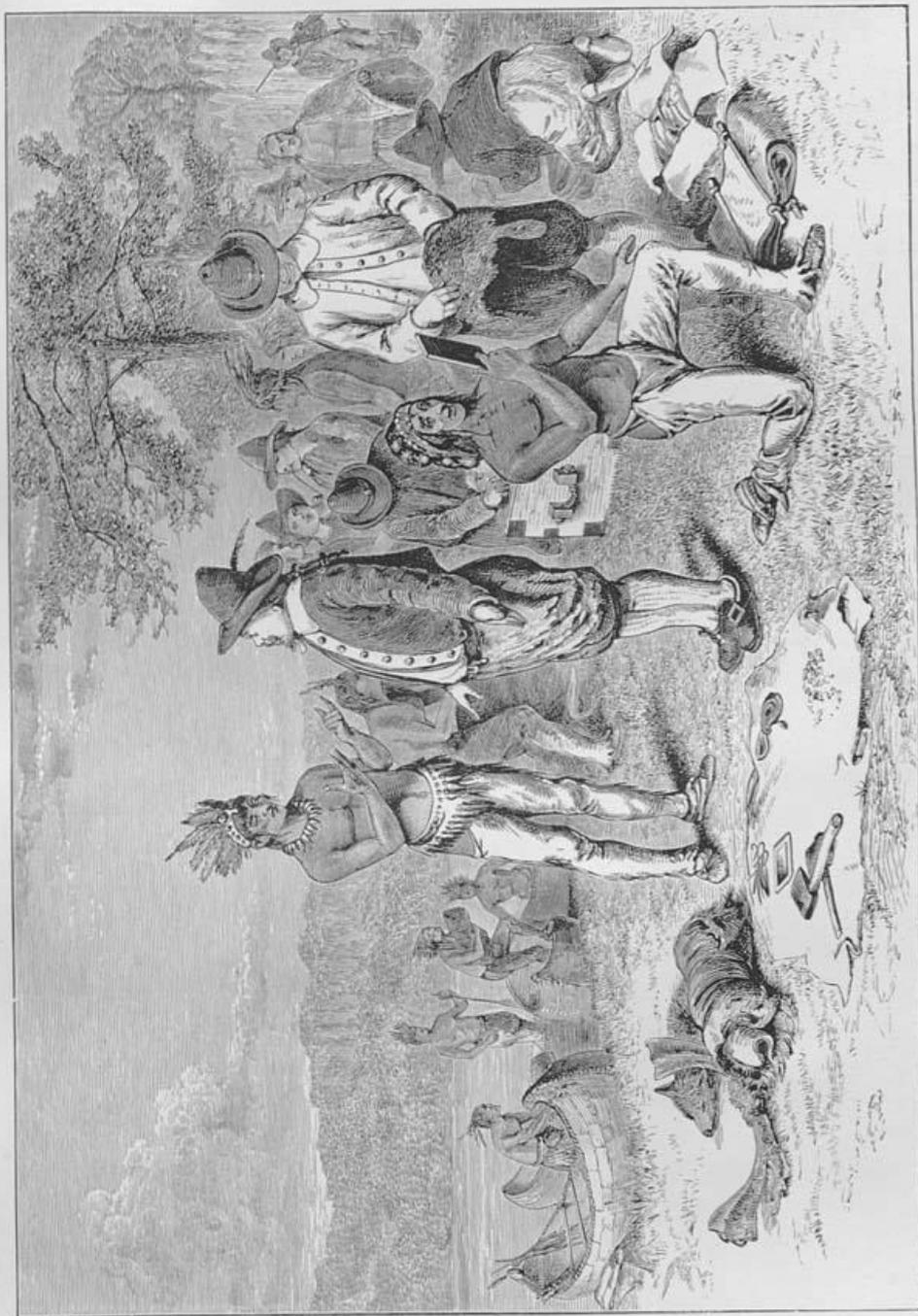
Hudson remained some time in the harbor, which he supposed he was the first of Europeans to discover, though the Italian Verrazzano, nearly a century before, had been impressed with the beauty of the same scene. The Indians, looking with astonishment on the ship, and with something of reverence on its crew, with kindly hospitality brought their little stores of maize, oysters, tobacco, furs, or whatever else their meagre possessions allowed. But notwithstanding the magnificence of the harbor and the beauty of the shores, as he lay there before the Manhattoes, the intrepid mariner was still most anxious to find that undiscovered passage to the Indies, and he fancied that the waters on one side or the other of the land before him opened the much-desired way. With this idea he sailed up the noble river which now bears his name, and he did not relinquish the hope till, passing beyond tide-water, he found the unmistakable evidences of a fresh-water river. Slowly, as the uncertain winds allowed, he sailed up through the Highlands, till islands and sand-bars warned him to anchor, and then he proceeded in his boat to the present site of Albany. About his ship the natives sometimes thronged in their birchen canoes, wondering at the strangers and their mighty bark. With timid friendliness they came on board, bringing their gifts of maize and nuts, and in return, on one occasion at least, received from the crew some rum to drink, the effects of which upon their reeling brains and unsteady feet filled their kindred with astonishment and fear, and the hilarious crew with delight. The northern passage to the Indian seas was not discovered; but a noble river and a beautiful country, the extent of which could only be imagined, were fairly won for the Dutch East India Company and the States of Holland.

Hudson returned to Europe and reported his valuable discovery to his employers; but he had no ambition to share in the possession of the fair lands he had seen, nor to enter into a promising traffic with the Indians. He still believed he could find a northern passage to the east; and the hopes of the English merchants having revived, he was once more employed by them to make a voyage of discovery. Enter-

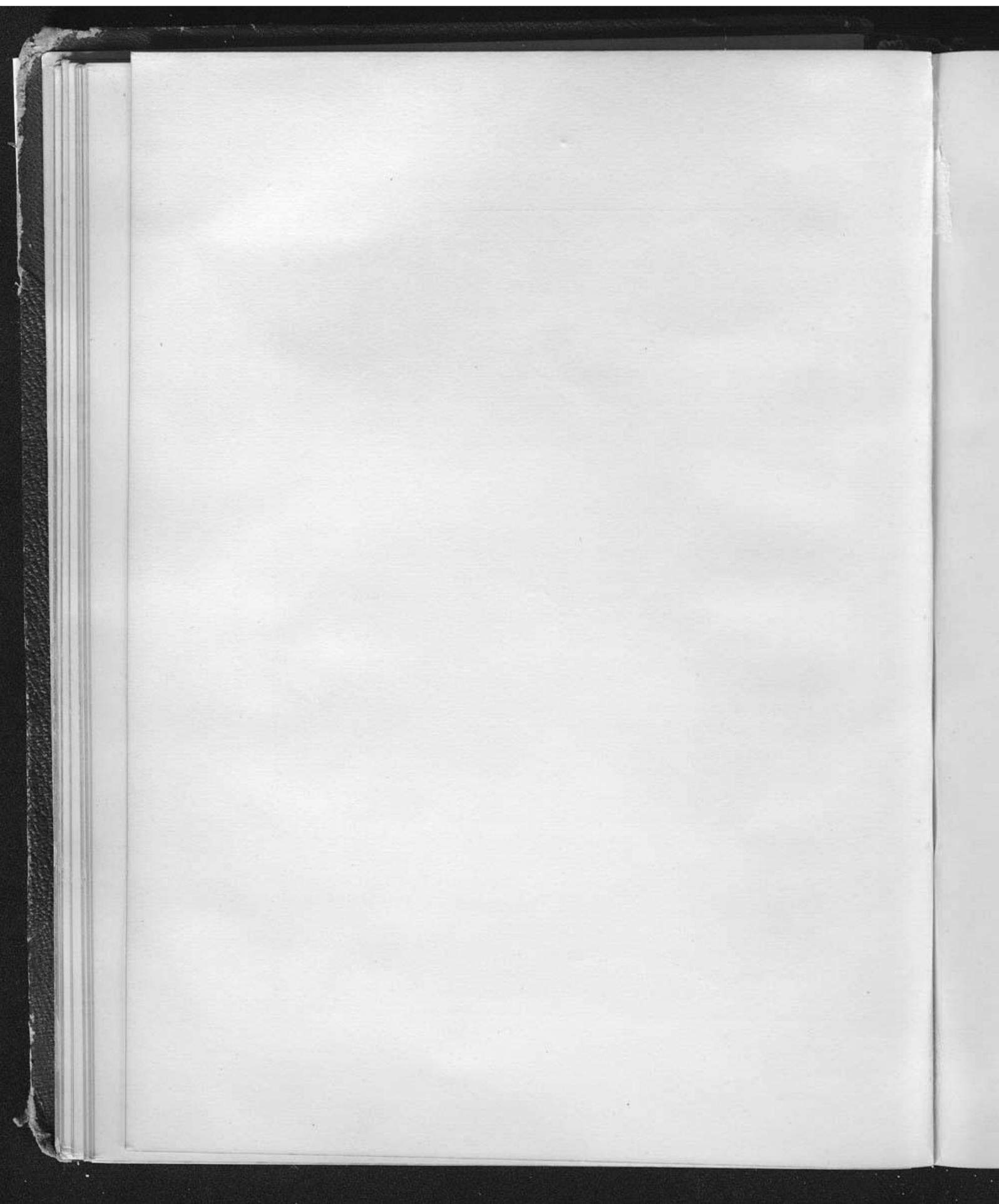
ing the great northern bay which bears his name, he explored its coast in vain to find a passage beyond. Fields of ice and snow-clad land hemmed him in. After many hardships a mutinous crew turned him adrift with a few companions in a pinnace, and in a violent storm which soon followed he perished.

A tradition of the Delaware Indians preserves an incident of the visit of Hudson to New York Bay. As the *Half-moon* approached from the sea, the natives at first supposed it was a living monster, and were filled with fear; but when it came nearer, they believed it to be a great canoe filled with spirits, and guided by the Great Spirit himself, dressed in scarlet. Messengers hurried away to all neighboring regions to announce the mysterious arrival, and a council of sachems was convened on the point of land where New Amsterdam was afterwards founded. There the Manitou, dressed in scarlet, landed with his attendant spirits to meet the assembled sachems. A calabash was brought from the great canoe, and from it the Manitou poured a liquid into a smaller transparent vessel and drank it. Again filling the small vessel, he offered it to the nearest sachem, who, after smelling the liquor, gave it to another; and thus the cup passed round the circle, all refusing to drink. When it came to the last, still untasted, this warrior, bolder than the rest, and fearful of offending the Great Spirit if his offering was wholly rejected, drank it off. The fiery liquid soon had its effect upon one who hitherto was a stranger to alcohol, and while his companions anxiously watched him he began to reel, and finally staggered and fell. With wonder and alarm his friends gathered about him, supposing he was doomed to death. But when he recovered, and described the pleasant excitement of his intoxication, and they found the draught was not fatal, the sachems all desired to taste the wonderful waters of the great Manitou. The liquor was freely given, and they all became drunk, and while they were in this state the mysterious strangers departed. From that time the Indians called the island Manhattan, or the place of drunkenness.

For several years the Dutch East India Company made no attempt to establish a colony or trading-post in the country re-discovered under their auspices; but some adventurous Dutch traders came, and, building a few huts, commenced a traffic with the Indians for furs. They



DUTCH TRADERS AT MANHATTAN.



were then without license, and represented no authority or commercial company of Holland. With their cheap trinkets, knives, and other commodities attractive to the simple natives, they were able to obtain many valuable furs. The powerful company for whom Hudson had made his exploration, finding that these adventurers were reaping the benefit of their expedition, applied to the States-General for an exclusive privilege of trade in the country discovered at their expense. This privilege was given by an edict in 1614, by which all persons who should discover new countries should have the exclusive trade therein for four years. Under this authority Block and Christianse severally made voyages for the East India Company to Manhattan, and the latter ascended the Hudson as far as Albany, where he erected Fort Orange, which was more of a trading-post than a fortification. They opened a trade with the Indians, and left a few traders at Manhattan, where another palisaded trading-house was built, and called a fort. Outside of this some interloping traders had already erected their huts.

It was not till 1621 that any real attempt was made to colonize the country claimed as New Netherlands. In that year the Dutch West India Company was chartered, with exclusive privileges of trade in certain countries, including New Netherlands, for twenty-four years. This company joined with the city of Amsterdam to encourage emigration; and the burgomasters of the city agreed to find ships on reasonable terms to carry the colonists and their property to the new country; to send out a schoolmaster and a religious reader; to make advances for clothing and other purposes, and to erect public buildings and fortifications. A government was also guaranteed, under which the people should have the right to choose their burgomasters and magistrates, and, when the colonists numbered two hundred families, a representative council. A director-general was the head of this government, being the representative and agent of the West India Company. The company on their part also agreed to allow to agriculturists as much land as they could till.

Under this arrangement, in 1623, the first permanent settlement was made in New Netherlands. The ship *New Netherland*, of two hundred and sixty tons, was sent out with a company of thirty families, most

of them Walloons, or natives of the southern Belgic provinces, who had fled from persecution to Holland on account of their Protestantism, and were glad to avail themselves of an opportunity to come to the new world. The ship arrived at Manhattan early in May, and the Dutch found there a French ship whose captain was disposed to take possession of the country in the name of his sovereign. But the Dutch were not inclined to submit to such invasion of their rights, and drove the Frenchmen off. Eight men were then left at Manhattan to take possession for the West India Company, and several families were detailed to effect settlements on Long Island and elsewhere. Among them were four couples who had been married at sea on the voyage from Holland, who were sent with eight seamen in a shallop, or yacht, to settle on the banks of the South River, or Delaware.

The ship then proceeded up the Hudson—or Mauritius, as it was called by the Dutch—as far as the present site of Albany, where the remainder of the colonists were landed, and completed the fort, which had previously been partially constructed by Christianse. Most of these settlers were farmers, and they immediately commenced planting in the rich alluvial soil about the fort. Eighteen families settled at this place, making it a larger settlement than either of the others. The colonists had hardly constructed their huts of bark, when they were visited by Indians of the Iroquois and other tribes, who came “with great presents of beaver and other peltry,” and desired to enter into a treaty of friendship and trade. The proposal was readily accepted, and for many years the friendly relations between the Indians and the little colony were undisturbed.

The next largest settlement was by a company of Walloons, who established themselves on Long Island, where the city of Brooklyn now stands, on a *bogt*, or small bay, which was consequently called “Waal-bogt,” or Walloons’ Bay,—a name which was eventually corrupted by the English into “Wallabout Bay.” The Walloons were industrious farmers, and were the most intelligent and thrifty of the early settlers in New Netherlands.

To look after the interests of the Dutch West India Company, who had a monopoly of trade, as well as the title to the land, so far as a grant from the States-General could bestow it, an agent was sent out

and duly installed as director of the affairs of the colony, with instructions to exercise his authority over the colonists "as their father and not as their executioner." May, the first director, remained in office but one year, when he was succeeded by Verhulst, whose administration also lasted but a year. Meanwhile, favorable reports of the excellence of the land and the success of the colonists were carried to Holland, and the West India Company was encouraged to greater efforts to colonize the country and extend its trade. A few more emigrants were sent over, and ship-loads of cattle and horses were successfully transported. Moreover, the accession of a new stadtholder in Holland and a new king in England was followed by a condition of affairs more favorable to colonization, and, taking a "new departure," the West India Company invited a larger emigration, and appointed Peter Minuit director-general of the colony.

To aid Minuit in the management of the affairs of the colony, a council was appointed, and invested with legislative, judicial, and executive powers. There was also a chief commissary, an officer who acted in the double capacity of bookkeeper of the company's commercial affairs and secretary of the province. Another officer was the "schout," who performed the duties of sheriff, inspector of the revenue, and whatever else the council required of him. Though no clergyman had yet come to New Netherlands, the colonists were not altogether negligent of the interests of religion, and two readers of the Scriptures and the creeds came over with Minuit. One of the first buildings erected under Minuit's administration was a "horse mill," the upper story of which was a spacious room for the accommodation of the people on Sundays.

It was the policy of the Dutch West India Company to purchase of the Indians the lands on which any settlement was made; and one of the first acts of Minuit, after he had assumed the office of director-general, was to open negotiations with the savages in the neighborhood for the purchase of the island of Manhattan. He found little difficulty in making a bargain with a people who had no idea of ownership in the soil, and for sixty guilders, or less than twenty-five dollars, he purchased for the company the entire island.

Having thus fairly obtained a title to the island of Manhattan, Minuit next took measures for its security; and a large fort, "to be faced with

stone, was projected. Before its completion the settlers lived in temporary houses covered with the bark of trees, and built close together along the bank of the North River, as the Hudson was sometimes called. When the fort should be completed, all were to reside within its walls. The West India Company's trading-house was a more substantial building of stone.

In those early days, notwithstanding Minuit, in obedience to the instructions of the company, had sought to deal fairly with the Indians, an act was committed by some of his servants which at a later period was the cause of a fearful loss to the colony. An Indian, accompanied by his nephew, a small boy, had come down from the interior with some beaver-skins to trade with the Dutch. While at some distance from the little settlement the natives were met by three farm servants of Minuit, who robbed the Indian of his furs, and then murdered him. The boy-savage was unharmed; but he had witnessed the wanton murder of his uncle, and, as he fled, with the true Indian spirit, he vowed that when he became a man he would take vengeance on the Dutch. The cruel deed was for a long time unknown to the director-general, and the perpetrators, probably, were never punished; but a fearful punishment was afterwards visited upon many innocent and harmless settlers.

Minuit was more disturbed by the unexpected claims of the English to the trade of Narragansett Bay and Long Island Sound, which the thrifty Dutch traders were already monopolizing, and to the territory which he believed belonged rightfully to Holland and the Dutch West India Company. With a friendly regard for the Pilgrims who had found a refuge in Holland, and perhaps with a view of ultimately claiming their settlement as within the bounds of New Netherlands, he dispatched a letter to Governor Bradford, congratulating him on the prosperity of New Plymouth, and inviting friendly intercourse and trade between that settlement and Manhattan. Governor Bradford replied with equal courtesy; but he also took occasion to question the right of the Dutch to trade within the limits of New England. Being desirous, however, to maintain "good neighborhood and correspondence" with the Dutch, he said that he would not complain if they would forbear to trade with the natives in Narragansett Bay, "which is, as it were,



TREATY WITH THE INDIANS AT FORT AMSTERDAM.

at our doors." To this letter Minit responded in friendly terms, but firmly maintained the right of the Dutch to trade in Narragansett Bay, declaring that they derived their authority from the States of Holland, and would defend it.

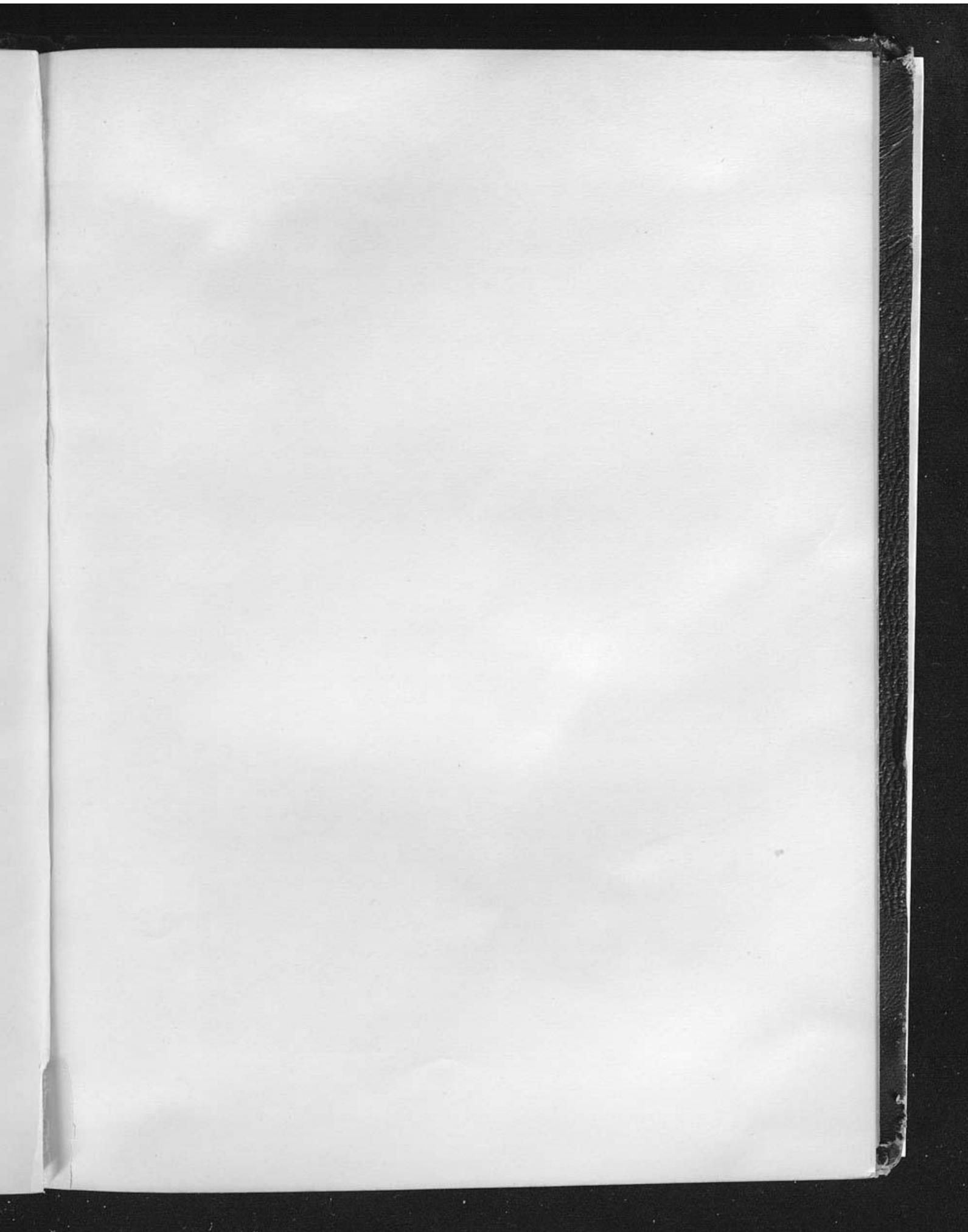
Receiving no answer to this message, Minit next proposed a conference in relation to mutual trade, and sent De Rasieres, the colonial secretary, as a messenger for that purpose. At the same time he sent "a rundlet of sugar and two Holland cheeses" as a present to Governor Bradford. The friendly manner and simple pomp with which this messenger and the Pilgrim magistrates exchanged civilities have been alluded to in a preceding page. The representative of the Dutch was hospitably entertained by the Pilgrim authorities, and his visit resulted in an agreement for more friendly commercial relations between the two colonies, and in opening a trade for wampum, which had proved a great advantage to the Pilgrims in their traffic with the Indians on the Kennebec. Bradford, however, did not abate one jot his claim on behalf of England, and in a letter to the director-general he still maintained the English title to New Netherlands, and urged the necessity of seasonably settling the rival claims, "lest it be a bone of division in these stirring evil times," and thereafter it could be done "not without blows." Though this letter was couched in friendly terms, it created a feeling of uneasiness with Minit and his council, and they quickly called the attention of the West India Company to the threatening aspect of affairs. On the other hand, Bradford and Endicot each sent complaints to England against the encroachments of the Dutch. The mutual jealousies thus created were afterwards a source of no little trouble between the Dutch and English settlements, and at last resulted in the overthrow of the Dutch pretensions.

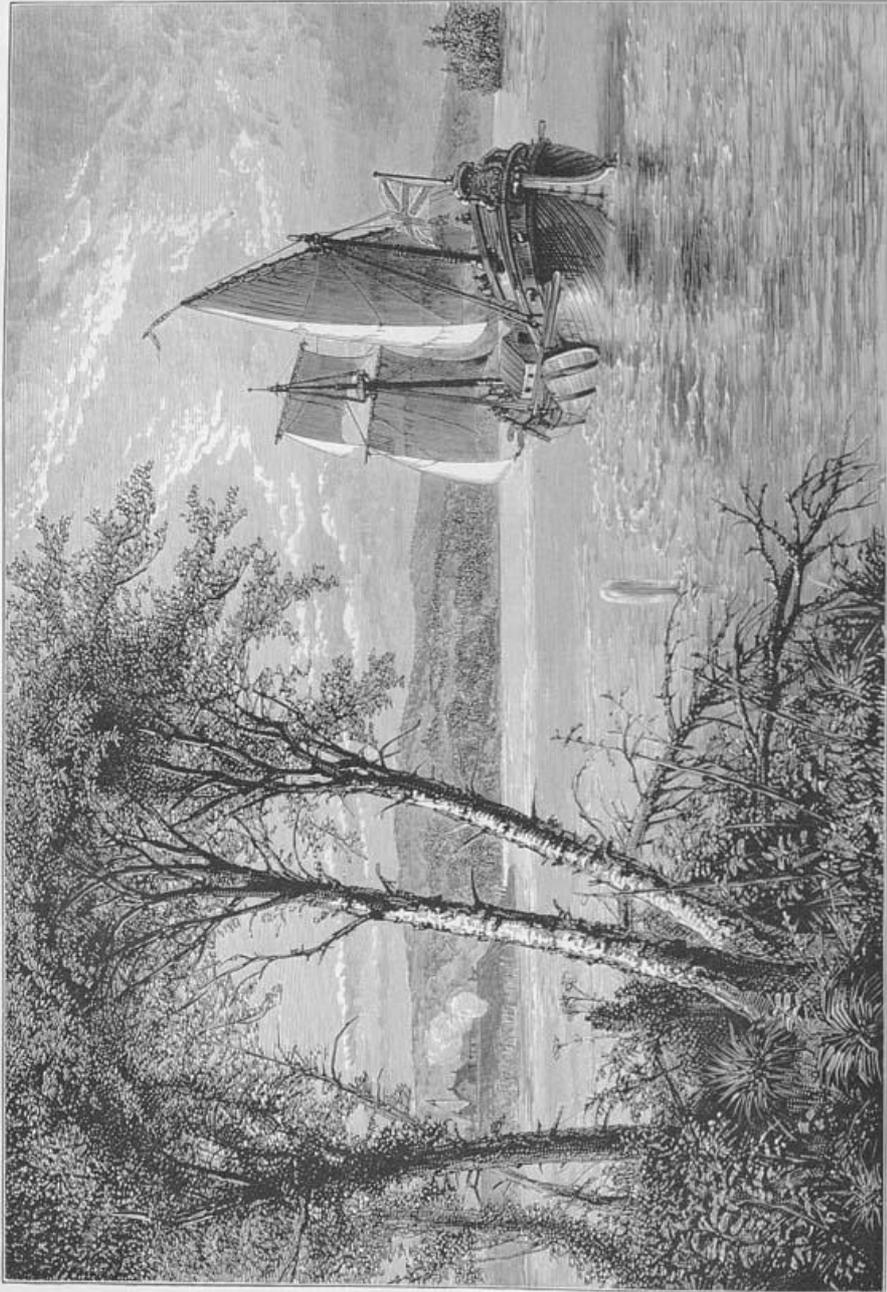
Though a government for New Netherlands was organized, and the country was opened to settlers on what were then considered favorable terms, the industrious classes of Holland, from want of means or inclination, did not emigrate in any considerable number, though most of the ships arriving at Manhattan brought a few who were disposed to try their fortunes in the new world. In order, therefore, to promote the more rapid settlement of the country, and to increase trade, the Dutch West India Company, by authority of the States, granted to cer-

tain individuals, on condition of planting colonies each of fifty persons over fifteen years of age in New Netherlands within four years, lands sixteen miles in length, or, if on a river, eight miles on each bank, with an indefinite depth inland. These great proprietors were called "Patroons," and each one who complied with the condition of planting a colony was to hold his lands in perpetuity, and to enjoy extensive privileges. The lands were to be improved by tenants, and thus a modified feudal system was introduced into the new world.

The first four great patroons were Godyn, Bloemart, Pauw, and Van Rensselaer, all wealthy merchants of Amsterdam, and members of the West India Company. Godyn and Bloemart sought to establish their proprietorship on the banks of the South or Delaware River; Pauw chose Staten Island and lands on the west side of the bay and Hudson River; and Van Rensselaer's agent selected the tract between Fort Orange, or Albany, and the Mohawk River; but all were required to purchase the lands of the Indians before the title could be confirmed to them. The wealth of these proprietors enabled them to bring over the colonists required for their respective estates; but these were, in the main, poor dependants and servants, a few of whom became tenants of the soil, while the others were employed by the proprietors. But the existence of these great proprietorships of the most eligible lands then accessible for settlement discouraged the establishment of smaller plantations by independent farmers, and created jealousy among other members of the company and parties who desired to settle in New Netherlands. The patroons therefore found it expedient to admit others to a share in their vast estates.

Minuit meanwhile devoted his attention to the extension of the fur trade and the management of the local affairs of the island of Manhattan, which belonged exclusively to the West India Company. The patroons, finding that a profitable trade could be opened with the Indians at certain points where the company had no trading-houses, began to engage in the business which was reserved as a monopoly by the company. This created a jealousy among the other members of the company in Holland, who considered their rights invaded and their profits as likely to be diminished. As Minuit had suffered this infringement of the company's monopoly, as well as permitted the patroons to select





A PLYMOUTH VESSEL PASSING THE DUTCH FORT AT GOOD HOPE.

these valuable lands, he was recalled. Notwithstanding the complaints against him, his administration had been successful and advantageous to the West India Company. A considerable number of industrious colonists had settled on Manhattan and on the western shores of Long Island, and the trade of New Amsterdam, as the chief settlement was called, had become quite extensive. Peace and friendly relations had been maintained with the Indians, and good order generally among the sailors and adventurers who were sometimes in port in considerable numbers.

A year after Minuit returned to Holland, Wouter Van Twiller was appointed his successor. Van Twiller had been a clerk of the Dutch West India Company in Amsterdam, and was familiar with the business of the company, though he possessed few qualifications for the office of governor of a colony. But he had married a daughter of Van Rensselaer, and through the influence of the patroon he had obtained the appointment for which he was so little fitted. He came to Manhattan in 1633, bringing with him as a prize a Spanish caravel which he had captured on the voyage. With him came Everardus Bogardus, the first minister of Manhattan, and a schoolmaster, while a hundred soldiers were also brought over, to add to the dignity of the director-general and protect the interests of the West India Company.

Van Twiller looked after the profits of the company, whose agent he was, rather than the political interests of the colony, which were also intrusted to his management. The settlement of the country by agriculturists and mechanics had practically been abandoned to the patroons; but Van Twiller did something to promote agriculture on Manhattan, which was the property of the company. Beyond the island his attention was directed exclusively to the interests of trade in which the company claimed a monopoly. He established the trading-post at Good Hope, on the Connecticut River, which led to the complications and disputes with the subsequent English settlers mentioned in a previous chapter. At Manhattan considerable improvements were made. Fort Amsterdam was repaired, and barracks were added for the soldiers. A number of brick and frame houses were built for Van Twiller and the principal officers of the company and colony, and smaller houses for the most important mechanics, as well as a plain church edifice, and

a house for the minister,—all at the expense of the company, of whose resources the director-general had extravagant ideas. Three large wind-mills were also constructed; but two of them were placed so near the fort that the buildings frequently intercepted the south wind.

Meanwhile Van Twiller became involved in political questions with Plymouth and Virginia which he was wholly unable to solve; and in some domestic affairs he also showed his capacity for mismanagement to such a degree that Dominie Bogardus, who may have had some personal grievance, addressed a letter to him in which he called him "a child of the devil," and threatened him with "such a shake from the pulpit, on the following Sunday, as would make him shudder." Shortly after his arrival at Manhattan an event occurred which showed the incapacity and want of decision of the new director-general.

An English ship arrived in the harbor, the supercargo of which was one Jacob Eelkens, who had been "commissary" at Fort Orange, or Albany, and dismissed from the service of the West India Company. He found employment in England, where some London merchants engaged him to manage an adventure in the fur trade, and he determined to visit his old trading-post, where he expected to drive a thriving traffic with the Indians. Learning his purpose, Van Twiller demanded his authority; but Eelkens refused to show it, saying that he was in the English service, and that the country belonged to England by right of discovery by Hudson, who was an Englishman. This claim was denied by the director and his council, who replied that though Hudson had discovered the North River, he had done so while in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and no Englishman had ever settled in the country.

Eelkens, however, was anxious to do a good thing for his employers, and to gratify a little private revenge for his former dismissal; so, after a few days, he told Van Twiller that he would go up the river if it cost him his life. The indignant director peremptorily refused his assent, and, in order to deter the audacious supercargo from his purpose, he ordered the Orange flag to be raised at Fort Amsterdam, and a salute of three guns to be fired in honor of the Prince! The captain of the English ship, not to be outdone in courtesy or defiance, hoisted the English flag, and fired a like salute in honor of his king.

Soon after, without again asking permission, he weighed anchor and boldly sailed up the river.

In his rage at this disrespect for his authority, Van Twiller summoned all the people of the fort before his door, and broaching a cask of wine, he filled a bumper, and called upon all who loved the Prince of Orange and himself to pledge their assistance in protecting him from the violence which the Englishman had committed. The assembled Dutchmen were nothing loath to drink the bumpers; but the ship was already out of sight, sailing up the river, and, while they drank, they could but laugh at this display of valor on the part of the indignant director.

Here the matter might have ended but that the patroon De Vries had recently arrived from the South River, and dining that day with the director-general, expressed his mind freely. De Vries was an old East India captain, and he told Van Twiller that he had been guilty of a great folly. "Had it been my case," said the indignant patroon, "I should have treated him to some eight-pound iron beans from the fort, and prevented him from going up the river." And he further advised the irresolute director to send the armed ship which was at his command after the Englishman, and drive him from the river. The patroon's energetic advice aroused the director to more decisive action than drinking bumpers, and in a few days the ship and two small vessels carrying some soldiers were sent up the river to Fort Orange, with an order for the intruders to depart. This little fleet proceeded leisurely up the river, and about a mile below Fort Orange found the English ship at anchor. Eelkens had pitched a tent on the shore, and for a fortnight had been carrying on a lively trade with his old acquaintances the Indians. The commissary at the fort had also pitched a tent close by, and was endeavoring, by a sharp competition, to hinder the Englishman's trade. When the fleet arrived, the intruders were ordered to depart; but Eelkens was not disposed to leave his profitable business till the Dutch soldiers struck his tent for him, and took possession of his goods. Having done this, the Dutchmen "sounded their trumpet in the boat in disgrace of the English," who forthwith weighed anchor and sailed down the river, accompanied by the Dutch vessels. After a short stay at Manhattan the English vessel was suffered to depart,

and the renegade Eelkens was obliged to report a complete failure to his employers.

Encouraged by the energetic counsel of De Vries in the case of Eelkens, Van Twiller soon after undertook to enforce the trading monopoly of the company against De Vries himself. Claiming his exemptions as a patroon, De Vries, before sailing for Holland in his large ship, desired to send his yacht, the Squirrel, to trade along the shores of Long Island Sound. The director refused to allow this, and in an arrogant manner claimed the right to search the vessel to see if there was anything on board subject to tax. He also ordered the guns of the fort to be trained on the Squirrel, with a threat of firing upon her. This was too much for the patience of De Vries, and running to the angle of the fort, where the director stood with some of his council, he exclaimed, "The land is full of fools! If you want to shoot, why did you not shoot at the Englishman who sailed up the river in spite of you?" Van Twiller's arrogance subsided; the guns were not discharged; and the Squirrel sailed through Hell-gate on her destined voyage. De Vries was a man of capacity and prudence, and on several occasions, during the administration of Van Twiller and his successor, by his advice and action he rendered good service to the colony.

If Van Twiller, in his indignation at the Englishman's presumption, fortified himself with "Dutch courage" by swallowing a bumper, he did not always need such excitement to provoke indulgence. He was always "glad to taste good wine," but not always content with a simple taste; and he hastened to make the acquaintance of any new-comer who was reported to have brought over "some good Bordeaux" or other more potent beverage. Perhaps some of his unwise acts were the result of too much Bordeaux.

Van Twiller's evident incapacity for government, as well as his extravagance and want of tact in managing the commercial interests of the West India Company, after several years of trial made it expedient to recall him, notwithstanding his influential friends. He returned, however, to Manhattan and engaged in agriculture, having during his directorship purchased Nutten Island, which was in consequence afterwards called Governor's Island. He appears to have had a considerable number of cattle, and leased or loaned milch-cows to

some of the smaller farmers on condition of receiving half the increase. The agreements for these loans of cattle were duly made in the presence of the secretary of the colony, and recorded. By one of them the "honorable, wise, and prudent Wouter Van Twiller," as he was always inappropriately styled, delivered to Lenaart Arentsen three milch-cows, of which Arentsen was to enjoy the increase for four years; at the expiration of which time Van Twiller was to take his choice of three milch-cows in Arentsen's stable, and the remainder of the stock was to be equally divided between them, "provided that the first heifer-calf of the whole stock shall be the property of Lenaart Arentsen's youngest daughter." With such a dowry the Dutch maiden was doubtless a rich prize for the young farmers of Manhattan.

During Van Twiller's administration the population of New Netherlands had considerably increased. The growing trade of Manhattan called thither many sailors and others in the employ of the West India Company, and a number of farmers had taken lands on the island as tenants of the company. Some had settled in Pauw's manor of Pavonia, on Staten Island and the west shore of the bay, and still others had established themselves on Long Island. At Fort Orange, up the Hudson, the company's fur trade gave employment to a number of persons, while the rich alluvial lands of the neighborhood were cultivated to some extent, and not far distant Rensselaerswyck was founded on the patroon's domain. But Van Twiller's management was so loose and uncertain that settlers found little encouragement to take farms or engage in other pursuits on Manhattan, and the chief settlement of New Netherlands was by no means in a flourishing condition.

DIRECTOR-GENERAL KIEFT.—AN UNWISE
RULER.

WILLIAM KIEFT was the successor of the "honorable, wise, and prudent" Wouter Van Twiller, and came to Manhattan in 1638. He was considered "a more discreet and sober man" than his predecessor, and he was in fact a man of greater ability, more enterprise and decision of character, and more capable of managing the political affairs of New Netherlands; but he was wilful, and often imprudent, and his administration was full of troubles.

When he arrived at Manhattan he found Fort Amsterdam, which was constructed of earth, except the "angles," which were of stone, in a dilapidated condition, the site of the magazine scarcely discoverable, houses out of repair, and of the three windmills which Van Twiller had built at great expense only one in condition for use. Several of the company's farms were without tenants, and uncultivated, and the small trading vessels belonging to the settlement were in a bad condition. Many of the inhabitants, chiefly employés of the company and soldiers, were thriftless and lazy, and much inclined to follow the example of the late director-general in tasting good wine; and abuses existed in all departments of public affairs.

Kieft applied himself with energy to the correction of abuses, and issued proclamations forbidding many evil practices which had grown up in Manhattan, and threatening severe punishment for offences which seem to have been rife in the settlement. But with all his

efforts to establish good order, Kieft found that many of the people were disposed to disregard his proclamations; notwithstanding his threats they would engage in illicit trade, and go and come when they pleased. But soon the director's attention was called from the local affairs of Manhattan to the encroachment of Swedes, who were effecting a settlement on the Delaware; and for some time he was engaged in vigorous protests and correspondence asserting the rights of New Netherlands to the territory thus occupied.

Meanwhile the unsatisfactory condition of New Netherlands was brought to the attention of the States-General, and after some differences with the West India Company, which still grasped at a monopoly of trade, a new policy was inaugurated. It was determined to open the internal trade of the country to free competition; and notice was published that all inhabitants of the United Provinces and of friendly countries might freely convey to New Netherlands any cattle and merchandise they desired in the ships of the company, subject, however, to a duty, and might receive whatever returns they or their agents were able to obtain. The director and council were also instructed to accommodate every emigrant, "according to his condition and means," with as much land as he could cultivate; and the payment of a quit-rent of one-tenth of the produce secured a legal estate of inheritance in such land. In return for the privileges granted, each colonist or trader was required to sign a pledge to submit to the prescribed regulations and to the commands of the company, and to allow all differences to be decided by the ordinary course of justice established in the country.

The proclamation of this new policy at once gave an impulse to emigration from Holland. A number of persons of substantial means came over with servants and cattle to engage in agriculture, and the merchants of Amsterdam were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity to engage in trade in the new world. This liberal policy attracted emigrants not only from Holland but from New England and Virginia. From the latter came servants whose term of service had expired, and who generally were not a very desirable class of colonists; while from New England came those who disliked the austerity of the Puritans and their church polity, and who were for the most part thrifty and enterprising persons. The toleration in matters of religion allowed

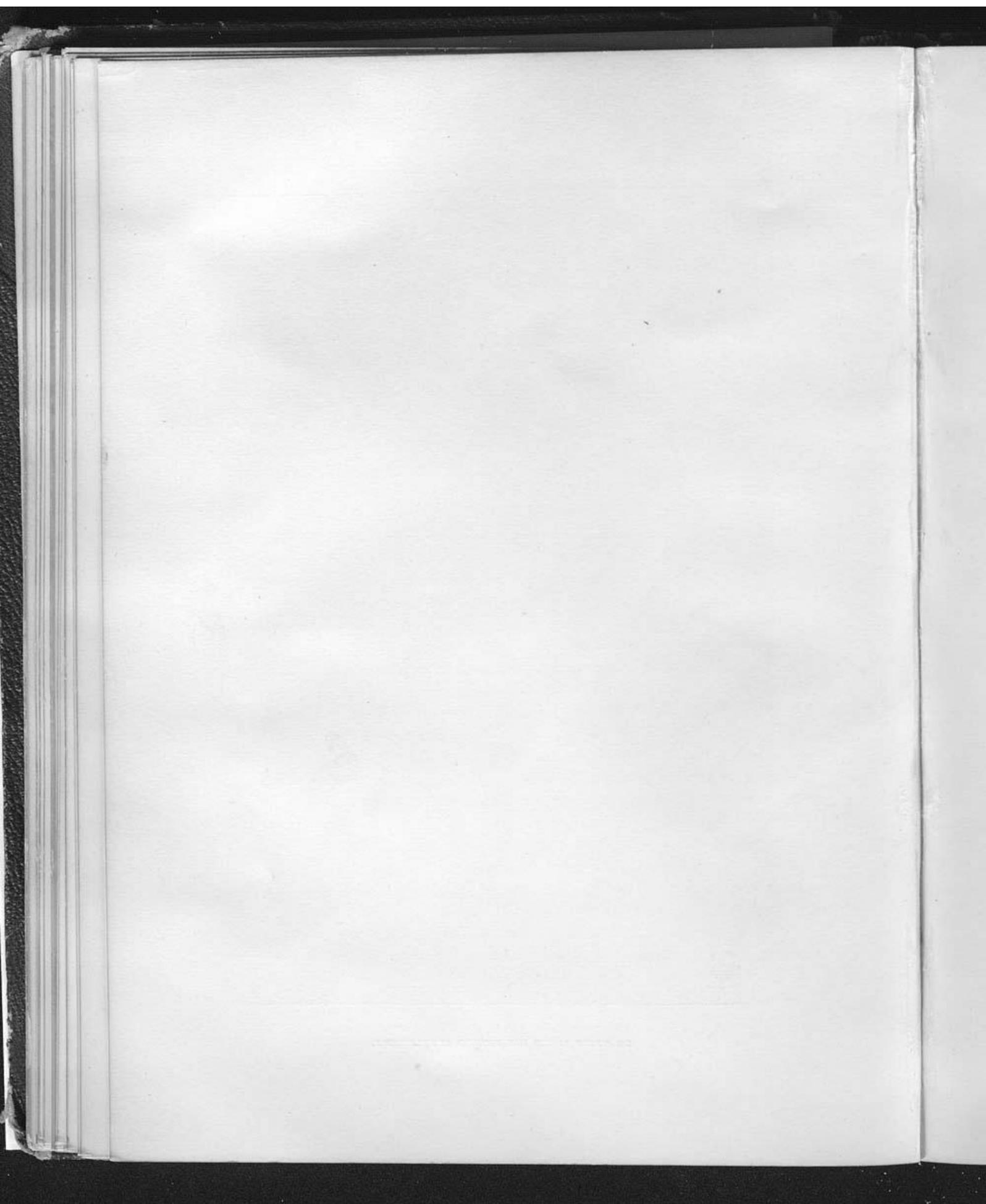
in New Netherlands was in strong contrast with the exclusiveness of Massachusetts and the strict adherence to the church of England in Virginia. With a wise, prudent, and just administration of affairs under such a policy, New Netherlands might have become the most prosperous of the colonies of America. But Kieft was neither wise, prudent, nor just, and his wilful vindictiveness entailed upon the colonists a long series of calamities; while his illiberal and despotic disposition denied the people rights the enjoyment of which would have made them more united and contented, and might have prevented some disasters.

Among the more prominent men who at this time established themselves in New Netherlands was De Vries, one of the original patroons who at first selected lands on Delaware Bay, and planted a small colony there, all of whom had been massacred by the Indians. De Vries had surrendered his grant to the West India Company, and had obtained from Van Twiller a part of Staten Island, which, as a portion of the manor of Pavonia, had also come into the possession of the company. He brought over a few emigrants and established them on his new grant. This plantation, however, languished for want of settlers, for whom De Vries depended upon his partner in Amsterdam; and finding a more favorable situation on the river-side, about five miles above Fort Amsterdam, where there was hay enough "for two hundred head of cattle," he subsequently commenced a settlement there, which he named "Vriesendael."

From New England came Captain John Underhill, who had distinguished himself as a leader in the Pequot war, and afterwards by his scandalous conduct in Massachusetts. He had gone back to Boston from Dover, whither he went to escape punishment, and with apparent penitence had publicly confessed his sin; but afterwards he seems to have repented of his penitence, and having married a Dutch wife while fighting "in Flanders," he now thought best to leave the Puritans and seek more freedom at Manhattan. He and a few families who joined him were readily accorded "all the privileges of the inhabitants of New Netherlands," upon condition of taking the oath of allegiance to the States-General and the Prince of Orange,—to which condition Underhill had little objection. He proved a valuable accession to the Dutch colony in the Indian war which soon followed.



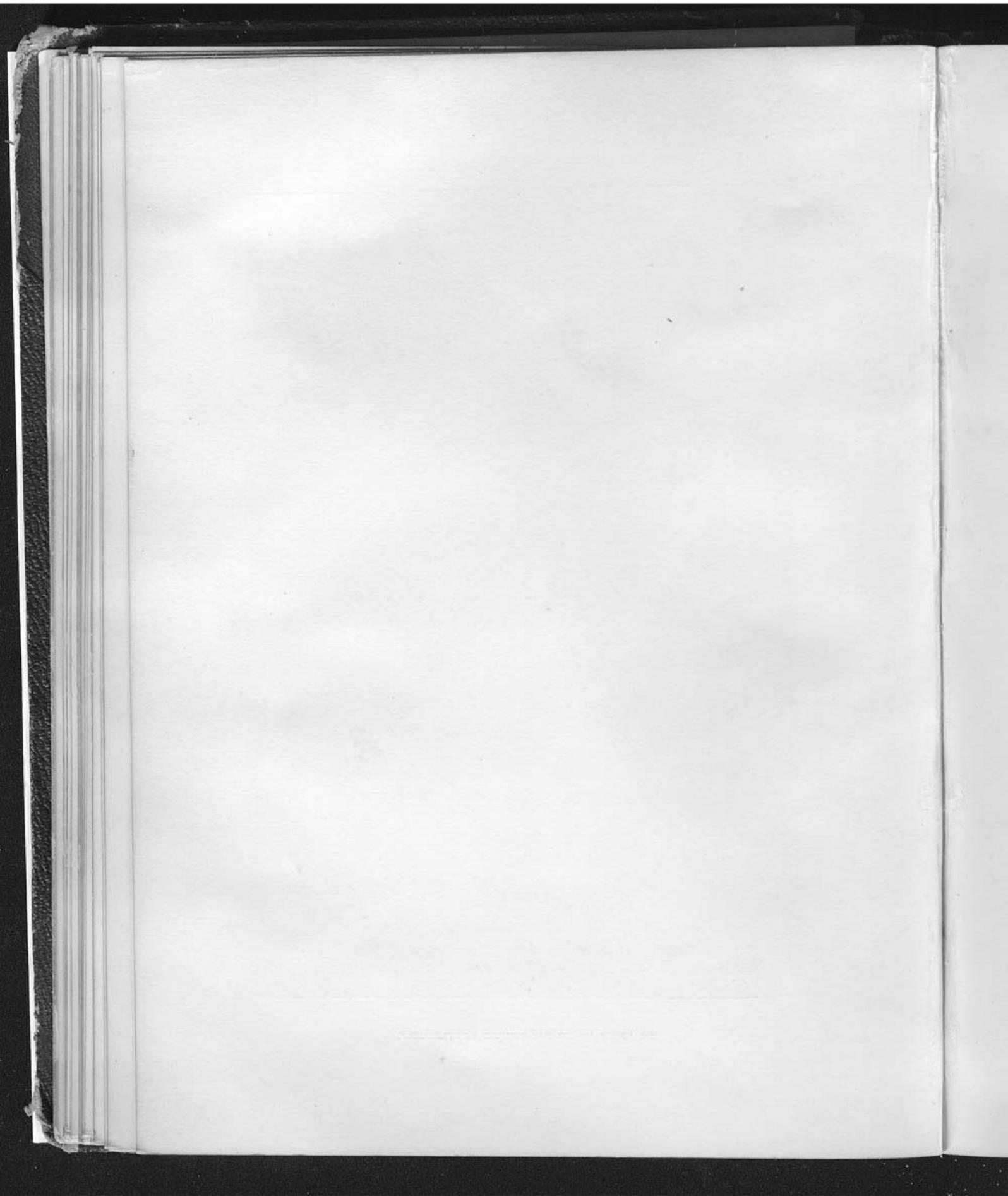
DE VRIES VISITS HIS RUINED SETTLEMENT.



While the settlements on and about Manhattan were thus commencing to increase, the colony of Rensselaerswyck was already in a prosperous condition. The patroon had been liberal in his expenditures, and a goodly number of thrifty colonists had taken lands as feudal tenants, and had established fruitful plantations and farms. Nature offered every inducement to the industrious farmer: the lands were rich, easy to till, and productive; wild fruits abounded; on the flat lands near the river strawberries were so abundant that people could "lie down and eat them," and wild grapes "as good and as sweet as in Holland" hung in profusion on vines that clambered over the trees; thickets of blackberries covered some of the hill-sides; wild plums grew on the edge of the woods, and nuts were to be had everywhere. Game abounded in the forest; and the Indians, who were friendly, brought large quantities of peltries which they sold for the various inexpensive goods sent over by the patroon for the purpose. This traffic in furs was the source of no little trouble between the patroon and the West India Company; for while the company claimed it as a monopoly, for which they maintained Fort Orange near by, the patroon had all the farms in that region, and pretty much all the traffic, since "every peasant was a trader."

The great evil of this trade was the sale of fire-arms to the Indians. The Iroquois, as soon as they understood the nature of the "thunderbolts" with which Champlain had defeated them, were anxious to obtain guns, and were ready to give large quantities of beaver-skins for them. Though the sale of fire-arms to the Indians was prohibited in New Netherlands, the temptation was too great for the patroon or his dependants, and guns in considerable numbers were soon in the hands of those fierce warriors. The trade thus begun was the cause of serious troubles with other Indians. The immediate effect, however, was to secure the good-will of the Iroquois, or Mohawks, towards the Dutch, while they remained the implacable foes of the French and their Huron allies.

While the Dutch at Rensselaerswyck furnished the Indians with means for a more effective warfare against the French, they did not forget their humanity when opportunity offered to help any unfortunate French captives. Learning that three Frenchmen were captives in the



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about Manhattan. Considering the small hold which the Dutch had on the territory they claimed, the director-general's office was no sinecure. In regulating the local affairs of Fort Amsterdam, which he found in such disorder, and opposing by protests and proclamations the encroachments of Swedes on the Delaware and the English in Connecticut and on Long Island, it would seem that he had sufficient occupation; but he was of an active mind, and often as imprudent as he was energetic, and he resolved to require the Indians about Manhattan to pay a tribute of corn, furs, and wampum.

The river natives, as the tribes on the lower Hudson were called, had already begun to complain of the unjust partiality of the Dutch towards their bitter enemies the Iroquois, who had been freely supplied with fire-arms by the traders at Rensselaerswyck, while the sale of arms was forbidden about Fort Amsterdam. By the illicit trade carried on they had obtained enough guns to appreciate their value either for hunting or warfare; and knowing that the Mohawks, of whom they lived in constant dread, were better supplied, they became more and more estranged from the colonists. The demand of tribute they regarded as adding insult to injury; it was enough that the well-armed Mohawks exacted tribute. They had other causes of complaint against the Dutch settlers. The colonists who engaged in agriculture established themselves at some distance from each other, and were scattered about the shores of the bay and the North and East rivers. Their cattle roamed through the woods, and often trespassed upon the corn-patches of the natives; and though Kieft issued orders that those whose land adjoined that of the Indians should enclose their farms, the order was not very carefully observed, and the evil continued. The Indians retaliated for the injury they received by killing the cattle, and thus a feeling of hostility grew up between the Dutch and the natives. There was moreover a feeling of contempt on the part of the Indians for their white neighbors, which was born of familiarity. The Dutch farmers were nearly all traders, and for the purposes of traffic in various ways allured the Indians to their houses, where they were frequently served with liquor; and as the whites themselves did full justice to the cup, they sometimes got into a condition which inspired the natives with anything but respect.

A prudent and conciliatory course might, even then, have brought about a better state of feeling; but Kieft's nature was not conciliatory; and when he saw the temper of the Indians, his only care was to take measures for protection against any hostile acts on their part. He ordered all the settlers of Manhattan to provide themselves with arms, and upon the firing of three guns to repair, armed and equipped, to an appointed place. Not content with taking these precautionary measures, he soon unwisely became the aggressor. Some reckless sailors from a ship about to leave Manhattan landed at Staten Island, and stole some swine which were there in charge of a negro slave. The Raritan Indians living on the western side of the bay, a short time previously had stolen a canoe belonging to a trading-party, and because of that offence they were accused of stealing the swine. Without stopping to inquire into the matter, Kieft determined to punish the presumed offenders, and he sent Van Tienhoven, the provincial secretary, with fifty soldiers and twenty sailors, to attack them and destroy their corn and cabins, unless they made instant reparation. Arriving at an Indian village, Van Tienhoven demanded satisfaction of the astonished natives, who protested that they knew nothing about the stolen swine. The soldiers wished to commence killing at once, but Van Tienhoven refused to permit them. They, however, knowing Kieft's vindictive temper, persisted in importuning the secretary for permission to attack; and he, with a protest which was probably not very forcible, walked away from his soldiers, and they at once commenced their bloody work. Several of the Indians were killed, and their crops and cabins were destroyed, for an offence of which they were not guilty.

The effect of this rash and unjustifiable act might have been anticipated: the Indians thus attacked determined to be revenged, but, with the usual cunning of savages, they bided their time. The kindred tribes of river Indians became more estranged from the settlers in consequence of this unprovoked attack, and when Kieft again demanded tribute they flatly refused, regarding it a piece of insolence on the part of the Dutch, whom they had hospitably permitted to settle on some of their lands. Meanwhile, under the more liberal policy which had been adopted, New Netherlands had begun to prosper, and new plantations were commenced at various points about Manhattan. But these accessions to

the number of colonists, when at last the long delayed retribution came, rendered it more terrible.

The Raritans brooded over their wrongs for a year, and then suddenly made a descent upon De Vries's plantation on Staten Island, killing four of his farm-hands, and burning his house and barns. At this, Kieft declared that the Raritans must be exterminated, and he offered a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum (the "circulating medium" used by both Dutch and Indians) for the head of every one of the tribe, and twenty fathoms for each head of the actual murderers. Among the river Indians were some who were tempted by the offered bounty, and they waged a petty war upon the outlawed tribe. They did not deplete Kieft's store of wampum by bringing in many heads; but at last one of them brought the hand of a dead Indian which he declared was that of the chief who had killed the Dutch on Staten Island. For a time this disposed of the trouble with the Raritans; but mischief arose in another quarter.

The Indian boy who had witnessed the murder of his uncle by some of Minuit's men had now grown to be a man, and according to savage ethics it was his duty to avenge the death of his kinsman. The tribe to which he belonged was called the Weckquaesgeeks, and dwelt in what is now West Chester county. In a then somewhat remote place on the shores of the East River one Smits, a peaceful Dutch wheelwright, had established his habitation, where he could pursue his employment if opportunity offered, and, what was more profitable, could trade with the Indians without being disturbed. Thither came the nephew of the long-ago murdered savage to barter with the wheelwright. If he did not come with the purpose of murdering the Dutchman, as the latter stooped over his chest to take out his goods, the temptation to gratify his revenge was too great to be resisted, and he dispatched the unsuspecting wheelwright with his hatchet, and then, after plundering the dwelling, departed with the satisfaction that his kinsman's spirit was appeased.

When the murder became known, Kieft sent to the Weckquaesgeeks to demand the murderer. The young Indian avowed the deed, and told the story of his uncle's murder which he was bound to avenge. The sachem of the tribe refused to surrender a brave who had thus

fulfilled a sacred duty and proved himself worthy of honor rather than punishment. A party of soldiers was then sent to take the murderer by force; but they met with no better success.

Kieft was not disposed to be foiled by these ignorant savages, and he desired to commence open war upon them at once. But his course towards the Raritans had caused loud complaints from many of the prominent colonists, who declared that he would let loose the savage hordes upon the unprotected plantations, and he did not venture upon a repetition of that course which might exasperate the people to a dangerous degree. He had little respect for popular opinion, and no regard for popular rights, or the participation of the people in public affairs; but he was afraid to assume the responsibility of a war with the Indians, and he therefore, with some reluctance, determined to consult the colonists.

He accordingly summoned all the heads of families to meet at Fort Amsterdam; and when they responded to this extraordinary call, he submitted to them some questions which he imagined could only be answered in a way which would justify his warlike purposes. The questions he proposed were as follows: "Ought not the murder of Smits by a savage to be avenged and punished? If the Indians will not surrender the murderer upon demand, is it not just to destroy the village where he belongs? In what manner and by whom ought the punishment to be administered?" In order that the propositions might be considered with due deliberation, the people chose "twelve men" to whom they were referred. The "twelve men" were the leading men of the colony, outside of the council, and De Vries was their president. Having been chosen to represent the people, they had no idea of being simply the tools of the director-general, and their report upon the propositions was by no means what he had desired and anticipated. They agreed that the murder of Smits ought to be avenged, but thought that the time for administering punishment should depend upon "God and the opportunity;" that the director-general should take time for preparation, and provide coats of mail for the soldiers and the people; that in the mean time a friendly intercourse should be continued with the Indians, and no hostile act should be committed by any one "of whatever state or condition," except against the actual

murderer; that no hostile expedition should be undertaken until the surrender of the murderer had been "once, twice, yea, for the third time," demanded in a friendly manner; and when such expedition should be fitted out, that the director-general, as commander of the soldiers, "should lead the van." In communicating this report to Kieft, De Vries expressed his own opinion of the danger of arousing a hostile spirit in the Indians against the scattered settlers of New Netherlands, and reminded the director-general that the commands from Holland were to keep at peace with the savages.

Kieft did not relish this counsel of the "twelve men," which aimed to restrain him in the exercise of his assumed prerogative, and gave form to the popular notion that he ought to share the danger imposed upon the soldiers and settlers, but he could not well do otherwise than submit. When, however, the hunting-season came, he thought the "opportunity" waited for had arrived. But he was anxious that the "twelve men" should share the responsibility of hostilities, and not wishing to recognize them as a body, he consulted them separately, hoping thus to secure the approval of his plans. A majority of them were still averse to any warlike demonstration till the Indians were in a less suspicious and unfriendly mood, and De Vries, whose character and position entitled his opinion to great weight, was resolutely opposed to war with the savages under any circumstances. With a prudence which he did not always exercise, the disappointed director-general again yielded, and the evil day was postponed.

But he did not abandon his design; and when winter came, and the Indians were occupied with hunting, he convened the twelve delegates, and again urged the necessity of inflicting punishment for the murder of Smits. As repeated demands for the surrender of the murderer had proved fruitless, the "twelve men" at last assented to the proposed expedition upon certain conditions, among which was one that Kieft should lead it in person. With this condition, however, the director-general did not comply, but sent a force of eighty men under Ensign Van Dyck to punish the Weckquaesgeeks "with fire and sword." A guide, who professed to be well acquainted with the country, accompanied the expedition, but night coming on dark and cloudy, he missed the way. The commander was not qualified for the duty he had

assumed, and, losing his temper, he ordered a retreat, inflicting no further injury on the savages than the discharge of a volley of Dutch oaths. When the Indians discovered the trail of the Dutch force, they were considerably alarmed, and expressed a desire for peace. Van Tienhoven, the secretary, was accordingly sent to their village, and a treaty was made by which the sachems agreed to surrender the murderer of Smits; but they did not fulfil their promise.

Meanwhile the "twelve men" were not content to approve of the expedition against the Indians; but, being assembled, they complained of grievances under which the people suffered, and claimed privileges enjoyed by the burghers of the towns and villages of Holland, who annually elected some of their magistrates. The council, practically, was entirely under the control of the director-general, who thus exercised arbitrary power. The popular delegates demanded that the council should be reorganized, and that some of the members should be appointed from among twelve men chosen by the people. They also demanded that the militia should be annually mustered and trained, and that the colonists should be at liberty to trade where they pleased, provided they paid the established duties to the company.

Kieft was no friend of popular liberty, but he saw that these delegates, who were the most prominent men of the colony, represented the temper of the people, and he promised certain concessions. He then dissolved the assembly of the "twelve men," telling them they had only been chosen to advise concerning the murder of Smits, and forbade the calling of any assembly of the people without an express order from himself. His promise of concessions was given before the expedition was sent against the Indians, and when there was a possibility that the assent of the people's representatives might be withdrawn if he had not been conciliatory. When that contingency passed, he gave no further thought to his promise.

WANTON MASSACRE OF INDIANS, AND
RETRIBUTION.



IN 1643, rumors of a hostile movement of the Indians against the whites greatly disturbed the people of New Netherlands and of Connecticut. Miantonomoh was reported to be engaged in inciting the natives to a general war. Whatever may have been the cause of such suspicions, the significance of every movement of the savages was exaggerated, and the wildest stories were believed, carrying alarm into the scattered and defenceless dwellings in the neighborhood of Manhattan. By the prudence of Massachusetts the English colonists in Connecticut were restrained from plunging into an unnecessary war; but New Netherlands had no cautious friend to control the rashness of Kieft.

Myndret Van der Herst had commenced a settlement at Hackensack, on the west side of the Hudson, a few miles from Vriesendael, the pleasant plantation of De Vries. One day De Vries, while walking through the woods to visit his neighbor, met an Indian who came staggering along, half clothed and very drunk. The savage had often visited the master of Vriesendael, and now, coming up to him, stroked him over the arms in token of friendship. "Good chief," said the Indian, "when we come to see you, you give us milk without pay. But at Hackensack they gave me fire-water to drink, and then they stole my beaver-skin mantle. The knavish Swannekens shall suffer for tricks!" and he vowed he would quickly be revenged. De Vries

endeavored to pacify him, but he went his way, muttering vengeance on the thieves. After visiting Hackensack, where he warned Van der Horst of the danger incurred by treating the savages in this manner, De Vries returned to his own house. He had scarcely arrived there before some Indians informed him that the ill-treated savage had already taken his revenge. Seizing his weapons, he had gone back to Hackensack, and stealthily approaching one of the colonists, named Van Voorst, who was thatching the roof of a house, he had shot him with his arrows, and then dispatched him with his tomahawk.

Alarmed for the consequences of this act, the chiefs of the tribe hastened to De Vries and offered to pay two hundred fathoms of wampum as a peace-offering. The friendly patroon told them he had no authority to settle the matter, and with some difficulty persuaded them to go to Fort Amsterdam, promising them a safe return. There the chiefs explained the affair to the director-general, and again offered to atone for the murder by paying a large amount of wampum to the widow of the unfortunate victim. They rightly charged the whole difficulty to the strong drink which the Dutch were in the habit of selling to the natives; and they declared that they had seen the Dutch themselves, when maddened by liquor, fighting each other with knives. Some of the evils which had grown up under Van Twiller's bad example and loose administration had not escaped the notice of the savages. Kieft, however, would listen to no excuses and accept of no peace-offering, but demanded the surrender of the murderer. This the chiefs would not promise, as he had fled to the Tankiteke tribe, and was beyond their reach. From this unsatisfactory interview the chiefs were suffered to return, agreeably to De Vries's promise; and, soon after, Kieft sent to the chief of the Tankitekes a peremptory demand for the surrender of the fugitive. Whether that crafty savage, who was not very well disposed towards the Dutch, would have complied with the demand, was doubtful; but before he determined upon his answer, an event occurred which at last enabled Kieft to strike the blow which he had long contemplated.

In the midst of winter a band of nearly a hundred Mohawks came down from their own region, well armed with guns, to collect tribute from the river tribes. Their method of collecting tribute was simply

robbery accompanied by massacre. The river Indians, to whom the very name of Iroquois was a terror, offered no resistance, but fled in dismay towards the mouth of the river, not, however, until seventy of their number were killed, and many of their women and children were made prisoners. Four or five hundred of the fugitives flocked to Vriesendael to beg the protection of the patroon; but De Vries told them that the Mohawks were the friends of the Dutch, who could not therefore interfere in their wars. Having only four or five men on his plantation, and anxious lest the ill disposed among this large number of visitors should commit some hostile act, De Vries went down the river through the floating ice in a canoe, to ask Kieft for some soldiers. The director-general said he had none to spare; and before De Vries could return to his plantation, the crowd of Indians had followed him, and large numbers encamped in Pavonia, on the western bank of the river, among the Hackensacks, while others sought refuge on the island of Manhattan.

This sudden irruption created alarm among the settlers, and many of them advocated the expulsion of the fugitives by force; but De Vries, and a majority of those who had property at stake, thought it a good opportunity to secure the gratitude and friendship of the river Indians by protecting them from their dreaded enemies the Iroquois. Kieft believed in hostile measures, and though he may not have been an accomplice, a trick was resorted to for the apparent justification of such a policy. Van Tienhoven, the secretary, prepared a petition urging immediate hostilities against the Indians while they were unprepared for an attack. This petition was signed by three of the "twelve men" formerly chosen by the people, and one day, when the director-general happened to be dining with them, they presented it to him as the representatives of the people. Although Kieft had dissolved the delegation of "twelve men" a year before, and had denied their right to consider any other matter than the one then submitted, he pretended to receive the petition as an authoritative expression of the wishes of the people; and highly delighted that he could carry out his long cherished purpose, he replied that hostilities should be commenced. Returning to Fort Amsterdam, he gave orders for the soldiers to be prepared for an expedition, and sent Van Tienhoven and an officer to reconnoitre the position of the Indians at Pavonia.

When his purpose became known, the more considerate colonists remonstrated against such a rash and unjustifiable course. Dominie Bogardus, the minister, declared that Kieft was "building a bridge over which war would stalk through the whole country." De Vries protested that the pretended advice was not that of the "twelve men," for he was president, and they had not considered the subject; and he warned the director-general that the savages, if thus wantonly attacked, would wreak their vengeance on the unprotected farmers of the outlying plantations. "You want to break the Indians' heads," said he, "but you will murder our own people." But Kieft was obstinately bent upon his sanguinary purpose, and, pointing at his soldiers already mustered for the expedition, he doggedly replied, "The commonalty solicit it, the order has gone forth, and the men are ready to march."

Meanwhile Van Tienhoven had been to Pavonia, and returned with a report which confirmed Kieft in his purpose; the unsuspecting Indians could be massacred with ease and impunity. Two parties of soldiers and volunteers were accordingly sent out at night, one to cross over to Pavonia to "drive away and destroy" the Indians there, and the other to attack a party of savages "skulking behind Corlaer's Hook." The party sent to Pavonia cautiously approached the encampment of the Tappan tribe, and at midnight, while the Indians were asleep, commenced their bloody work. At the first onset the savages rushed from their cabins in terror, believing that their dreaded enemies the Iroquois were upon them. Panic-stricken, they offered little resistance, and men, women, and children were indiscriminately shot down or thrust through with swords. As they fled, the Dutch pursued, and till almost dawn the slaughter continued. And then, as the assailants withdrew, they threw children, whom they found hiding, into the icy waters of the river, and shot their parents as they attempted to rescue them. Daylight revealed to the astonished natives that the assailants were not the terrible Mohawks, but the treacherous Dutch; and over the bodies of their murdered kindred, wives, and children, they vowed a fearful revenge. The other party of soldiers surprised the Weckquaesgeeks who had taken refuge at Corlaer's Hook, and with like atrocity massacred all that they could find in the darkness of the night, young and old alike.

Eighty of the fugitives were thus murdered at Pavonia, and forty at Corlaer's Hook.

That night De Vries, sitting by the kitchen-fire in Kieft's house, heard the rattle of musketry, and the yells and shrieks of the terrified victims, across the river. Chafing at the director's disregard of his advice and protest, he anxiously anticipated the dangers that must follow this rash and wanton cruelty. While the tumult was at its height, an Indian and squaw, whom he had often entertained at Vriesendael, and who had escaped from Pavonia in a canoe, hastily entered the fort, where there was now no sentry, and coming to the kitchen-fire, with terror depicted in their faces, exclaimed, "The Mohawks are upon us, and we have come to hide in the fort!" "This is no place for you to hide," replied De Vries, rising and leading them quickly out, lest some servant should discover and detain them; "they are no Mohawks who have fallen upon your tribe, but the Dutch. Fly, and hide yourselves in the woods." He conducted them to the gate of the fort, and watched till they were safe from immediate danger.

The next day, when the soldiers returned with thirty prisoners and ghastly tokens of their bloody work, they were welcomed by Kieft with thanks and congratulations, and liberally rewarded, and the "meaner sort" of people, who predominated in the neighborhood of the fort, hailed them as victorious heroes, though they were simply murderers. Even women joined in the welcome, and rejoiced over the bloody trophies. It was an unworthy and foolish triumph; for while the achievement it honored was an act of causeless and wanton cruelty, it was followed by a fearful retribution.

The success of these murderous expeditions seemed to create a bloodthirstiness among some of the Dutch; and the settlers on Long Island applied to Kieft for permission and aid to attack the Indians of their neighborhood. The governor, however, was disposed to appear a little more prudent, and refused the request on the ground that the Long Island Indians had shown no hostility to the Dutch, and it was inexpedient to make any more enemies among the savages. But he added a fatal proviso, that should the Indians show signs of hostility, every colonist might defend himself as best he could. It was no difficult matter to construe some actions of the natives as hostile; and the

colonists, who coveted the corn of their savage neighbors, organized an expedition to rob them; and when the owners undertook to protect their property, several of them were shot.

This wanton robbery and murder precipitated the war which had long been brewing. The Long Island Indians, who had hitherto been friendly, were not only estranged, but aroused to a fierce hatred of the whites, and they soon made common cause with the river tribes, who were thirsting for revenge against the cruel assailants who had so treacherously massacred their kindred. Eleven tribes united to avenge the wrongs inflicted on their race, and, without warning, suddenly commenced their terrible warfare. Outside of the settlement at Fort Amsterdam the Dutch had built no villages or hamlets of any considerable size, but had established themselves on farms at some distance from each other, and scarcely any of their houses were designed for defence. The larger proprietors, or patroons, had each a number of servants and dependants who were domiciled in or about their houses; but their tenants, who cultivated farms, were scattered, so that they could afford little aid to each other. At Stamford and Greenwich, in Connecticut, and on Long Island, where the English had established themselves within the jurisdiction of New Netherlands, the settlements were somewhat more compact; but no adequate preparations for defence were anywhere made.

Upon these scattered and defenceless colonists the savages fell, with a determination to annihilate them. They knew well the habits of the Dutch, and timed their assaults accordingly. Stealing cautiously from the woods, they killed the farmers in their fields; visiting in friendly guise the houses, they treacherously dispatched the unsuspecting inmates, or, sparing the women and children, carried them into a long and wretched captivity, from which some of them never returned. They burned dwellings and barns, destroyed granaries and hay-stacks, and killed the cattle; wherever they went they carried utter desolation. So sudden and widely extended were these attacks, that many families were murdered or carried into captivity before the movements of the savages were generally known. When the alarm was given, and it was evident that every plantation was in danger, such of the colonists as could escape before the savages were upon them, fled in dismay to

Fort Amsterdam, leaving all their possessions to be destroyed by the merciless marauders.

While others sought safety in flight, De Vries remained on his plantation, hoping, perhaps, that as he had always dealt justly by the Indians, they would not visit their vengeance upon him. He had, however, pierced his house with loopholes for muskets, and was resolved, if need be, to defend it. In their desire for revenge, the savages did not think of sparing any of the Dutch; and soon De Vries's hay-stacks were in flames, and his cattle were killed. His farm-hands and tenants escaped to the manor-house, where the patroon armed and posted them for defence, while the burning barns and out-houses told that the Indians were advancing. They soon appeared in the neighborhood of the house, and were preparing for an attack, when the fugitive Indian, whom De Vries had humanely conducted out of Fort Amsterdam on the night of the cruel massacre at Pavonia, appeared, and earnestly declaring that the patroon was "a good chief," told the assailants the story of his merciful act while all the other "Swannekens" were bent on murder. The besiegers probably belonged to a tribe who had not experienced the kindness of De Vries, but this story of his humanity at once changed their feelings from hostility to good will. Offering tokens of friendship, they made known the cause of the change, and expressing regret for the destruction they had already accomplished, they departed to wreak their vengeance where there was less cause for gratitude.

But De Vries's plantation was desolated. His numerous cattle were killed, his grain destroyed, his barns and out-buildings burnt, and little was left but his house and a small brewery which at the last moment the Indians had spared, although they greatly coveted the copper kettle with which to make barbs for their arrows. Hurrying down to Manhattan, he indignantly upbraided Kieft for the wanton cruelties which had provoked the Indians. "Did I not predict truly," he demanded, "that you were whetting the knives to shed Christian blood? See how your folly has brought ruin on New Netherlands! Our countrymen murdered, their wives and children carried into captivity, our houses burned, and our farms desolated! Who, now, shall compensate us for our losses?"

The conscience-stricken director made no reply; he saw, too late, his error in not listening to advice from this prudent counsellor. Fort Amsterdam was already full of impoverished fugitives, who demanded to be sent back to Holland, and each day brought intelligence of new ravages by the Indians. But Kieft was not supine, and he took all the colonists into the pay of the Company as soldiers for two months; and, to divert attention from the increasing complaints of the sufferers, he sent out a force on several expeditions against the savages, but always without success. This force was under the command of Adriaensen, one of the "twelve men" who had wrongfully assumed to speak for the people and urge Kieft to commence the war, and who now saw his own plantation destroyed as a consequence of his wicked advice.

Hoping to pacify the Long Island Indians, and thus reduce the number of the enemy, Kieft sent a friendly message to them; but the messengers were told that the Dutch were a tribe of corn-thieves, and their chief a false and treacherous friend. The Dutch were therefore still threatened on every side by hostile savages. While the English colonists in Connecticut always had faithful allies in Uncas and his tribe of Mohegans, the Dutch of Fort Amsterdam found no friend or mediator among all the surrounding tribes. For the deplorable condition of the colony, for all the murders and ravages by the Indians, the people held the director-general responsible, and their murmurs and threats became so loud that Kieft sought to shift the responsibility from himself upon Adriaensen and his colleagues, who had advised the massacre at Pavonia. The freemen plainly intimated, however, that the whole affair of the petition was a trick to cover the director's own vindictive purpose. Adriaensen, in a rage at this attempt of an accomplice and author of the mischief to subject him to the ill will of the people, arming himself, entered Kieft's apartment, and, charging him with lying, would have assassinated him had he not been disarmed by some of the director's attendants. He was promptly imprisoned; but as soon as this was known, two of his men attempted to accomplish the purpose in which their commander had failed, and one of them discharged his gun at Kieft, but without effect, and was instantly shot by a sentry. A crowd now assembled, and demanded the release of Adriaensen. Kieft refused to comply with the demand; but the

temper of the people was such that he saw the necessity of conceding something, and proposed that some of the prominent citizens should act with the council in the trial of the offender. But this did not meet the views of the commonalty, who had previously experienced Kieft's bad faith after similar promises; and to end the matter, Adriaensen was sent to Holland for trial. Whether he suffered any punishment there or not, he was back again in New Netherlands three or four years afterwards, and settled on the west side of the North River.

As spring advanced, the Long Island Indians wished to plant their corn, and sent messengers to Fort Amsterdam, proposing a conference. Kieft would not venture to meet the savages himself, and none of the colonists were willing to undertake the mission except De Vries and Olfertsen. Passing over to Long Island, they were conducted to one of the large Indian villages, where they were hospitably entertained, and passed the night. The next morning they were conducted to an opening in the woods, where they found sixteen chiefs awaiting them. They were placed in the centre of a circle formed by these chiefs, and an aged Indian, holding a bundle of small sticks, began to address them, saying, "When your people first came here to trade, they often wanted food, and we gave them our corn, and oysters, and fish, and now you repay us by murdering our kindred;" and he laid down a stick. "We were friends to your people who were left here to trade while the ships were away; we brought them great store of furs; we gave them our daughters for wives, and some of those you have massacred are children of your own blood." The speaker laid down another stick; but the number yet remaining in his hand augured so long a list of reproaches that De Vries cut short the speech, and invited them to go to Manhattan, where the governor would give them presents and make a peace. De Vries was known to all the Indians as friendly and honorable, and, relying on his assurances, the chiefs assented to the proposition in spite of the objections of some of their followers.

The result of this visit, after long negotiations to secure the assent of the river tribes, was a treaty of peace. To this end Roger Williams, who was then at Fort Amsterdam seeking a passage to Europe,

contributed as a mediator. But it was only a hollow truce; the Indians were dissatisfied with the presents they had received, which they declared bore no proportion to the losses they had suffered, and the young warriors were "continually crying for vengeance." The older chiefs, who had made the treaty, could with difficulty restrain them; and on the river, and in several exposed settlements, stealthy attacks were made by small bands of the discontented savages.

Under these circumstances the colony was slow to recover its former condition. Only the boldest of the settlers ventured to return to their desolated farms, and to rebuild their ruined homes; and when they found that they were still exposed to the vengeance of the unreconciled savages, many of them gave up in despair, and sought safety again at Fort Amsterdam. Some had been utterly ruined by the destruction of their property, and had no means with which to commence life again; others had lost wives or children by massacre or captivity, and had no heart to return to the scenes of their sorrow: all these now longed to escape from the country of their misfortunes, and return to their native land.

INDIAN WARS IN NEW NETHERLANDS.



WHILE the fires of war were smouldering, and there was danger that they might at any moment be fanned into a flame, Kieft was engaged in a dispute with the English colonists at Hartford and New Haven, and on Long Island, all of which territory he claimed as belonging to New Netherlands. The disputes and quarrels between the Hartford colonists and the Dutch at the fort of Good Hope had commenced; and when Kieft heard of the confederation of the New England colonies, he sent messengers to Boston with letters "written in Latin" to congratulate the English on their league, and to complain of their encroachment on the rights of the Dutch, and demanding whether the colonists of Connecticut were sustained in their grievous course by the confederation. He obtained but little satisfaction, for the commissioners of the united colonies were not in session, and Governor Winthrop replied that the dispute about Good Hope, "being only for a small parcel of land, was a matter of so little value in this vast continent as was not worthy to cause a breach between two people so nearly related both in profession of the same Protestant religion and otherwise." The commissioners afterwards replied to Kieft's complaints by counter complaints on the part of the English colonists, and expressed the opinion that the claims of Hartford were just.

Kieft renewed his complaints; but the hostile movements of the Indians soon distracted his attention from his dispute with the English.

The tribes about the Highlands commenced war, attacking several small vessels going down the river, and killing a number of men. Soon a number of colonists, who had returned to their farms after the treaty, were treacherously murdered by Indians who approached them under the guise of friendship, and the others fled again to Manhattan. It now became manifest that the Indians on all sides had dug up the hatchet so recently buried, and were preparing for a bloody war. On Long Island, and from Connecticut around to Jersey, the savages were in a state of uneasiness that boded mischief. Many of them were now supplied with fire-arms and ammunition through the recklessness of private traders and the illicit traffic of some of the colonists themselves, and were therefore more formidable than ever before. The self-willed Kieft no longer dared to take the responsibility of defending the colony over which he had often boasted that he was supreme. He convoked the people, and asked them to choose some of their own number to consider the propositions which he might submit concerning the public welfare. Unwillingly the people assented, and chose "eight men," scarcely hoping that they would fare any better than the twelve who had been chosen on a former occasion.

The eight deputies advised that active war should at once be commenced against the Indians, except those on Long Island, with whom an attempt should be made to secure an alliance. They further advised the raising of as large a military force as possible. At this time there was a considerable number of English within the limits of New Netherlands, who acknowledged the sovereignty of the Dutch. Under the discouraging condition of affairs, most of them were ready to remove to some other colony; but Kieft enlisted as many as possible into the service of the company, and Captain Underhill, who had settled at Stamford, was placed in command. All the able-bodied Dutch colonists were also armed and drilled; but the whole force, including fifty or sixty regular soldiers, did not exceed three hundred.

Before Kieft had completed his preparations, the savages commenced war in earnest. The famous Anne Hutchinson, after leaving Rhode Island, had settled with her family not far from Stamford, where, in a quiet retreat called "Annie's Hook," she led a more peaceful life than in earlier years, with a married daughter and her husband and chil-

dren. The Weckquaesgeeks, the nearest tribe of Indians, not infrequently visited the plantation, and always received kindly treatment at the hands of this remarkable woman and her household. Starting out on the war-path, a party of them now came in the usual friendly manner, and being admitted to the house, suddenly fell upon the unsuspecting family and treacherously murdered them all except a granddaughter of Mrs. Hutchinson, eight years old, whom they carried into captivity. Having massacred the unoffending inmates, the savages completed the work of destruction by burning the house and killing all the cattle. They then attacked two other peaceful settlements, not far away, and with like ferocity dispatched the few persons they found in the houses; but fortunately some of the women and children, flying at the first approach of the Indians, escaped on board a boat that fortunately appeared off the shore.

This attack seemed to be a signal for a general outbreak of hostilities. The Dutch had failed to secure the Long Island Indians as allies, and these now made an attack on Gravesend, where a colony of English from Massachusetts had settled. There were forty men here, who made a brave defence, and succeeded in repulsing the assailants; but at Mespeth and other settlements many of the colonists were killed, and the rest were driven off, and their villages and farms laid waste. On the Jersey shore the savages were equally active. They killed or drove from their homes the few remaining settlers, and the whole of that region was once more in the sole possession of the aborigines. Had the Dutch lived in villages, like the English settlers, where they could combine for defence, the Indians might have been less successful, for their numbers were not very large, and all their attacks were made by small parties who came with pretences of friendship. Jacob Stoffelsen, who lived at Pavonia, had a small garrison of three or four soldiers to defend his house. He had always treated the natives well, and they entertained a friendly feeling towards him. A party of nine Indians came one morning to Stoffelsen's house in their usual friendly manner, and induced him to cross over to Fort Amsterdam on some errand which they had invented to get him out of the way. They then continued their friendly intercourse with the soldiers, who, anticipating no treachery, incautiously laid aside their arms. It was a fatal

imprudence, for at a given signal the savages suddenly threw off the mask of friendship, and murdered the soldiers and other inmates of the house, with the exception of a little stepson of Stoffelsen, who was carried away after the complete destruction of this and the neighboring "boweries." Learning that this little captive was among the Indians at Tappan, Stoffelsen appealed to Kieft to obtain his release. But no one dared to venture on such a perilous errand until the excellent De Vries, who was as brave and humane as he was enterprising and prudent, was once more applied to. Going up the river alone, his reputation among the Indians as "the good chief" not only secured his own safety, but the release of the captive boy.

Not only was the country west of the lower Hudson depopulated of the Dutch, but all the settlements between Manhattan and Stamford were abandoned, and the plantations devastated. Even on Manhattan the out-lying boweries, or farms, were left to the mercy of the savages, and those nearest to Fort Amsterdam were threatened "every night with fire, and by day with the slaughter of both people and cattle." The fugitives thronged about Fort Amsterdam, women and children huddled together in huts of straw, and their husbands and fathers, who had not fallen victims to Indian vengeance, under arms for the defence of the dilapidated fort. Cattle had been driven in for safety, and crowded into an enclosure in the fort, where they were in danger of perishing for want of forage; and the people themselves were threatened with famine, although two vessels loaded with wheat and other produce were in the harbor, ready to sail for the West Indies.

In this unhappy condition of affairs Kieft was glad enough to ask the advice and aid of the deputies of the people. The "eight men" were accordingly convened, and to relieve the wants of the people they at once proposed that the two ships should be unladen and their cargoes distributed to the colonists, while their crews should be drafted into the military service. But Kieft would not listen to this proposal, and the vessels sailed away with their precious cargoes, while famine stared the miserable population in the face. The deputies next proposed that an application should be made to the New England colonies for the assistance of a hundred and fifty men. This recommendation was adopted, and Underhill and Allerton (who had also left Massachu-

setts for New Netherlands) were sent to New Haven to ask for aid. But their mission was unsuccessful; the New Haven colony could not engage in any war without the consent of its confederates, and the magistrates were, moreover, not satisfied that the war was just. They offered, however, to assist the Dutch with provisions.

The affairs of the colony were fast becoming desperate: the Indians grew more bold, and threatened in overwhelming numbers to attack the dilapidated fort, to strengthen which no effort was made. Failing to obtain help from the English colonists, the "eight men" now sought it from the Fatherland, and addressed letters to the West India Company, and to the States-General, setting forth in pathetic terms the unhappy condition to which the settlers were reduced, and imploring aid to save them from certain destruction. But it must necessarily be a long time before any succor could arrive from Holland; and in the meantime, under the advice of such a bold Indian-fighter as Underhill, it was determined to undertake an offensive war.

While the outlook for New Netherlands was darkest, De Vries, the ablest and most prudent of the settlers, determined to return to Holland. Although the Indians regarded him as their friend, in whom, almost alone of the Dutch, they had faith, his houses had been burned, his cattle killed, his plantations laid waste, and he found himself, by no fault of his own, nor yet through personal enmity towards him, a ruined man. Kieft's wilful disregard of his pacific counsels had brought all these evils on the colony, and De Vries, disgusted with the treatment he had received, no longer attempted to exert any influence. Finding an opportunity to go to Virginia, he held a last interview with the director-general, and, as a parting admonition, said, "The murders by which you have shed so much innocent blood will yet be avenged upon your own head!" And so he bade farewell to Manhattan.

Offensive measures were soon commenced by the Dutch. An expedition was sent to Stamford, where the Indians were reported to be threatening an attack; but though the troops marched some distance into the interior, they found only three unoccupied forts, and killed a few wandering natives. Another expedition, sent to Long Island, was more successful. At Hempstead a considerable colony of English had settled on a liberal grant of land from Kieft. The Indians of the neigh-

borhood manifesting some hostility, the settlers arrested several of them and confined them in a cellar. Kieft, being informed of the circumstances, sent a force of one hundred and twenty men, consisting of a few regular soldiers, Underhill's Englishmen, and some Dutch burghers, the whole under the command of Councillor La Montagne. Reaching Hempstead, Underhill immediately killed three of the prisoners confined there, and retained two to carry to Fort Amsterdam. The forces were then divided: Underhill with fourteen men proceeded to attack a small Indian village, and La Montagne with eighty men marched against a larger one. Both the villages were surprised, and one hundred and twenty Indians, some of them women and children, were killed, while the assailants lost but one man killed and three wounded. Having achieved this victory, the force returned to Fort Amsterdam, where, under the eye of Kieft, the two prisoners whom Underhill brought with him were subjected to cruelties worthy only of savages,—barbarities, indeed, which shocked some captive Indian women who witnessed them.

It was now winter, and the men at Fort Amsterdam were suffering not a little for want of clothing and shoes, when one of Van Rensselaer's vessels opportunely arrived with a cargo of goods for his colony up the river. Kieft offered to buy some shoes for the soldiers, but the supercargo refused to sell them, when the indignant director promptly ordered the seizure of a sufficient number. On searching the vessel, a supply of guns and ammunition was found, which was not on the ship's manifest, and accordingly the vessel and cargo were confiscated; the arms and ammunition, as well as the clothing, proving a valuable acquisition to the colony at this juncture. These supplies had scarcely been distributed among the needy soldiers, when Underhill returned from Stamford, whither he had been to learn the position and temper of the Indians of that region. He had heard where a large number of Indians were collected, and was eager to lead a new expedition against them. Kieft was no less anxious to strike another blow at the savages before they should resume active hostilities in the spring; and accordingly a force of one hundred and fifty English and Dutch, under the command of Underhill and Ensign Van Dyck, was immediately sent to the borders of Connecticut.

Landing at Greenwich, this force at once marched into the interior.

Through snow and over steep hills the troops toiled all day, and far into the following night, Underhill confidently leading the way to the winter abode of the savages. About midnight they came in sight of the Indian village nestling in a valley sheltered from the north winds by a steep mountain, and surrounded, as usual, with palisades. Here a large number of Indians were collected in the numerous wigwams, members of the neighboring tribes being present at a great feast, given, perhaps, preparatory to active war upon the colonists. The full moon shone brightly, and showed distinctly the position of the village, with its three rows of cabins, and it also made the advancing troops visible to the Indians. When the whites arrived within a proper distance for assault, the savages were on their guard, and with fierce yells intimated their readiness for the combat. Confident in their superior numbers, they made several sallies from their palisade walls, but each time they were shot down or driven back by a charge from the troops. In the course of an hour nearly two hundred were thus killed outside the palisades; but they still swarmed within the enclosure, and with flights of arrows annoyed the troops, who found little opportunity to shoot those exposing themselves above the palisades.

Not fancying this kind of battle, Underhill determined to try the tactics he had seen Mason employ at the fort of the Pequots. He accordingly made a charge into the entrance of the fort, and succeeded in setting fire to the nearest cabin. The dry bark was quickly in a blaze, and the flames spread rapidly through the closely set wigwams. As the terrified Indians attempted to escape from fire, they were shot down by the soldiers or driven back into the flames, in their terror offering but a feeble resistance. Shrieks of anguish and despair succeeded the yells of defiance, as men, women, and children, burned or wounded, writhed in agony along the narrow passages between the burning huts. No mercy was shown by the whites, no prisoners were taken, almost none were suffered to escape, the sword finishing all whom the flames had spared. The carnage was complete; and more than five hundred Indians, who had the previous evening joined in the feast, long before daybreak had perished, and only eight succeeded in escaping. And this slaughter was accomplished without the loss of a man on the part of the Dutch, though fifteen were wounded.

There was no fear of an attack from any considerable number of Indians, and the victorious Dutch, building large fires outside the scene of the slaughter, rested till the next day, when they marched back to Greenwich, and returned to Fort Amsterdam in triumph. The achievement was hailed with joy by the people, and Kieft proclaimed a day of thanksgiving for the victory.

The punishment inflicted on the more distant tribes caused them to solicit a peace, and through the agency of Underhill a treaty was made with a number of sachems, which it was hoped would eventually secure a general cessation of hostilities. The nearer tribes of river Indians, however, continued hostile, and continually threatened to attack Fort Amsterdam. For the protection of the few remaining cattle, a stout fence was built across the island, near what is now Wall Street. But Kieft adopted no further measures against the savages, who gradually became more bold, and began to murder the Dutch who ventured beyond the protection of the fort. The affairs of the colony were in a sad condition: there was no money to pay the soldiers; the people had exhausted their means; the West India Company, now bankrupt, could afford no aid. To raise means, Kieft proposed to levy an excise on brandy, wine, beer, and beaver, but the eight deputies of the people opposed the measure as oppressive. The director, however, levied the excise provisionally, declaring in his proclamation that it was done "by the advice of the eight men chosen by the commonalty." This measure caused great discontent, and Kieft found himself involved in domestic disputes and troubles, while the Indians were growing more hostile and insolent.

At this juncture a vessel arrived, bringing a hundred and thirty Dutch soldiers who had been serving in Brazil; and it was determined that they should be retained at Manhattan. But it was necessary that they should be clothed and paid, and the provisional excise was continued, and more stringent measures adopted to enforce it. New disputes arose; the people were disposed to resist the tyranny which the director was determined to exercise; weeks were wasted in petty prosecutions of those who opposed his will, and harvest-time was approaching, when the Indians, having gathered their maize, would be ready to resort to more active warfare. The deputies of the people

now demanded of Kieft that he should no longer delay active measures to subdue the savages, and he was at last aroused to action. A party of the recently arrived soldiers were sent on an expedition, in which they killed eight Indians, but came back saying, that for every enemy killed a new one stood in his place the next morning. Autumn came, and nothing had been accomplished, and the colonists saw the winter approaching with the prospect of a short supply of provisions, scanty clothing, and the hardships of a campaign through snow and storm.

The burghers of Manhattan had gradually been growing more and more independent, and despairing of any improvement in the affairs of the colony under the existing system, the "eight men," representing the wishes of a majority of the people, sent to the States-General of Holland a demand for the recall of Kieft, and the introduction of the municipal system of government which had long been established in the mother country. This communication, followed by others, which showed that the people were in earnest, led to an inquiry into the condition of the colony; and the result was a promise that Kieft should be recalled, a representation of the people in the affairs of government should be allowed, and a peaceful policy towards the natives be adopted.

It was a long time, however, in consequence of the bankrupt condition of the West India Company, before the new order of things was established, and a proper successor of Kieft could be found. In the meantime the Indians became tired of continued war, and some of the sachems signified their desire for peace. A treaty was accordingly made with them; and, though several tribes still manifested a hostile spirit, the hopes of the settlers for a return of prosperity were stronger than for several years. Kieft went up the river to Fort Orange and made a treaty with the formidable Iroquois, who indeed had not shown any signs of hostility to the Dutch, and through their instrumentality a general treaty of peace was soon after made by all the tribes in the neighborhood of Manhattan. The Iroquois sent some of their chiefs and warriors as ambassadors to the river tribes, all of whom stood in mortal fear of, and paid tribute to this powerful confederacy, and the sachems were summoned to Fort Amsterdam to enter

into a solemn treaty of peace in the presence of those ambassadors as witnesses and arbitrators.

In front of Fort Amsterdam, "under the open sky, in the spot now so beautiful, where the commerce of the world may be watched from shady walks, in the presence of the sun and of the ocean," the sachems of all the neighboring tribes of Jersey, of Long Island, and of the river Indians, the Iroquois ambassadors, and the director-general and his council, assembled to sign the treaty which had been written out in due form on parchment. Around them gathered the people of Manhattan, rejoicing in the return of a lasting peace. The treaty was read, and its terms explained to the sachems in their various dialects; and then, after Kieft and his councillors, each affixed his mark to the instrument, and the Iroquois arbitrators signified their approval. To the people of Manhattan it was a day of joy and thanksgiving. They saw once more a prospect of permanent peace, and a return to the more agreeable employment of trade or husbandry. They hoped, too, that peace might bring them the enjoyment of municipal rights and privileges, when the burghers, conscious of their dignity as freemen, could indulge with their friends in pleasant gossip on their stoops over their mugs of untaxed beer and their sedative pipes.

DOMESTIC CONTROVERSIES.—THE SWEDES
CONQUERED.—ANOTHER INDIAN WAR.



ONE result of the general peace was to continue Kieft in office for a time longer. Peter Stuyvesant, who had been director-general of Curacça, and lost a leg in an attack on a Portuguese colony, had been appointed his successor; but for various reasons his departure for his new post had been delayed, and the return of peace had caused the West India Company to be more deliberate in adopting a new policy. Meanwhile Kieft continued his arbitrary conduct, and became still more unpopular with the colonists. Prosperity did not immediately return to Manhattan, the inhabitants of which had been impoverished by the war; but some of the patroons commenced new plantations on the river, and liberal grants were made to English settlers on Long Island, and the older English settlements there were increased.

At Manhattan there was a motley population with whom the director had to deal. Many of them were farmers who had been ruined by the destruction of their property, and entertained no friendly feeling towards Kieft, whom they regarded as the cause of their losses. With these were unemployed farm-hands and servants; reckless traders, whose illicit business had been stopped by the war; grumbling brewers, whose beer had been taxed; publicans, who were profuse in Dutch oaths at the interference with their profits; rough and noisy sailors out of employment, and some English adventurers "of the baser sort," who had

been discharged from military service. A democratic spirit pervaded this population, which, though small, had become more and more disposed to assert their rights since they first ventured to oppose the director's arbitrary and unwise proceedings; and in maintaining their liberties, they doubtless sometimes indulged in license.

Most of the colonists of the better class were also on the popular side, and a number of them incurred the enmity and persecution of the director. Among them was Dominie Bogardus, the first minister of Manhattan, who, with the freedom then practised by the clergy, had bitterly reproached Van Twiller for some of his acts, and who now denounced Kieft for his oppression. The dominie's sympathy with the commonalty had early provoked Kieft, who, whether justly or not, accused him of drunkenness, and reprimanded him for siding with the discontented multitude; but the minister in no wise abated his democratic speech, and in his sermons took occasion to preach against rulers "who think of nothing but to plunder the property of others; to dismiss, to banish, and to transport to Holland." Not relishing such admonitions from the pulpit, Kieft absented himself from church, and his chief officers followed his example. But not content with this demonstration of his displeasure, the director resorted to a rather undignified method of retaliation. He encouraged, if he did not order, his officers and soldiers to indulge in all sorts of noisy amusements about the church during the services. When the dominie commenced his sermon, loud shouts without almost drowned his voice, and as he proceeded, drums were beaten and cannon discharged to disconcert the preacher and annoy the listeners. The dominie and those who attended his ministrations were openly insulted; but, as might be expected, he did not become any less severe in his denunciations, while the people grew more independent, and some of them insolent.

Kieft at last was so enraged with the dominie that he brought him to trial on various charges; but he found a rebellious and troublesome defendant, who would neither make a satisfactory answer to the charges nor accept a proposal to refer the case to the only two other clergymen of the colony. Finally, by the efforts of mutual friends, the prosecution was abandoned, Bogardus became more moderate in his

language, and Kieft rejoiced in being able to go once more to church, and hear Dominic Megapolensis, of Rensselaerswyck, preach.

While Kieft was disturbed by a discontented and unruly populace at home, he was also obliged to deal with the alleged encroachments of the English in Connecticut, and the pretensions of the Swedes on the Delaware. The last year of his directorship was occupied in ineffectual protests against such "invasion" of the territory of New Netherlands, in which he indulged in undignified language that did not help his cause. Some attempts were made to assert the Dutch claims, but they were as fruitless as the protests; and the director had to content himself with reporting the state of affairs to the authorities in Holland.

At last, in the spring of 1647, Peter Stuyvesant, the new director-general, arrived, and the people of Manhattan, glad to be rid of Kieft, and hoping for a more prudent and liberal administration of affairs, gave him a hearty welcome, the whole community turning out under arms, and wasting almost all the powder in New Amsterdam. His coming "was like a peacock's, with great state and pomp," a flourish of trumpets and a salute of cannon from the ships, a suite of officers and an array of soldiers; but he soon found that he had a pitiful province over which to make such a display. And the people soon found that if the new governor was wiser and abler than his predecessor, he was more supercilious and imperious. The leading citizens, going with hat in hand to offer their congratulations and their dutiful services, were kept waiting for two hours, as if they were a mere rabble unworthy of his notice.

All the people were summoned to be present at the transfer of the government by Kieft to his successor. In the open ground before Fort Amsterdam the entire community — men, women, and children — assembled to witness the ceremonies. It was rather a motley crowd, whose poverty was apparent in their somewhat ragged and scanty clothing, in strong contrast with the showy dress of the newly arrived officers. Kieft addressed the people, thanking them for their fidelity to him, and by his exaggerated compliments evidently seeking to get the good will of the people, and a similar expression from them. But the sturdy burghers were not to be caught with such chaff, and some of the more prominent men openly declared that they had no reason to thank him.

Kieft having formally surrendered his authority to Stuyvesant, the latter also addressed the people, saying, among other things, "I shall govern you as a father his children, for the advantage of the West India Company, and these burghers and this land;" and he raised the hopes of his listeners by declaring that every one should have justice done to him. But the old soldier's haughty and imperious bearing raised some doubts whether he would prove a very kind father; and among the ruder portion of the people his wooden leg with its silver bands was already an object of ridicule, and he soon became known among them by the nickname of "*Zilber-been*," or "Silver-leg."

Having organized his council, Stuyvesant addressed himself to the reform of abuses with great zeal, and issued numerous proclamations prohibiting practices which had made Manhattan a disorderly place. Sabbath-breaking, brawling and drunkenness, which would appear to have been common offences about Fort Amsterdam, were forbidden under severe penalties. Innkeepers were not allowed to sell liquors, except to travellers, before two o'clock on Sunday, nor after nine o'clock in the evening, and they were strictly prohibited from selling it to the Indians at any time. As nearly one-fourth of all the houses at New Amsterdam were houses of entertainment, such restraint was certainly not unreasonable. Stringent rules were adopted to prevent smuggling and illicit traffic. Measures were taken to improve the condition of the settlement by providing for the erection of better and safer houses, and the planting of vacant lots; and the director and two of the council undertook to complete the unfinished church in which Dominie Bogardus had preached so effectively against Kieft.

Most of these measures of reform gave offence to some of the inhabitants whose interests were interfered with; and when they were followed by others, imposing new duties on the export of furs, and an excise on wines and liquors, as well as beer, there was a general murmur of the people. Stuyvesant was imperious, and jealous of his assumed prerogative, and he soon came in conflict with some of the leading men of the colony, who sought to secure for the people the privileges enjoyed by the commonalty in their Fatherland. Kuyter and Melyn, two of the "eight men" under Kieft's administration, demanded an inquiry into the policy of the late director; but Stuyvesant, fore-

seeing that to allow such an inquiry would be a dangerous precedent, sided with Kieft, who still remained at Fort Amsterdam, and the complainants were compelled to defend their own course, the new director declaring that "it was treason to petition against the magistrates, whether there was cause or not." The result was not what the petitioners anticipated; for instead of making out a case against Kieft, the late director triumphed over his adversaries, who were sentenced to suffer exceedingly severe punishment. When they appealed to the authorities of the Fatherland, Stuyvesant denied their right so to do, and added, "If I were persuaded that you would divulge our sentence, or bring it before their High Mightinesses, I would have you hanged at once." That no one might entertain the idea of appeal from the judgments of his council, he declared to another person, "If any one during my administration shall appeal, I will make him a foot shorter, and send the pieces to Holland, and let him appeal in that way." Kuyter and Melyn were sent as criminals in the ship in which Kieft took passage for Holland. But the "man of blood," as the late director was sometimes called, did not reach his native country. The ship was wrecked in the Bristol Channel, and Kieft with many others perished, while Kuyter and Melyn were both saved, and found a fair hearing before the States-General, much to the annoyance of Stuyvesant and the West India Company.

Contrary to Stuyvesant's own ideas of government, his council advocated that representation, which had been recommended by the States-General and promised by the West India Company, should be conceded to the people; and accordingly the inhabitants of Manhattan, Pavonia, and a part of Long Island, elected eighteen of their most notable and respectable citizens, from whom "nine men" were selected by the council to represent the commonalty. The privileges and authority conceded to this body of deputies were somewhat greater than the similar representatives under Kieft's administration had enjoyed; but they were carefully limited and jealously watched by the director, and it was not very long before he was involved in a conflict with them. While Stuyvesant was arbitrary, and disposed to concentrate all political power in himself, the colonists became more persistent in their demand for the rights enjoyed by their countrymen at home. A long

series of disputes was the result; and though the condition of the colony gradually improved, the people manifested an uneasy and somewhat contentious spirit. Differences arose also between the Dutch and English settlers; and while the former opposed the arbitrary and oppressive administration of Stuyvesant, the latter, who might be supposed to be most thoroughly imbued with the spirit of freedom, earnestly supported him. The Dutch sent delegates to lay complaints against the director before the States-General of Holland, and the English sent counter statements of approval and indorsement.

Meanwhile, Stuyvesant was engaged in a protracted controversy with the Hartford and New Haven colonies in relation to their alleged encroachments, and numerous mutual complaints, as related in a former chapter. The New England colonists also asserted their right to trade on the Delaware, ignoring the claims of the Dutch to any of the territory of the continent, and this led to a dispute and negotiations with the commissioners of the united colonies. While these difficulties with New England were still unsettled, war between England and Holland threatened New Netherlands with invasion by the more powerful English colonies. The Connecticut colonies were eager to engage in hostilities against New Amsterdam; and a report circulated by Uncas, the Mohegan ally of the English, that Stuyvesant was plotting to excite the Indians to rise against the English, seemed to give them cause for war. But Massachusetts was more moderate, and restrained her confederates, Stuyvesant promptly denied the accusation, and, fortunately for New Netherlands, invasion was prevented.

By orders from the West India Company, Stuyvesant was, for the most part, rather conciliatory in his correspondence and intercourse with the English colonies; but by orders from the same authority he took a different course with the Swedes on the Delaware. Protests against the invasion of the rights of the Dutch and the monopoly of trade on the river by the Swedes proving unavailing, Stuyvesant went himself to assert the claims of the West India Company. He built a fort near the present site of New Castle, and secured an agreement with the Swedes that they and the Dutch should live as friends and allies. But this proceeding was in the end no more effectual than the protests, for the Swedes, disliking the neighborhood of such an estab-

lishment, afterwards captured and destroyed the fort, which was constructed simply of palisades, and subsequently reconstructed and occupied it.

Finding that protests and undefended forts were of no avail against the persistent Swedes, Stuyvesant, to carry out the orders of the West India Company, at last, in 1655, fitted out an armed expedition against them, the most formidable that had yet been organized in America. It consisted of seven vessels, with upwards of six hundred men, and was commanded by the veteran soldier Stuyvesant himself. With this force the director sailed up the Delaware, and landed his troops above Fort Casimir, which the Dutch had first built, but which was reconstructed by the Swedes, and was now occupied by them. He summoned the Swedish commander to surrender; but that officer asked for a delay till the next morning, which was granted, the Dutch batteries not being ready for an attack. Meanwhile a Dutch force was posted so as to prevent reinforcements from Fort Christina, a larger fort four miles above, which the Swedes had long occupied. When morning came, the Swedish commander, finding resistance useless, capitulated,—liberal terms being granted by Stuyvesant. The next day was Sunday, and Dominic Megapolensis, who accompanied the expedition, preached a sermon to the troops who had achieved the bloodless victory, and the director sent a despatch to Manhattan announcing his success, and appointing a day of thanksgiving.

The Dutch force next marched against the more important position of the Swedes, Fort Christina, about which there was a small settlement. Stuyvesant demanded the surrender of the fort; but the Swedish commander was defiant, and determined to hold out against the threatened attack. The houses outside the fort, the occupants of which had taken refuge within the defences, were pillaged, the Dutch soldiers were posted on all sides, and cannon were planted for a bombardment. But before the besiegers were ready for an assault there was a mutiny within. Another more peremptory demand for surrender was made, and a parley followed, which resulted in a capitulation. The Swedes marched out with their arms, and with drums beating and colors flying, and the Dutch marched in, hauled down the Swedish flag, and hoisted their own. Another bloodless victory was achieved, and generous terms

were granted the Swedes, those who desired to remain being permitted to do so, with a guaranty of religious freedom upon taking the oath of allegiance. Stuyvesant even offered to restore the fort on "honorable terms;" but the offer was declined, and the Swedish power on the Delaware came to an end, though many of the settlers remained.

While Stuyvesant was absent on this expedition with nearly all the soldiers and the greater part of the able-bodied men of New Amsterdam and the neighboring settlements, the Indians, who for ten years had been comparatively quiet and friendly, were suddenly aroused to hostilities. Van Dyck, who had been an officer of the government and was superseded by one of Stuyvesant's arbitrary acts, shot a squaw who was stealing peaches from his garden. The Indians of her tribe, as usual, were determined on revenge, and knowing that New Amsterdam was comparatively defenceless, they mustered a number of other tribes, and the combined force of eighteen hundred warriors one morning suddenly made a descent in a large number of canoes upon the sleeping town. Having landed, they quickly ranged through the streets and lanes, and broke into several houses under the pretence of searching for Indians from the north. The greatest alarm spread through the town at this unexpected visitation, though the Indians appeared bold and insolent rather than really hostile. The council and some of the principal burghers assembled at Fort Amsterdam, and sent for the sachems, from whom they obtained a promise that the Indians should leave Manhattan at sunset and go to Nutten or Governor's Island. But when evening came, and the Indians did not keep their promise, the burgher-guard, or militia, were assembled, and, with the soldiers still remaining in the fort, prepared to enforce the agreement. Soon it was reported that Van Dyck had been shot with an arrow, and another burgher had been dispatched with an axe. Lest these acts should lead to a general massacre, the burgher-guard and soldiers, aided by all who had arms, immediately sallied from the fort, and drove the savages to their canoes.

Driven from Manhattan, the Indians no longer disguised their intentions, but passing over to Pavonia and Hoboken, they killed or captured the greater part of the inhabitants. They then visited Staten Island, where they killed many of the colonists, and desolated all the flourishing farms. Long Island also suffered from the savages, who were

especially hostile towards the Dutch colonists, and spared the English; and the upper part of Manhattan itself was visited by prowling bands of Indians, who destroyed everything left on the abandoned farms. All the colonists of the outlying settlements, who had not fallen a prey to the savages, sought safety at New Amsterdam, where there was universal alarm lest the enemy should come in overwhelming numbers, and more hostile than before. Stuyvesant had a house and "bowery" at some distance from the fort, but so great was their fear of the savages that the burghers were unwilling to go so far away to protect it, and ten Frenchmen, who were more brave or more needy, were hired to guard the place during the director's absence.

Meanwhile, at the first alarm, an express had been sent to urge Stuyvesant to return; and having achieved his bloodless victory he hastened back to Manhattan. The return of the energetic director with his soldiers changed the aspect of affairs, and relieved the terrified people. Stuyvesant immediately adopted vigorous measures for the protection of the settlements, and enforced stringent rules to compel all who were able to aid in the common defence. Some of the Indians, tired of the war, or alarmed at these preparations, restored some of their captives, and promised to release more upon the payment of a certain ransom. Stuyvesant, more prudent than Kieft, was opposed to a war with the natives, and all his council agreed with him except Van Tienhoven, who had supported Kieft in his foolish acts that had brought ruin upon New Netherlands. The director, therefore, instead of making any attack on the Indians, sought to prevent any recurrence of hostilities, by regulating the intercourse of the settlers with the natives so as to guard against mutual offences; and also ordered the scattered colonists of the interior to collect themselves into villages, after the fashion of their New England neighbors, where with strong block-houses they might defend themselves. The river Indians, unlike some of the Jersey tribes, refused to restore their captives, but held them as hostages, lest the Dutch should attempt to avenge the injuries inflicted in the recent raid. For some time, however, they did not again resort to active hostilities, and in 1660 a new treaty was made with the tribes about Manhattan and on the lower Hudson. But the savages farther up the river remaining hostile, Stuyvesant formally de-

clared war, and several expeditions were sent against them, which resulted in their defeat.

Besides the settlements of Beaverswyck, about Fort Orange, and Rensselaerswyck near by, there was another settlement at Esopus, below the Katskills, which suffered severely in this Indian war. But at last a truce was made, and the unfortunate settlers of Esopus built a new village called Wildwyck, and again cultivated their fruitful farms, protected by a fort with a small garrison a few miles away, and palisades around the village. The Indians for three years remained quiet, and the settlement prospered in a degree unusual in the Dutch territory. The colonists were of a steady and industrious class, and, with a church and excellent dominie, "the community began to grow and to bloom right worthily." But Stuyvesant, following the example of the Massachusetts magistrates, had sent some of the captives, taken from the neighboring tribes in the former war, to the West Indies, and their kindred were determined on revenge. Their muttered threats foreboded hostilities; but the settlers, anticipating no immediate outbreak, contented themselves with reporting to Stuyvesant the temper of the savages; and he promised to visit Esopus and treat with them.

But before the director made his promised visit, the Indians anticipated him in their hostile purpose. While the villagers were at work in their fields, in the early part of June, bands of savages entered the village, and scattered themselves about as if for the purpose of trade. Suddenly they changed their demeanor, and hurrying the women and children out, they plundered and burned the houses. The men in the fields, alarmed by the flames, rushed to save their wives and little ones; but many were shot down by savages concealed within their own houses. At last, a number of the settlers were rallied and armed, and, bringing a cannon to bear upon the Indians, succeeded in driving them from the village. When at evening they counted their loss, they found that twenty-one persons were killed, some of whom were burned in the houses, nine were wounded, and forty-five women and children had been carried off as captives. Twelve houses were laid in ashes, and the village, which at noon was unharmed and full of thrift, was now almost wholly destroyed,

while numbers of the men had been bereft of their entire families, and there was universal mourning for the dead and the lost.

This event led to energetic measures on the part of Stuyvesant, and several expeditions were sent against the hostile tribes, who were severely chastised. Many Indians were killed, their forts and wigwams destroyed, their maize-fields laid waste, and the power of the tribes was crushed. It was not till a year afterwards (in 1664) that peace was really restored. Then the chiefs of all the river tribes met Stuyvesant and his council at Fort Amsterdam, and the right hand of fellowship was once more exchanged; the treaty, which was duly signed, being the last ever made between the Dutch and the Indians. A more formidable enemy than the untutored savages was soon to appear, from whose coming the people, indeed, had less to fear, but the West India Company and the Dutch authorities more cause for alarm. In their repeated wars, the Indians had inflicted terrible losses of life and property on the colony; but the West India Company had maintained its monopoly, and the directors-general had continued to assert their arbitrary sway. The time was at hand when the latter must yield to a stronger power; and the colonists might reasonably hope for greater security and a surer prosperity.

NEW NETHERLANDS SURRENDERED TO THE
ENGLISH.

WHAT with Indian wars, contention with the burghers of New Amsterdam, disputes with the agents of the patroon at Rensselaerswyck, continual controversy with the New England colonies, troubles with the Swedes on the Delaware, a revolt of the English colonists on Long Island, and the advent of Quakers, Stuyvesant's position was a difficult one. He conducted all these affairs, however, with much energy, and often with no little skill, though he was by no means always successful in maintaining his own views and purposes. The burghers succeeded in obtaining some of the privileges they desired; the patroons maintained their rights; the Quakers, after a brief persecution, were suffered to go unmolested; the English gained some points in the controversy, and constantly claimed something more. The pretensions of the English colonists, always the most serious difficulty with which the directors-general had to contend, at last put an end to New Netherlands.

All the territory between the settlements in New England and Virginia was claimed as of right belonging to the English crown, and the Dutch were regarded as intruders. This claim was formally asserted soon after his accession to the throne by Charles II., who granted all the territory held by the Dutch under the name of New Netherlands to his brother, the Duke of York. An expedition was soon fitted out to take possession of this valuable territory. It consisted of three ships

of war with six hundred men, and arriving at Boston was there reinforced by some colonial troops in other vessels. Accompanying the expedition were some royal commissioners, and several leading men of New England also joined it, among whom was the younger Winthrop. Rumors reached New Amsterdam that this expedition had arrived at Boston, and that a formidable invasion was threatened. The intelligence caused some excitement, but not much consternation. Some preparations were made for resistance, but there was no hearty co-operation of the burghers with the government. The people of New Amsterdam, indeed, were not so well satisfied with their subjection to the West India Company and their anomalous government that they contemplated a change of rulers with alarm. There was a considerable number of English settlers among them, and these were quite ready to welcome the authority of their own country, while many of the Dutch saw greater freedom and prosperity under the English system.

One of the ships having arrived in the harbor in advance of the rest of the fleet, Stuyvesant sent a messenger to demand the object of the visit. The English commissioners answered by a letter that the country occupied by the Dutch belonged to the dominion of the king of Great Britain, whose right to the territory was unquestionable; and they concluded by demanding a surrender of the fort, assuring the director that all submissive inhabitants should be secured in their liberty and property, while those who opposed the English claim must expect the miseries of a war which they would bring upon themselves.

Promising to return an answer to this summons on the following morning, Stuyvesant convened his council and the burgomasters of the town to advise with him in this emergency. He communicated to them the substance of the English demand; but the burgomasters requested to see the letter, that they might learn more fully the terms proposed. The director refused to comply with this request, and a stormy debate followed, which was ended by his dissolving the assembly. The burgomasters thereupon called a meeting of the burghers at the town hall, and their action being approved by the meeting, the next morning they told the director that they could neither give advice nor promise the support of the people, unless they were more fully informed concerning the terms offered. Angry at this insubordination, as he

regarded it, Stuyvesant tore the letter in pieces, and sent a positive refusal to surrender.

The English, however, were well informed of the condition of affairs in New Amsterdam, and of the general sentiment of the people, and, confident of a bloodless victory, the commissioners issued a proclamation promising to all who would submit to his Majesty's government full protection of their persons and property, and all the privileges enjoyed by English subjects. This proclamation was published through the town, and recruiting officers boldly called for volunteers under the English flag, while the rest of the fleet, having arrived, was brought up and anchored within range of the fort. Finding himself without support from the people, many of whom were ready to join the English and make sure of the protection promised in the proclamation, Stuyvesant at last sent messengers to the commissioners to consult upon "an accommodation." But the English refused to treat, except for a full surrender of the territory they claimed; and finding further delay unavailing, the director reluctantly appointed agents to agree upon the conditions of capitulation. The liberal terms promised in the proclamation were freely granted by the English, and the capitulation followed, much to the satisfaction of a large part of the people of New Netherlands. Colonel Richard Nichols, who held a commission from the Duke of York, took possession of the government, and New Amsterdam became New York, its citizens the subjects of the English crown. In a few days Fort Orange was quietly surrendered, and received the name of Albany; and somewhat later the Dutch and Swedish settlers on the Delaware acknowledged allegiance to England.

EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN NEW JERSEY AND
DELAWARE.

SOME of the early settlers of New Jersey and Delaware have been incidentally mentioned in the preceding pages, the Dutch having claimed the territory now composing those states as a part of New Netherlands. The pioneer colonists on the "South River" were Swedes and Fins. Gustavus Adolphus, the wise and liberal king of Sweden, like other monarchs of Europe, desired to plant colonies and reap the advantages of an extended commerce, but in a spirit far more noble and humane than characterized the schemes of other powers. A few years after the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, a commercial company was chartered under his auspices for the purposes of trade and colonization, and, with a liberality unknown in other countries, all Europe was invited to take stock in it, and share in its advantages; and the king himself pledged a large sum from the royal treasury for his share in the enterprise. He aimed to plant a colony in which slavery should be unknown, that should be a refuge for the persecuted, and a blessing to the Protestant world.

But before this enterprise could be carried into effect, the dangers threatening Protestantism called Gustavus Adolphus to the field, "to vindicate the rights of conscience with his sword," and at last to fall while battling for that cause, and in the hour of its triumph. He had not, however, forgotten his cherished purpose of a more peaceful enterprise, and commended it to his able chancellor, Oxenstiern, who under-

took to carry it into effect as the executor of his royal master's wishes. Oxenstiern revived the charter, and the undertaking was renewed, though on a more moderate scale. Under this charter a colony was planted on the South River, or Delaware, under the lead of Peter Minuits, the first director-general of New Netherlands, who, having lost his place, tendered his services where he probably thought they would be better appreciated.

It was in 1638 that the little colony of Swedes arrived in Delaware Bay, and to them, accustomed to the more rugged features of Scandinavia, the country appeared a paradise. Lands were purchased of the Indians, and near the mouth of a creek which they called Christiana, after the child-queen of Sweden, they erected a fort with the same name. This was the first settlement of Delaware; for the unsuccessful attempt of De Vries and his associates could hardly be called a settlement, the few men who were left to hold Swaanendael having been swept away before a colony was established.

The Dutch at Manhattan protested against the Swedes occupying the territory of New Netherlands; but Sweden was a power they did not then dare to offend by any more decisive action. The country, described in glowing colors by the first colonists, soon attracted more emigrants from Sweden, who settled at several points on the Delaware, mostly on the west side, and in the present State of Pennsylvania, though they established a few plantations on the eastern bank. The Dutch had previously built forts and established trading-posts up the river, the chief of which was called Fort Nassau, and this they strengthened, while protesting against the encroachments of the Swedes. The latter, however, were not deterred from their purposes, and the governor, Printz, built a strong fort, or block-house, on Tinicum Island, where he established his seat of government.

The instructions to the Swedish governor, which were in the nature of a charter, were of the most liberal character, intended to protect the settlers in their rights rather than promote the exclusive advantage of a commercial company. While religion was protected, toleration was secured to all who did not disturb the community. The governors, however, sometimes assumed more authority than their instructions allowed, and the government in practice was not altogether so liberal

as it was in theory. But there was no great oppression, and the settlers led a quiet life, except as it was disturbed by the Dutch. They were mostly industrious and frugal peasants, of sturdy habits, and disposed to good order. At one time the Swedish government was inclined to transport its convicts to the colony, to be employed in various ways during their terms of penal service, but the honest settlers protested against the introduction of such a class, and Governor Printz promptly forbade the landing of the first ship-load, and compelled the commander to carry them back.

The colony, without any large accessions from the mother-country, quietly prospered. A thriving trade was carried on with the Indians, though not without competition on the part of the Dutch, and consequent quarrels; and the industrious farmers soon found ample encouragement for their labors in productive fields. The success of the colony increased the jealousy of the Dutch, who certainly had a prior claim to the country by right of occupancy, and who continued to protest against the invasion of their territory without resorting to any very vigorous measures to assert their rights.

The temperate climate and the fertile lands of this region also attracted some of the enterprising colonists of New England, who made several attempts to settle there, claiming that it belonged to England. One expedition, fitted out for this purpose, stopping on the way at Fort Amsterdam, was induced by the threats of the director-general to return. Another company succeeded in commencing a settlement, but they were driven off by the Dutch and Swedes, who united against the new-comers. A small number, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Swedes, were permitted to remain. At a later date a company of New Englanders established a settlement on the Passaic River, and set up a government on the Puritan system of Massachusetts.

When the prestige of Sweden as a military power departed, and her interest in New Sweden apparently diminished, the Dutch were more disposed to assert their claims by force, and Stuyvesant, more able and stronger than his predecessors, at last fitted out an expedition, and capturing the Swedish forts, established the power of the Dutch, as has been related in a previous chapter. Another change of jurisdiction followed when the Dutch surrendered to the English, who came to assert

the claim of the Duke of York, and New Netherlands passed under English rule.

Before the Duke of York took any steps to take possession of the extensive grant made to him by his brother, Charles II., he conveyed a portion of the territory to two members of the privy council, Lord Berkely and Sir George Carteret. This territory was called New Jersey, in honor of Carteret's defence of the Isle of Jersey when he was governor of that island, and it comprised the present state of New Jersey. By this conveyance Berkely and Carteret were made rulers as well as owners of the country, and could establish such government as they saw fit, and even transfer the right of government with the lands to such persons as they chose. Possessing such absolute authority, they nevertheless did not seek to abuse their power, but acted with much liberality and wisdom, adapting their measures to the existing condition of affairs and the known wishes and character of settlers.

Taking measures to secure the settlement of their territory, they published an instrument setting forth the principles on which the government should be established. This instrument opened the country to all who were, or should become, subjects of the king of England, and who would promise allegiance to the king, and fidelity to the proprietors; secured to all the enjoyment of their property; exempted them from taxes except such as should be imposed by the general assembly chosen by the freeholders; and allowed full toleration in religion to all who should not actually disturb the peace of the province. The powers of the governor and general assembly, and the rights and privileges of the people, were set forth in detail, and in a spirit of great liberality, considering the times and the position of the proprietors. These liberal concessions, however, were subsequently considerably modified in consequence of the independent spirit of some of the English settlers, which led to troubles with the governor, and the setting up of an opposition government.

Philip Carteret, a brother of Sir George, was appointed governor by the proprietors; but before he came over to assume the office, Colonel Nichols, the governor of New York, who apparently was ignorant of the grant to Lord Berkely and Carteret, assumed jurisdiction, and granted lands to a considerable number of settlers, which led to no

little trouble at a later period. Governor Carteret granted a charter, framed in the same liberal spirit as the "concessions" of the proprietors, to an association of emigrants who were to settle one or two townships, and were to choose their own magistrates and regulate their own affairs. About the same time the company of New Englanders, referred to above, settled at Elizabeth, under authority from Nichols, and introduced the exclusive system of New England. None but members of "Congregational" churches could hold office or vote, and they further agreed that they would provide with care and diligence "for the maintenance of the purity of religion professed in the Congregational churches." Puritanism was thus introduced into New Jersey; but as these exclusive principles were adverse to the liberal spirit of the government conceded by the proprietors, they never became thoroughly established in the province. In their own settlement, however, these firm and earnest Puritans, for a time at least, managed their affairs in their own way.

In 1667 the number of settlements was such as to render it expedient to convene a general assembly, agreeably to the plan of the proprietors; and the governor accordingly ordered an election in the several settlements or towns. The assembly was convened in 1668, and, acting harmoniously, passed a severe criminal code based on the Levitical law, and adopted other measures for the government of the province. At the second session there was less harmony; the views of the representatives of the people did not accord with those of the governor and council, who were appointed by the proprietors. The independent, democratic spirit manifested by the English colonists everywhere asserted itself here, in opposition to the aristocratic element, notwithstanding the liberal provisions in the frame of government. After a series of disagreements the assembly adjourned *sine die*; and seven years elapsed before another, elected under the "concessions," was convened.

Among the measures adopted at the first session was the levy of a tax to defray the expenses of the government. The people of Middletown and Shrewsbury, who had settled under grants from Nichols, refused to pay this tax, although they had been represented in the assembly, and their delegates had assented to the levy. They claimed

that by their charter they were independent, and had authority to pass all necessary laws for themselves, and would not recognize the laws passed by the general assembly. At the second session, the delegates from these towns were excluded, and a law was passed for the appointment of commissioners to enforce the levy; but whether they were appointed, and attempted to exercise their authority, does not appear. Differences arose between the council and deputies, and the assembly which passed the law virtually dissolved itself.

The demand of quit-rents, to which the proprietors, by the terms of their "concessions" and grants to actual settlers, were entitled, was the occasion for a further exhibition of independence. The New England settlers, and others who had purchased their lands from the Indians under permission from Nichols, refused to pay such rents, maintaining that they had already paid for their lands, and under their charter from him they were to enjoy their property as free lands. With less reason, some of those who derived their lands from the proprietors joined with the malcontents, and Carteret found it impossible to collect the quit-rents or enforce the laws; his counsel and commands were alike disregarded. For two years the settlements, so far as any common government was concerned, were in a state of anarchy. But the habits and character of the people were such that they could not long tolerate this state of affairs, and the inhabitants of the principal towns set up a new government, and elected deputies to a general assembly, which was duly convened at Elizabethtown. This assembly selected as governor James Carteret, an illegitimate son of Sir George, a young man who possessed few qualifications for the place besides a pretended grant from his father, which was wholly inconsistent with the claims of the settlers. As might be expected, this revolutionary government committed many arbitrary and unwise acts, and the government of the proprietors was completely overthrown. Governor Philip Carteret was reduced to the necessity of returning to England, to lay before the proprietors the state of affairs in their province.

One of the results of this visit was to disappoint the hopes of the revolutionists that their claims under Nichols would ultimately be acknowledged; for the Duke of York declared the grants by Nichols wholly void, and Governor Lovelace, of New York, was directed to

aid the proprietary authorities in restoring order. Another result was the disappointment of Lord Berkely in his hopes of deriving pecuniary advantage from his proprietorship, and he accordingly disposed of his interest to other parties.

During Philip Carteret's absence in England, New York was pusillanimously surrendered to the Dutch, who forthwith claimed jurisdiction over New Jersey as a part of their former possession. A proclamation was issued promising to the settlers the enjoyment of their rights and privileges, on condition of swearing allegiance to Holland; and the magistrates were summoned to New York to take the oaths. These officers, who had refused to obey or recognize the government of the proprietors, with a readiness somewhat remarkable to acknowledge "the powers that be," went over to New York and took the prescribed oaths. The people were anxious to have their privileges and their title to lands confirmed, and securing these, they, for the time being, were not disposed to care who claimed superior jurisdiction. They had no reason, however, to regret their submission, for the new government was exceedingly liberal and just. But the rule of the Dutch was short; and the war between the mother countries being terminated, the Dutch possessions were again surrendered to the English.

To quiet doubts respecting the title to New Jersey, in consequence of the recent changes of allegiance, the king renewed his grant to the Duke of York, and the duke confirmed his conveyance of one half of the province to Sir George Carteret. Philip Carteret was again commissioned as governor, and, returning to New Jersey, was received with satisfaction by most of the people, who were desirous of a settled government once more. A general assembly was convened, an act of general amnesty was passed, and measures of defence, for the levy of taxes, and for the administration of justice, were adopted. The government was once more established, more firmly than before, and the affairs of the province proceeded for the most part quietly.

The foregoing narrative of events under the proprietorship of Berkely and Carteret relates exclusively to East New Jersey. West New Jersey was still a wilderness, containing a few plantations of Swedes and Dutch, who had taken no part in the affairs of the province, and over whom no jurisdiction had been assumed. After the restoration of Carteret's

authority in East New Jersey, a new destiny opened for the western moiety of the province. Lord Berkely sold his proprietary interest for a thousand pounds to two Quakers, John Fenwick and Edward Byllinge. Byllinge had purchased nine-tenths of the property; but, as a merchant, he became embarrassed, and his interest passed into the hands of three trustees, one of whom was William Penn. This extensive proprietorship having been vested in Quakers, they desired to occupy it with colonists of their own religious belief, and to set up a government founded on the principles of their faith, which should be a refuge for their persecuted sect. They therefore entered into an agreement with Carteret for a division of the territory hitherto held jointly, by which Carteret took East New Jersey, which was most valuable to him, and the Quakers became sole proprietors of West New Jersey.

Fenwick leased his interest for a thousand years, to raise means to colonize the newly acquired territory, and in 1675 he came over with a number of families. Ascending the Delaware, the emigrants began a settlement at a place they called Salem, whose sylvan beauty and quiet harmonized with their hopes that it would be the abode of peace. Although Fenwick had parted with his interest, he assumed the rights of a proprietor, and granted lands to the settlers, giving occasion for a dispute between him and Byllinge, which was happily settled through the mediation of Penn.

Meanwhile the trustees of Byllinge, and others of the Society of Friends who became interested in the enterprise, adopted measures for a further settlement of the territory they had acquired, and published "concessions" of the most liberal character, opening the country to all of their profession, and promising a government founded on justice and equity. A charter or constitution for the government of West New Jersey was prepared with great care, in which, with the hard-won English liberties, were embodied the democratic principles on which the Society of Friends was founded. Freedom of conscience and the utmost toleration in religious matters were guaranteed. Every man could vote and be elected to office, and all power was vested in the people. Courts of law were to be open to all, without the necessity of attorney or counsellor, and all trials were to be held in public,

"that justice may not be done in a corner, nor in a covert manner," and that all persons inhabiting the province might "be free from oppression and slavery." Trial by jury was amply secured, and judges were to sit in court only as assistants to the "twelve men." Imprisonment for debt was discarded, and personal liberty was fully protected. The civil organization to carry into effect the principles and provisions of the "concessions" and charter was of a simple, democratic, and economical character, well suited to the habits and ideas of the Quakers.

With a fundamental law and system of government in harmony with their religious and political views, a pleasant climate and a fertile soil to attract them, numbers of the English Quakers emigrated to the land of promise. They were not of the class of religious enthusiasts who, in former years, had sought martyrdom in New England. With a cessation of persecution, that class had become practically extinct, and the Quakers generally were now a quiet and orderly people, firm in their faith, guided by the "inner light," lovers of truth and justice, despisers of forms, and no respecters of persons, with some peculiarities of speech and manner, but withal fair exemplars of the principles of their belief. Coming to the new world, such emigrants formed industrious communities, and thriving plantations soon multiplied along the banks of the Delaware.

In due time a government based on the "concessions" and charter was established; not, however, without some troubles with the government of Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed governor of the Duke of York's possessions in America, and undertook to exercise jurisdiction over New Jersey, and sought to levy customs on vessels going up the Delaware. These difficulties, however, on being referred to the English authorities, were settled in favor of the Quakers, who were at last able to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over West New Jersey, and quietly prospered under their democratic system. With the natives, the Quakers never had any trouble. The Indians welcomed these men of peace as brothers, and promised eternal friendship. The lands were scrupulously paid for by the settlers, who were required by their laws always to treat the Indians justly.

Settled under such auspices, West New Jersey was essentially different in the character of its people and its government from the

eastern province and all the other colonies. It was the commonwealth of a peculiar people, who here sought to carry into practice the ideas with which they had alarmed the world. The experiment was regarded with deep concern by the Friends in England, who frequently sent messages of encouragement and advice to the colonists, that it might not disappoint their hopes. "Friends that are gone to make plantations in America," they wrote, "keep the plantations in your hearts, that your own vines and lilies be not hurt. You that are governors and judges, eyes you should be to the blind, feet to the lame, and fathers to the poor, that you may gain the blessing of those who are ready to perish, and cause the widow's heart to sing for gladness."

In Delaware, besides the Swedes, there was a small immigration of Dutch planters and traders. After Stuyvesant had reduced the Swedes to Dutch rule, the greater part of Delaware was purchased by the city of Amsterdam, and efforts were made to settle it for the pecuniary advantage of the city. But the government was so arbitrary and oppressive that the settlers became only too anxious to fly from the dominion of Amsterdam to the freer colonies of Maryland and Virginia. Instead of increasing, the Dutch burgomasters saw their province almost wholly depopulated. Those who had established themselves, finding that they would only be impoverished and oppressed by remaining, abandoned their plantations and sought new homes beyond the city's jurisdiction; and newly arrived settlers were not slow to follow their example. To put a stop to this exodus, the city declared that the attempt to elope should be punishable with death. This foolish measure was of little avail, for scarcely thirty families remained.

The surrender of New Netherlands to the Duke of York brought a better state of affairs to Delaware, and English settlers soon more than supplied the place of the fugitives. The duke's title to this province was by conquest; but it was disputed by Lord Baltimore, who claimed it as a part of Maryland. It remained, however, under the jurisdiction of the duke's governor in New York till it was conveyed to William Penn in 1682. Meanwhile, Lord Baltimore's claim was persistently pressed, and in 1672 the people of Maryland, who were as anxious as the governor to extend their territory to Del-

aware Bay, undertook to assert their claim by invasion. An armed force suddenly appeared at Lewistown, to the great consternation of the magistrates and people, who, not being prepared to defend themselves, submitted to the invaders. The latter, however, gained nothing by the exploit except the exhilaration of a bloodless campaign; for the duke's authority was soon re-established, and the question of title remitted to a less warlike mode of settlement.

United with Penn's province, Delaware was represented in the Pennsylvania assembly, and, under the mild Quaker government, was fairly prosperous. But the greater part of the inhabitants were not Quakers, and in time a spirit of discontent manifested itself, and was fostered by Penn's enemies. They desired a separate government, and finally succeeded in obtaining an independent assembly and general administration, though subject still to Penn's authority as proprietary and governor. The even tenor of colonial life was undisturbed by Indian wars or violent commotions, or anything more serious than the dispute with Maryland about the boundary, which was finally settled without the aid of the colonists.

PIONEERS OF PENNSYLVANIA.



THE pioneers in the settlement of Pennsylvania were the Swedes and Fins, the greater part of whom, coming to the Delaware, planted themselves on the west bank of the river, in the northern part of Delaware, and in the neighborhood of the subsequently founded cities of Chester and Philadelphia. A hardy and industrious peasantry, who had no desire for negro slavery, they prospered fairly on the fertile soil and under a liberal government, though they were not without their conflicts with their rulers. After Stuyvesant's conquest, those who were willing to acknowledge allegiance remained under the jurisdiction of the Dutch, all their rights being guaranteed to them. Some of them, who were averse to submit to a foreign ruler, and who feared oppression and unjust exactions from the Dutch, returned to the fatherland. The Dutch had made but little progress in settlements on the Delaware, when New Netherlands was surrendered to the Duke of York, and the Swedish colonists passed under English rule. At an early date some English colonists from Maryland undertook to establish trading-posts up the Delaware, but were driven off by Kieft. Afterwards several small settlements were made by the English, who received grants from the governor of New York.

The colonization which impressed its character on Pennsylvania was under the auspices of William Penn. As one of the trustees of Bylinge, Penn had become interested in the settlement of West New

Jersey by the Quakers, and was the ablest and most judicious adviser in that enterprise, his connection with which revived a vague fancy of his youth, and led him to seek a wider field on which to establish a commonwealth on the principles proclaimed by the Friends. In conjunction with others he purchased East New Jersey of the heirs of Carteret; but that province, already containing settlements of English Puritans and Dutch, afforded no very fair prospect for Quaker colonists and the establishment of the system he had in view. He then looked to the unexplored region west of the Delaware, on the banks of which were only a few small settlements of Swedes, as a country offering the most favorable opportunity for carrying out his purposes, and he petitioned the king for a grant. He pressed his suit with great earnestness, with the aid of powerful friends at court, and as he had inherited from his father, a distinguished naval officer, a claim against the crown for sixteen thousand pounds, Charles II. at last consented to cancel the debt by granting to him a territory west of the Delaware, comprising three degrees of latitude by five degrees of longitude.

Having obtained this extensive grant, Penn published his "Concessions," in which he offered the most liberal inducements for colonists to settle his princely domain. A plan of government, or fundamental law, was next prepared with great care, in which the freedom advocated by the Friends was engrafted on the established principles of English liberties, and a code of laws conceived in a similar spirit was drafted, to be submitted to the colonial assembly when one should be convened. To the settlers already in his province he issued a proclamation, in which he said: "I hope you will not be troubled at your change; for you are now fixed, at the mercy of no governor who comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own making, and live a free, and, if you will, a sober and industrious people. I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. . . . In short, whatever sober and free men can reasonably desire for the security and improvement of their own happiness, I shall heartily comply with."

The character of Penn,—who was widely known and greatly beloved among the Friends, and who won the respect and esteem of many who did not agree with his religious or political opinions,—together with the

liberal concessions and democratic plan of government, induced large numbers of Quakers, and some others, to seek new homes in Pennsylvania. The favorable accounts received of the beauty of the country, the fertile soil, and the pleasant climate, awakened no fears of hardship, but gave promise of health and prosperity; and with few regrets at leaving their fatherland, but with earnest hopes for the success of "the holy experiment" in the new world, they made their preparations to emigrate.

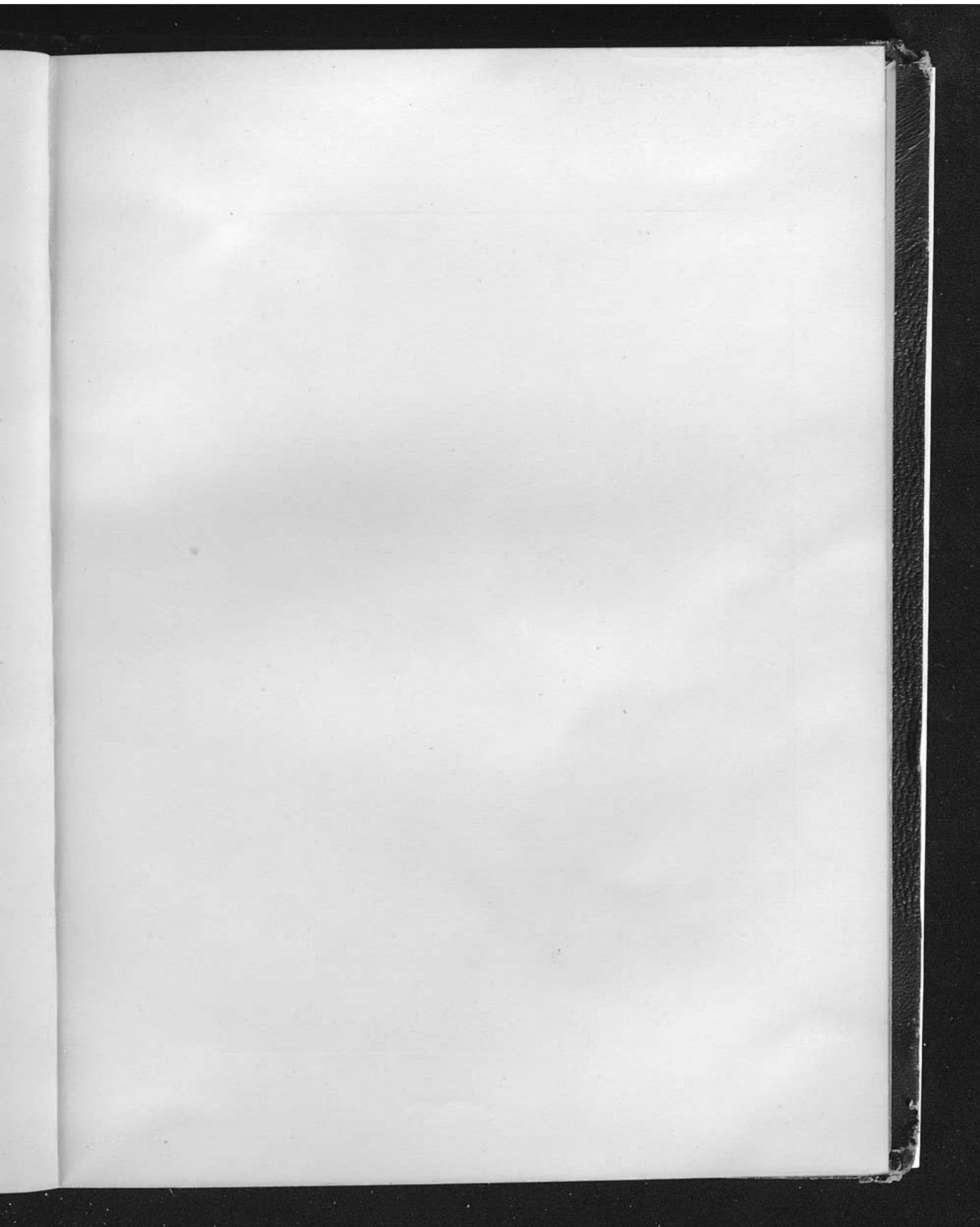
The first company to colonize Pennsylvania sailed from England in August, 1681, in three ships, only one of which had a fair passage, arriving in the Delaware before cold weather. One did not arrive until December, and, having ascended the river as far as Chester, was there frozen up the night after her arrival; while the third, blown off by tempestuous weather, wintered in the West Indies, and did not land her passengers in their new home till the following spring. At Chester, then called Upland, the emigrants were welcomed by the Swedes to their little village which had long been established there. In their unsettled condition, the first winter was a cheerless one; but with such a friendly welcome, and a climate not very rigorous, and with abundance of food furnished by the Swedes and Indians, their lot was a happy one compared with that of the Pilgrims on the desolate shores of Plymouth. A few of those who first arrived settled at Upland, and it was not till the next year, when upwards of twenty vessels arrived with additional emigrants, that settlements were made at other points, and the site of Philadelphia itself, a city named before it had a "location," was chosen.

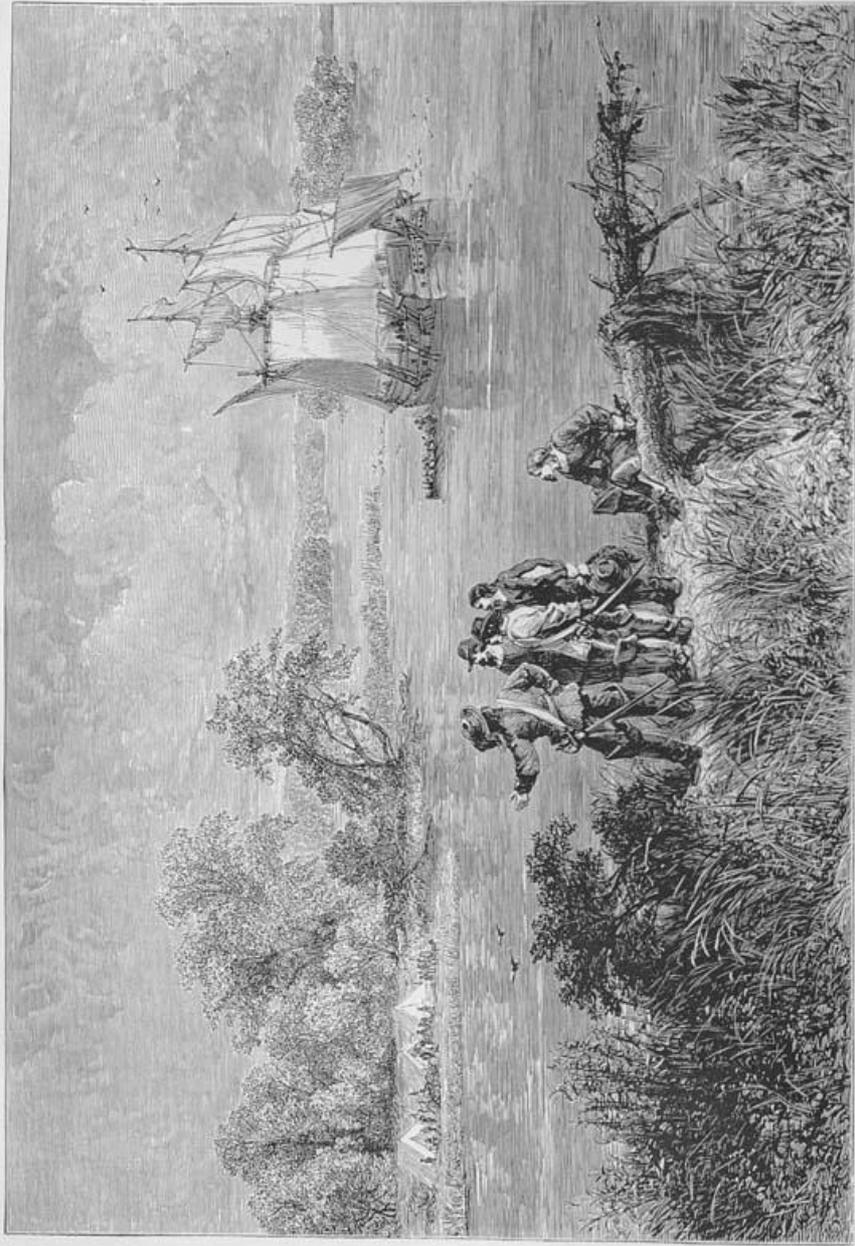
In one of the ships which arrived in the autumn of 1682, came William Penn himself, the proprietary of this noble province, and founder of the commonwealth which was to occupy it. After a voyage saddened by the death of one third of the passengers, his friends and neighbors, Penn landed first at New Castle, to take possession of the territory now comprised in the state of Delaware, which had been conveyed to him by the Duke of York. The Dutch, Swedish, and English colonists, who had been apprised of this transfer of proprietary rights, assembled to welcome the "Quaker king," and to witness the symbolic delivery of the territory by the Duke of York's officers. They

were by no means unwilling to transfer their allegiance, and when Penn addressed them with simple language and dignified mien, promising to confirm all their rights, with new privileges and full liberty of conscience, they greeted him with joyous acclamations, and earnestly desired that they might be united with the new commonwealth which was to be established in Pennsylvania. This request was complied with at the first session of the colonial assembly by a formal act of union. At a later period, however, a factious opposition to Penn's government led to a separation and an independent administration.

Penn next proceeded up the river to Chester, where he convened an assembly according to the plan of government previously promulgated, which was recognized as the fundamental law, or charter of the colony. This assembly dispatched its business with commendable industry and great unanimity, and in three days it passed the code of laws prepared in England, adopted the measures necessary to administer the government, and extended the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania over the "three lower counties," as Delaware was then called. The laws passed were similar in scope to those in force in the other colonies, originating as they did from a common source; but the penalties for offences were much milder than in Puritan New England, cavalier Virginia, or the mother-country; and there were laws based on the liberal principles of the Friends which were then unknown in England or the other colonies.

Even Pennsylvania, however, with the Arcadian simplicity of its Quaker settlers, and the firm belief of the fathers of the sect in the success of the "holy experiment," found it necessary to have laws to restrain vice, prevent crime, and punish malefactors. The liberal concessions and government of Penn invited others besides honest and exemplary Friends to come within its borders, as many who were not Puritans came to Massachusetts and Connecticut; and the first grand jury, sitting but six months after the arrival of Penn, found an indictment against a wicked intruder for coining and passing counterfeit money. He was found guilty, and sentenced to make restitution to the parties who had suffered by his offence, and to pay forty pounds towards building a court-house—a commendable way of providing for such an edifice. The same year another individual was indicted because,





PENN'S COLONISTS ON THE DELAWARE.

having two wives in England, he had "taken Mrs. Smith here to wife," and two Swedish women were presented for drunkenness. The orderly community of Quakers was disturbed, too, by interlopers from Maryland, or elsewhere, who opened tippling-houses in the huts abandoned by the settlers when they built their more commodious houses. In those early days the governor and council exercised general jurisdiction over all cases great and small, and sentenced to such punishments as they chose. The penalties, if not as severe, were similar to those administered in England and the other colonies; and the polygamist above mentioned, having been sentenced "to be beaten with twenty lashes," petitioned to be put in the stocks instead.

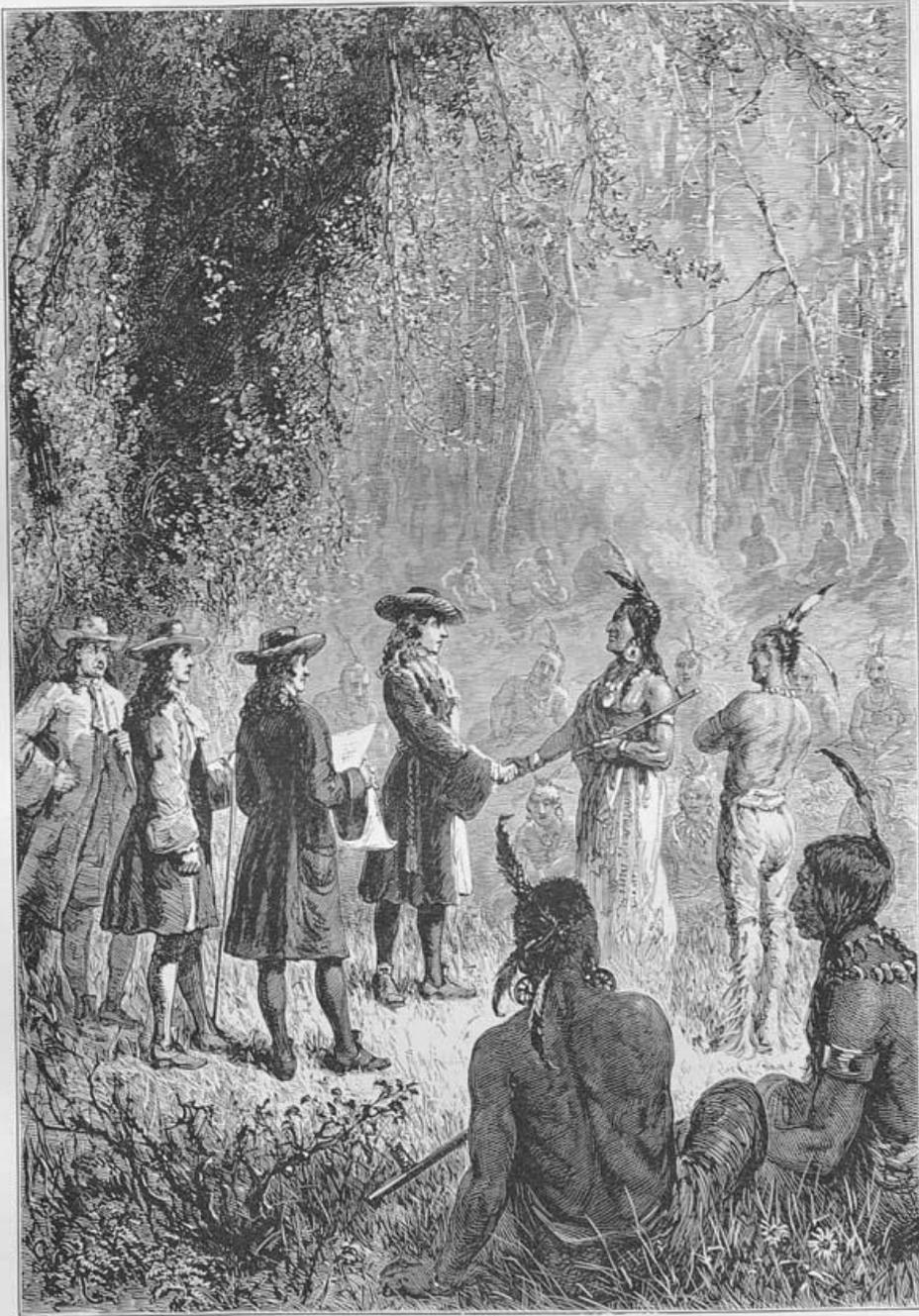
After a visit to the governor of New York, and Lord Baltimore in Maryland, Penn returned to his own domain, and then selected the site of Philadelphia, a city projected and named before he left England. It is a tradition that accident led to the choice of this site, though Penn's agents had early been instructed to look for a proper one. A ship, proceeding up the river to Burlington, at night made fast to the limb of a tree growing upon a bold shore, where she could ride in safety. The next morning the captain went on shore to explore, and, attracted by the beauty of the country, proceeded till he reached the Schuylkill. On his return he spoke with enthusiasm of the situation as a fine place for a town. This being reported to Penn and the leading men of the colony, they visited the place, called by the Indians Coaquanock, and being equally pleased with the situation, selected it as the site of the city of Brotherly Love. Surveys were made at once, rectangular streets and lanes were marked out, lands allotted, and soon the settlers were busy clearing the ground and erecting their houses.

Vessels with emigrants continued to arrive, and Philadelphia and other settlements rapidly increased. In 1683, within one year after his arrival, Penn wrote: "Twenty-two sail more have arrived since I came. There are about three hundred farms settled as contiguously as may be. Since last summer we have had about sixty sail of great and small shipping, which is a good beginning." And a little later he wrote: "I must, without vanity, say that I have led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it are to be found among

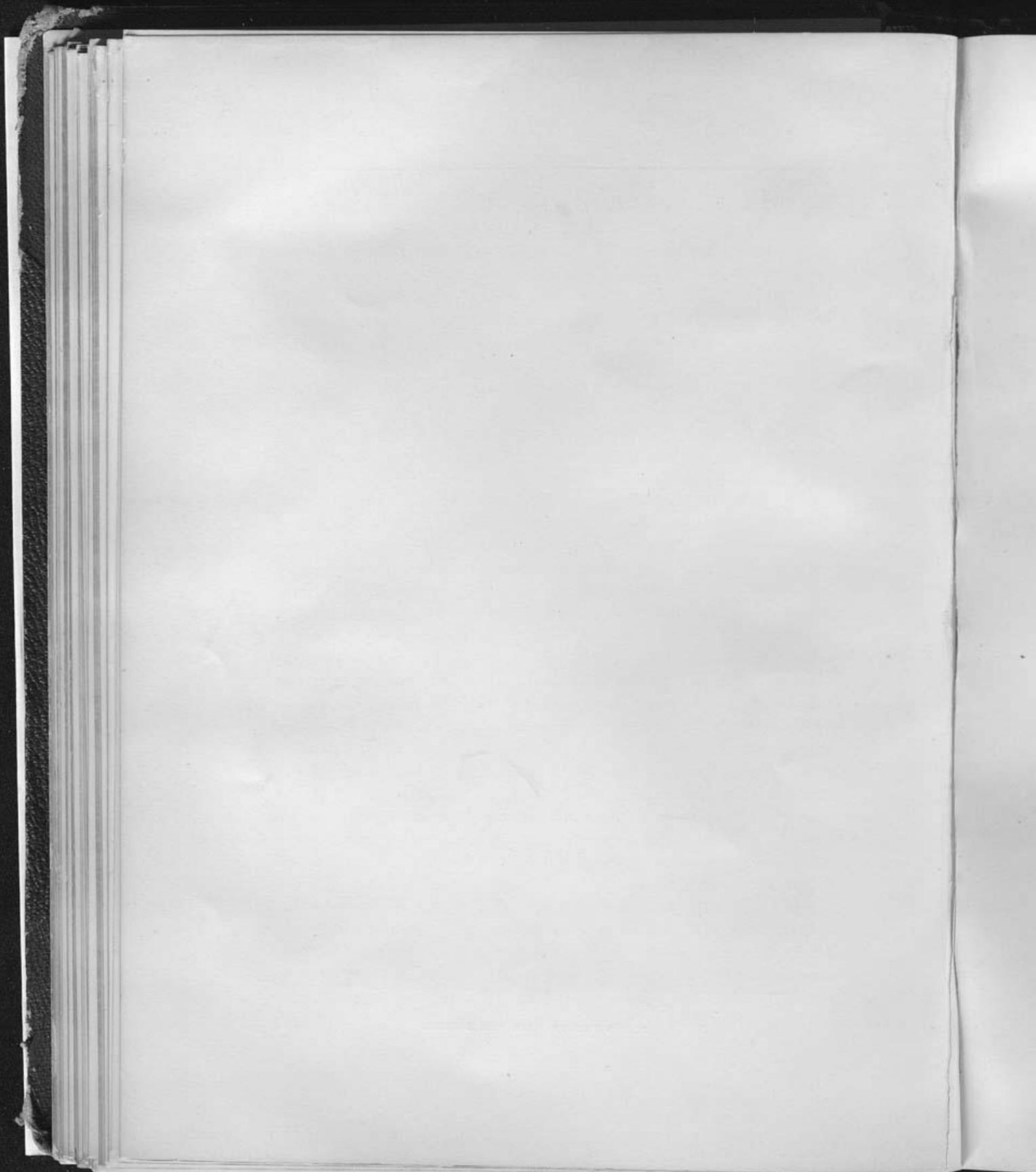
us." He had, indeed, good reason for self-gratulation on the prosperous beginning of the colonization of his magnificent domain, and the fair prospect of establishing a commonwealth on the liberal principles he had long advocated.

An event in the early history of Pennsylvania, which has been celebrated by artist and poet, but which has come down to us by tradition rather than by record, was Penn's treaty with the Indians. In laying the foundations of his commonwealth on the principle of the brotherhood of mankind, Penn had not forgotten the rights of the natives, and he had addressed to them a letter in which he recognized them as brothers, and desired to live in peace and friendship with them. Resolved to treat them with justice, he provided at the outset that their lands should be fairly purchased, and when the site of Philadelphia was chosen, he invited the chiefs of all the neighboring tribes to meet him at Shakamaxon, on the northern side of the projected city. Thither, late in the autumn of 1682, came a large number of the Indians to meet their white brother whose good words had been translated into their language and carried from tribe to tribe.

The place selected for the interview was near the bank of the Delaware, under a spreading elm, which was long afterwards reverently cherished and known as the Treaty Tree. The foliage of the forest had fallen, and the slant rays of the sun, streaming through the leafless boughs, lay warm upon the grassy slopes on which the Indians seated themselves in semicircles, the chiefs and older counsellors in front, and the middle-aged and younger braves in successive rows behind. To the front of this assembly of grave red men came Penn, with some of the chief men of the colony in their garb of peace, without arms, and the proprietary distinguished only by a blue sash worn around his waist. Through an interpreter Penn addressed his savage audience in terms adapted to their understandings, greeting them as children of a common Father, and assuring them that the whites had not come to rob them of their lands, but to buy them; to deal justly in all things, and always to live at peace with them as friends and neighbors. The gospel of peace and good-will was presented to the simple natives in terms that touched their hearts as a new revelation, and increased the friendly feeling which had been awakened by Penn's previous message.



PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.



An aged chief responded in the figurative language of his race. They were ready to meet him on the broad pathway of peace, and to live in friendship as long as the sun and moon should endure. After these solemn pledges of good-will, which the sun was called to witness, but were not recorded on parchment, there was little difficulty in discussing the details of business, and making the necessary agreements for purchase. When these were concluded, and the presents brought by Penn were delivered to the delighted natives, the promises of kindness and good neighborhood were renewed by each of the contracting parties; and then one of the Indians addressed the whole assembly of his brethren in the name of the sachems, telling them what had been agreed upon, and charging them to love the Christians, and especially to live in peace with Penn and his people.

The treaty was faithfully observed by both parties. Treating the Indians with justice and kindness, the Quaker settlers found no difficulty in maintaining friendly relations with them. Once only the fears of the whites were aroused by a rumor that the savages were preparing for a massacre; but it proved to be unfounded, and the Indians protested anew their friendship. Penn himself set the example of living on the most friendly terms with the natives; and the staid Quaker governor and teacher is reported, on one occasion at least, when visiting one of their villages, to have indulged in a rather undignified display of fellowship. Having mingled freely with them, and partaken of their feast of roasted acorns and hominy, the Indians expressed great delight, and "soon began to show how they could hop and jump," when Penn, probably to the surprise, if not dismay, of the Friends who attended him, joined in the sport, and "beat them all."

Besides the famous treaty at Shakamaxon, Penn made other treaties with the Indians for the purchase of lands and maintaining friendly relations. He proposed to meet a council of the Indians, to be held twice a year, to preserve the bonds of friendship; and required that no lands should be taken for settlement until he or his government had paid the Indians for it. Previous to his departure on his first return to England, he invited the Indians to his house to take leave of them. The savages had learned to regard him with great veneration, and with evident regret bade him adieu.

PENN AND HIS COLONY.



PENN saw a prosperous beginning for his colony. Many of the emigrants were men of means, and they had come to a country where the climate and soil gave them a fair promise of plenty and comfort, while they had the better assurance of a full enjoyment of freedom of conscience and a government regulated by themselves. There was no danger of want, for the Swedes and Dutch already there, as well as the earlier settlers of New Jersey, had food to spare, and friendly natives furnished game from the abounding forest, and maize and fruits from their plantations. Penn had determined to "lay the foundation of a free colony for all mankind;" and his invitation to emigrants was as broad as the liberal principles of his sect. Accordingly, not only large numbers of the English, but many German Friends, and a few Frenchmen, came over.

To the friends of civil and religious freedom Pennsylvania offered inducements to emigrate greater than any other colony. Its founder, with liberal concessions to settlers, had fully set forth his purposes, and had said: "As my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in governments, so now it is put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege I propose that which is extraordinary, and to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief; so that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country." He now put his promises into execution. The emigrants obtained lands at a small quit-

rent, and he inaugurated the free government which he had long contemplated.

As governor, he labored with characteristic earnestness to promote the success of the colony and the welfare of his people; but he had not been in the country two years when he was called back to England to defend his title against the claims of Lord Baltimore. King James—who, with strange inconsistency, looked with favor upon Penn, notwithstanding the latter's views of government so diametrically opposite to his own—settled the dispute by a compromise line. Other projects for the good of the colony, and the unwillingness of his family to emigrate, detained Penn in England for several years; and it was not till 1690 that he was ready to return. In the meantime the Revolution had occurred, and William of Orange had come to the throne. On account of the favor shown to Penn by James, he was suspected of disaffection to the new sovereigns, and when he was preparing to embark with a large number of colonists, he was arrested, and compelled to remain for several years in retirement on bail.

Meanwhile, though the colonists prospered, affairs in Pennsylvania were not conducted with much advantage to the great proprietor. Penn's liberal concessions had induced many besides Friends to settle there; and there grew up a strong party opposed to the principles of the Quakers and to his interest. He had incurred heavy expenses for the benefit of his colony; but he was unable to collect the quit-rents and customs which were due to him under his concessions, and while he greatly desired to return to Pennsylvania, he was delayed by the want of means to meet his obligations, and the neglect of the colony to provide what he considered a proper support for his family and his office as governor.

But at last, in 1699, after a stay of fifteen years in England, Penn again embarked for his province, this time taking his family with him, and intending to remain there permanently. Though the colonists were in a state of alarm at the appearance of the yellow fever, brought from the West Indies, they gave the proprietor a hearty welcome. By the Friends he was greatly beloved; and his bearing and efforts to promote the welfare of the colony secured, for the time, the good-will of all others. Under his rule affairs progressed prosperously: Philadelphia

increased in size and improved in appearance, and other settlements were established; there was general good order, and many laws for the better government of the growing population were passed. But now a new difficulty arose. Some parties at court, jealous of the privileges enjoyed by Penn and other proprietaries, undertook to secure the royal prerogative by the passage of a bill to enable the crown to take possession of the colonies for the alleged purpose of their better regulation and defence. Penn's friends, and those pecuniarily interested in Pennsylvania, opposed this measure, and urgently requested Penn himself to come to England as the ablest defender of his rights. Reluctant to leave his colony, but confident that he could serve it at court better than any one else, and probably moved, also, by domestic reasons, he acceded to the request. After a stay of two years, he again left Pennsylvania, with promises of returning which were destined never to be fulfilled. One of his last acts before his departure was to grant a charter of municipal privileges to Philadelphia.

The accession of Queen Anne, who was friendly to Penn, and a change of ministry, rendered it less difficult to preserve his proprietary rights. But his family preferred to live in England; and unable to obtain from the colony an adequate provision for the maintenance of his position and the support of his family in a style that might reconcile them to a residence in Pennsylvania, he did not return. In his absence, the affairs of the colony were not administered with the success which his presence had insured; a church party, in opposition to his government, grew up, and, after causing serious disputes, finally triumphed, and openly resisted the proprietary's rights, and violated the privileges of the Quakers. He met also with heavy pecuniary losses, and became so much embarrassed that he found it necessary to mortgage his province. In the midst of his perplexities it was proposed that he should sell the province to the crown; and wearied with his troubles, disappointed in his hopes, and grieved at the ingratitude of his people, he agreed to make the conveyance, reserving his quit-rents and certain estates he had selected. The deed was prepared, but before he could execute it a stroke of apoplexy so impaired his mind that he was considered incapable of giving a legal title.

Like others who had anticipated wealth and renown from princely

possessions in America, Penn was grievously disappointed. He had conceived his grand project at an early age, though it probably did not assume definite shape until a later period. While at Oxford, he was disposed to embrace the doctrines of George Fox, and was, in consequence, expelled from college, and turned out of doors by his father, Admiral Penn. The hasty sailor, however, repented of his severity, and becoming reconciled with his son, sent him to the continent to finish his education. After several years of study and travel, Penn returned to England, and his great natural abilities, learning, and accomplishments, his noble bearing and engaging manners, opened for him a promising career at court, where his father was a favorite. But the faith imbibed in his youth was again awakened, and he became an earnest advocate of the religion of the Friends, and consequently an outcast from the court and the fashionable society into which he had just been introduced. He soon found himself in prison, where threats and blandishments were alike ineffectual in tempting him to recant; and upon his release he became even more zealous for the liberty of conscience. His earnestness, ability, and pleasing address, as well as his social position, made him the most influential and respected among the Quakers, the most feared by the intolerant supporters of the established church. He boldly proclaimed freedom of conscience as one of the common-law rights of Englishmen, and when brought to trial, his powerful appeal to the jury secured for him, in spite of the menaces of a partial judge, a verdict of "not guilty."

During a lull in the persecution of the Quakers, Penn again travelled on the continent, and was soon after married, and enjoyed a season of domestic quiet. While advocating liberty of conscience, he was led to consider other rights of Englishmen, and sought to secure them through parliament; and failing there, when parliament was dissolved, he appealed to the people to assert their rights in the government, bidding them "choose men who will, by all just and legal ways, firmly keep and zealously promote your power." But England was not ready for religious toleration, and the people did not know their rights or how to maintain them. Penn, with others, then looked to the new world, where the principle of liberty of conscience might be established without hinderance, and a government recognizing the

rights of the people might be inaugurated. The conception of his youth took more definite shape, and he devoted his energies to obtain a grant where "the holy experiment" might be essayed. His personal character still retained the friendship of some influential men at court, notwithstanding his alleged heresy and pestilent doctrines, and after untiring effort in overcoming obstacles he obtained the princely grant of Pennsylvania.

History can show few instances where a prince or proprietary made such liberal concessions, and divested himself of so much power for the benefit of his people, as did Penn in his frame of government. But his great enterprise, while the principles of universal toleration and self-government were to be fairly and honestly tested, was naturally and properly undertaken also for his own benefit. He was, however, more successful in securing popular rights and promoting the welfare of the colony than in reaping advantage himself. He saw a large and prosperous colony planted on his domain, and a people enjoying the liberties for which he had so long contended against bitter persecution; but he found himself constrained to remain in England, away from the "home in the wilderness" which he had long desired to enjoy, and oppressed with debts incurred for the welfare of men who begrudged him a maintenance. Well might he say, "The undeserved opposition I meet from thence sinks me in sorrow, and I cannot but think it hard measure, that, while that proved a land of freedom and flourishing to them, it should become to me, by whose means it was made a country, a cause of trouble and poverty."

Penn's family was more fortunate in reaping benefit from his enterprise. He died in 1718, leaving his American estates to his sons by his second wife. The people, temporarily misled into opposition to his interests, became more favorably disposed, and his opponents were reduced to a minority in the assembly. For some years his widow managed the affairs of the proprietary with shrewdness and skill, and appointed the deputy-governors. She was succeeded by her sons, and the family continued to exercise authority in Pennsylvania until the Revolution cancelled all proprietary rights.

A GAY DEPUTY-GOVERNOR, AND A GRACELESS
SON.—THE SETTLERS, AND INCIDENTS.



PENN'S liberal concessions and free government, as before remarked, induced many persons who were not Quakers to settle in Pennsylvania. There consequently grew up a church-party opposed to some of the privileges enjoyed by the Quakers, and at last, under the lead of David Lloyd, who, though a Friend, was always inimical to Penn, this party succeeded in controlling the assembly. Disputes arose which seriously affected the welfare of the colony and the interests of the proprietary. But before the differences reached this extent, Penn had shown his liberality and desire to gratify the settlers who were not of the Quaker persuasion, by the appointment of a deputy-governor who did not belong to his sect.

This deputy was John Evans, a young man of ability, but a gay cavalier, whose wild habits were a scandal to the sober Friends, however they might have been excused, or even approved, by the other party. He had very little regard for the scruples of the Quakers, and did not hesitate to show his disrespect. Soon after his arrival, finding there was no organized militia in the province, he issued a proclamation calling for the formation of such a force "to assist Queen Anne." The peace-loving Quakers, who were then predominant, were not a little excited at this proposition to violate their religious scruples; and they would not obey the call, nor permit such a proposition to be entertained. The lively governor, however, did not put much faith in the

peace principles of the Friends, and thought he would put them to the test, and see if as Englishmen they would not cast their scruples to the winds, and resort to arms in defence of their homes. He accordingly employed some of his friends in New Castle to send up a messenger to ride with desperate haste into the town and announce that twelve French ships were in the river committing depredations, and would soon threaten Philadelphia itself with destruction. Upon the receipt of this message, Evans rode through the city brandishing his drawn sword, and calling upon the people to arm, and rally to repel the invader. A panic ensued; but none of the Quakers responded to the call, and few of them, indeed, had any arms. They rushed to their houses to save their valuables, and hurry the frightened women and children to some safer place. Plate and money were thrown into wells, or buried in secret places; boats went up the river laden with fugitives, and companies travelled through the wilderness to seek safety on some remote plantations. Meanwhile the governor's stratagem called only a few of the "world's people" to arms, and fresh arrivals from below soon proved that it was a foolish, and, to some, a cruel hoax. While Evans laughed at the panic he had caused, the sober-minded settlers regarded him with a dislike which, increased by his dissipation, finally led them to petition for his removal.

With Evans came over Penn's eldest son, William, as a member of the council. He, too, was a young man of wild disposition and rather dissipated habits, and his father, anticipating that his career might not commend itself to the sober people of Philadelphia, or reflect credit on the sect, had written to his friend James Logan, secretary of the colony, and one of the ablest and most trusted of the Friends, urging him to bring young Penn under the best influences; to take him immediately to Pennsbury, and "there give him the true state of things, and weigh down his levities as well as temper his resentments;" to "watch him, outwit him, and honestly overreach him, for his good." So great was the father's anxiety on account of young Penn, that he repeatedly wrote to Logan, asking him to "qualify his heats, inform his judgment, increase his knowledge, advise him to proper company, he being naturally too open," and to "suffer him not to be in any public house after the allowed hours."



GOVERNOR EVANS CALLING THE QUAKERS TO ARMS.



Logan found this duty a rather difficult one to perform. Young Penn brought over a pack of hounds, avowedly for the destruction of wolves, but really that he might enjoy the pleasures of the chase; and he very soon gave evidence that he considered the society of Friends altogether too dull for him. He selected other companions, of a more congenial character, and indulged in amusements that were little approved by the staid Quakers. He assumed importance as the Great Proprietor's son, and lived in an extravagant manner, and with considerable display, and greatly exceeded the limit of expense allowed him. Philadelphia did not afford a boarding-place suited to his ideas, and the secretary accordingly took the most spacious house in the city, where Governor Evans, Penn, and others kept bachelor's hall. Although he was married, he was quite free in his gallantries with some of the fair ladies of Pennsylvania, so that his judicious friends considered it a great pity that his wife had not come with him to keep him "within bounds he was not too regular in observing."

As might be supposed, young Penn had little sympathy with the Quakers, and an incident soon occurred which led him to abandon them entirely. Notwithstanding the sober character of most of the people, Philadelphia had a number of inns where beer and wine were dispensed to not a few patrons. To maintain order at such places and in the streets, the citizens served as watchmen, and occasionally found it necessary to arrest some of the unruly youth. At one of these inns, the "founder's" son, who did not always observe the "allowed hours," one night got into a dispute about the militia which Governor Evans had succeeded in organizing in some of the counties as volunteers. The peace-loving watch and others condemned the raising of an armed force, and young Penn, in no very temperate language, approved it. The dispute waxed warm, and others joined in it on both sides. Whether the watch attempted to exercise their authority, or for some other cause, Penn threatened "to pistol them;" but at this stage of affairs the lights were put out, and some one gave him a sound beating.

This unusually serious disturbance was brought to the notice of the grand jury, who presented Penn and others for assault on the watch. The Quakers, who were scandalized by the general conduct of the proprietor's son, were disposed thus to put an end to his freaks, and

some who were unfriendly to the proprietor himself were glad to see such an indignity put upon one of his family; but those more intimately connected with the proprietary by interest or office resented the action of the grand jury. Young Penn himself was disgusted, and cut loose from all connection with the Quakers. He soon after sailed for England, where he continued to live extravagantly, and finally plunged into dissipation which hastened his death.

William Penn, junior, was not the only one of the family who severed his connection with the Quakers. The younger sons, to whom the Pennsylvania estates were left by Penn's will, also ceased to belong to the Society of Friends, though they continued to respect the profession of their father and the privileges he had secured to the Quakers. John Penn, the eldest of the founder's sons by his second wife, was born in Philadelphia, and was hence called "the American," as a mark of distinction, the others having been born in England. He was educated in England, and was a churchman; but on a visit to Pennsylvania he won the esteem of the Quakers by his amiable qualities.

Though the early settlers of Pennsylvania were, for the most part, a sober and industrious people, they were not so strict in their manner of living as the Puritans, and they neither advocated nor practised the principles of total abstinence from intoxicating drink. As already observed, there were at an early day a considerable number of inns in Philadelphia, some licensed and others unlicensed, where wine and beer, and probably rum, were dealt out in quantities that sometimes called for the interference of the watch. Some of the larger proprietors had malt-houses on their own estates where they brewed strong beer. This, however, was not peculiar to Pennsylvania, and was not uncommon among the Dutch of Manhattan, and in other colonies. It might be supposed that a man so prudent and just in his dealings with the natives as Penn, would have been slow to introduce among them the use of that "fire-water" which had elsewhere produced such unhappy results. But in 1684 he called the Indians together and proposed to them to let them have rum if they would be contented to be punished as the English were for offences committed in consequence of its use; and they agreeing to this condition, he proposed to abolish the prohibition of the sale of rum to them. It does not appear, however, that evil

consequences resulted from this proposition, if it was indeed carried into practice.

Though the settlers of Pennsylvania were not very abstemious, it must not be supposed that intemperance was a common vice. Some of the younger men, sons of Quakers as well as others, were a little disposed to hilarity, and were guilty of pranks which gave offence to the more sober-minded citizens. Prosecutions for drunkenness were not very frequent, and the culprits were generally of the less reputable class of adventurers, or servants, who had come over independently of those who were specially interested in the colony. As everywhere else, too, crimes were occasionally committed which were the result of intoxication.

Offences were punished in much the same manner as in England and in the other colonies, though less severely. Fines, whipping (sometimes at the cart's tail), the stocks, and the pillory, were the penalties ordained as the recompense of offenders, and to deter the viciously inclined. The stocks and pillory stood in the market-place, and it is said that the price of eggs advanced whenever they were occupied by culprits. Whether because the penalties were milder, and there was less constant and severe restraint on social life, or because the number of lawless persons was greater, the offences against good order and morals were more numerous than in New England. At an early day there were prosecutions for keeping disorderly houses and unlicensed taverns; "sons and servants" were indicted for robbing orchards on the First or Lord's day; complaints were made against the assemblage and tumultuous conduct of negroes (for slavery was not excluded from the Quaker commonwealth) on the same day; several times parties, even of the more reputable class of settlers, were charged with raising a riot at the dead of night. Profanity and blasphemy were offences which not seldom called for punishment, and one Robinson, a butcher, appears to have been an inveterate offender in this line; for having been indicted as a common swearer and drunkard, "for swearing three oaths in the market-place, and for uttering two very bad curses," he was the same year again presented "for swearing a grievous oath on the 13th of the 7th month, and another on the 10th day of the 8th month."

During Penn's first residence in Pennsylvania, in 1683, a case of

witchcraft was brought before his council for trial. Though the Quaker settlers, doubtless, shared to some extent the then common belief in witchcraft, their principles of tolerance did not permit them to enter upon a crusade against parties accused, through ignorance or enmity, of having dealings with the powers of darkness; and the case alluded to occurred among the Swedes, who, bringing from the fatherland a deeply seated belief in necromancy, became all the more confirmed in their superstition by a residence on the verge of the mysterious forest, and association with the Indians.

Two Swedish women were charged by some of their neighbors with being witches, and the grand jury found a bill against them. Penn and his council sat as judges, and a jury was impanelled to try the case. A number of witnesses told strange stories about the accused women; that they bewitched calves, fowls, and other creatures; but oxen and human beings appeared to escape, or to be superior to their malignant power. The evidence, however, was mostly hearsay, and quite vague, and the defendants persistently challenged proof more positive, and denied any dealings with evil spirits. Penn charged the jury in a spirit probably not very severe towards the accused women. It was on this occasion that the sedate Quaker governor, who sometimes indulged in quiet humor, is reported to have said that he knew of no law forbidding a woman's riding through the air on a broomstick. The verdict of the jury was about as near the burlesque verdict "not guilty, but don't do it again," sometimes said to be rendered in more recent times, as it well could be. They found the principal offender guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in the manner and form charged in the indictment, and required that she should give security for her good behavior in the future. This result afforded little temptation to the malevolent to accuse obnoxious persons of witchcraft; and Pennsylvania was accordingly not much troubled with witches.

The early settlers of Pennsylvania had little of the austerity of the New England Puritans, and were much more given to hospitality and social pleasures. The meeting-house was not the only place of gathering for the community, nor religious services the only means of breaking the monotony of a hard and stern life. Social meetings and visits were frequent, and sports which the Puritans condemned were not

seldom indulged in. Fox-hunting was followed by a few, and even horse-racing on some of the untravelled streets became a sport which, with its accompaniments of booths, where liquors were sold and cards were played, called for restraint by the authorities. These, however, were the amusements of the worldly people who had come to enjoy the freedom and share the opportunities of the Quaker colony.

Philadelphia grew apace, and even in its earliest days was no settlement of log-cabins, or poor, frail, board houses. A letter written to Penn in 1685, says: "The town goes on in planting and building to admiration, both in the front and back wards, about six hundred houses in three years' time. Bricks are exceeding good, and cheaper than they were, and brick houses are now as cheap to build as wood. Many brave brick houses are going up with good cellars. . . . All these have balconies; we build most houses with them." These balconies were places of common resort for the inmates of the houses, and the well-to-do dames in pleasant afternoons sat there to greet their friends who passed, and to receive social visits; and young women from those safe retreats shot sly glances at susceptible young men who demurely walked the streets.

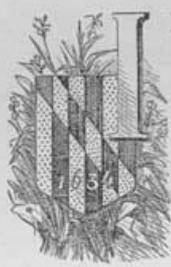
Quaker youths and maidens were not so much restrained but they readily found their mates, and early marriages, of females at least, were the rule. Occasionally a Quaker girl scandalized her friends by receiving the attentions of a worldly suitor; and one elopement is recorded which created great sorrow and surprise among the Friends. Sarah Eckley was a Quaker heiress who resided with her uncle, and in addition to her property had a fair face which attracted Colonel Coxe, "a fine flaunting gentleman, said to be worth a great deal of money." Her uncle and friends did not approve of her marrying this worldly gentleman, who had no sympathy with the Quakers; but the young lady was disposed to have her own way in an affair of the heart, which doubtless seemed to her then as sacred as conscience; and one night, in the absence of her uncle and aunt, she eloped with the gallant colonel. The fugitives could not be married after the manner of the Quakers, and as there was no clergyman upon whom they could call, they passed over to the Jersey shore, where by accident or appointment they met the chaplain of Lord Cornbury, the governor of New

Jersey. There, in the woods, by the light of a camp-fire, between two and three o'clock in the morning, the marriage ceremony was performed. This escapade caused no little astonishment and sorrow among the Friends, and they were still more disturbed when they learned that the bride's new friends had "proselyted her, and decked her in finery."

The first emigration of Quakers from England was succeeded, as before remarked, by the coming of many others of a different creed. A large number of Germans followed, many of whom were also Friends. This mixed population of English, Germans, Swedes, and Dutch (the last two, indeed, not very numerous), of various religious views, lived together, in the main, in peace and harmony,—thanks to Penn's laws of tolerance. The Friends' meeting-house was in a few years supplemented by churches of the established religion of England, Presbyterians, and Baptists; but though the sects did not agree, especially in occasional periods of religious excitement, there was little opportunity for persecution, and no persistent attempt at it. Education was promoted by private schools, one or two of which were noted in their day, but there was no liberal provision made for free instruction, such as the Puritans, with heavy sacrifices, made.

Many of the early settlers were men of considerable property, who took up large tracts, while others of less means secured smaller lots, and in a few years a great extent of land was cleared, and productive farms were under cultivation, and thriving orchards were planted. The rural population, especially the Germans, were industrious, frugal, and somewhat stolid, not very enterprising, nor given to experimenting, but plodding along in the beaten track pursued in the fatherland. Emigration from Europe constantly added to the population, settlements extended into the interior, and under comparatively liberal institutions, and the quiet influence of the Quaker element, the colony was, for the most part, peaceful and exceedingly prosperous.

LORD BALTIMORE'S COLONY IN MARYLAND.



IN 1634 a company of about two hundred emigrants, many of them gentlemen of fortune, and nearly or quite all Roman Catholics, under the command of Leonard Calvert, brother of Cecil, Lord Baltimore, arrived in Chesapeake Bay. After sailing up the Potomac in search of a favorable site for a settlement, and finding the Indians somewhat sullenly disposed, — bidding them neither to stay nor to go, — they retraced their course, and finally came to anchor in a small branch of the river opposite an Indian town. Here Calvert landed, and, after an interview with the chief of the tribe, who received him hospitably, determined to establish his first settlement. The Indians, who had suffered from the incursions of the fiercer Susquehanocks, were preparing to desert their village, and a part of it had already been abandoned. An agreement was made by which the emigrants were allowed to take possession of the vacant cabins, and occupy one half of the village, the natives agreeing to relinquish the other half when they had harvested their corn, the seed for which they had just planted.

The colonists landed with due ceremony, and, taking possession of the vacant cabins, named the place St. Mary's, and commenced their colonial life in a manner unparalleled by the experience of any other adventurers into the new world. The Indians were friendly; the hunters aided the men in obtaining the game with which the woods and waters abounded, and the squaws taught the women to make bread of

the golden maize. On the other hand, Calvert and his colonists took pains to secure the good will of the Indians by kind and hospitable treatment, and presents of axes, knives, hoes, and other articles which the savages valued. Shelter, peace, and plenty were at the outset the favored lot of these emigrants. Such was the beginning of Lord Baltimore's colony in Maryland.

The church of England, shaping the English laws with regard to religion, was intolerant alike to Protestant dissenters and Roman Catholics. The latter, however, being more generally of the higher classes, and respecting the royal prerogative, though placed under certain disabilities, were not subjected to the bitter persecution with which the former were pursued. Sir George Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, a man of ability, who had achieved distinction in the service of the crown, disgusted with the course of the established church and having no sympathy with the Independents, relinquished his honors and emoluments and sought quiet in the Roman church. He early became interested in colonizing America, and at his own expense established a settlement in Newfoundland; but after incurring heavy expenses in repelling the French and contending against the fishermen, his enterprise proved unsuccessful, and he turned his attention towards the more attractive region of Virginia. He desired to found a settlement where Romanists and all others might dwell in peace, undisturbed by the bigotry of rulers or intolerant laws. Within the limits of the Virginia colony, where the church of England was more exclusively established than in the mother country, he could not hope to find the desired refuge; but in the unoccupied region north of the Potomac, which was presumed to be at the disposal of the crown, he saw an opportunity to carry his design into effect; and still having great influence at court, he obtained from the king, who held him in great respect, a grant of the territory now comprised in the State of Maryland.

The grant or charter gave this territory, under the name of Maryland, in honor of the Queen Henrietta Maria, to Lord Baltimore as absolute proprietor, to exercise exclusive authority over it, and owing fealty only to the crown, which was to be acknowledged by the payment of two Indian arrows yearly, and one fifth of all the precious metals found within its soil. While transferring absolute authority from

the crown to the proprietary, the charter, which was framed by the first Lord Baltimore himself, but was finally issued to his son, Cecil Calvert, granted the most liberal concessions to emigrants, secured to them a representative government, and provided that the absolute authority of the proprietary should not extend to the life, freehold, goods or chattels of any settler. It secured, moreover, toleration in religious opinions; and while it was to furnish an asylum for Papists, all other sects were to be freely admitted, and equality of rights in religion was guaranteed to all Christians.

This grant at once met with opposition from some of the Virginia colonists, led by William Clayborne, who claimed rights in the territory. These claims, however, being referred to the privy-council, were virtually disallowed, and the title of Lord Baltimore was confirmed. Clayborne subsequently persisted in his claims to the extent of armed opposition to the proprietary's authority. Having secured his title, Lord Baltimore fitted out, at great expense, a company of emigrants, mostly of the Roman Catholic faith, whom at first he intended to accompany to his princely domains; but before the time of departure arrived, he changed his mind, and appointed his brother, Leonard Calvert, governor in his stead, with two of the leading emigrants as assistants. It was this company that landed at St. Mary's and shared the Indian village with the natives.

But Governor Calvert did not propose to be dependent on the good will and hospitality of the Indians, and at once erected a building for a guard-house and another for a storehouse, and made preparations to plant land adjoining the village, which had been cleared by the Indians, but was no longer used for their plantations. When the buildings were finished, the stores for the colony were landed with some little "pomp and circumstance," in order to impress the natives with respect. The men were paraded under arms, the English colors were displayed, volleys of musketry were discharged, and were answered by the "loud-mouthed cannon" on the ship. Two of the principal chiefs of the neighboring tribes were present with many of their followers, and witnessed with wonder these, to them, strange proceedings. These chiefs were entertained with marks of great respect, and were so favorably impressed by the appearance and bearing of the

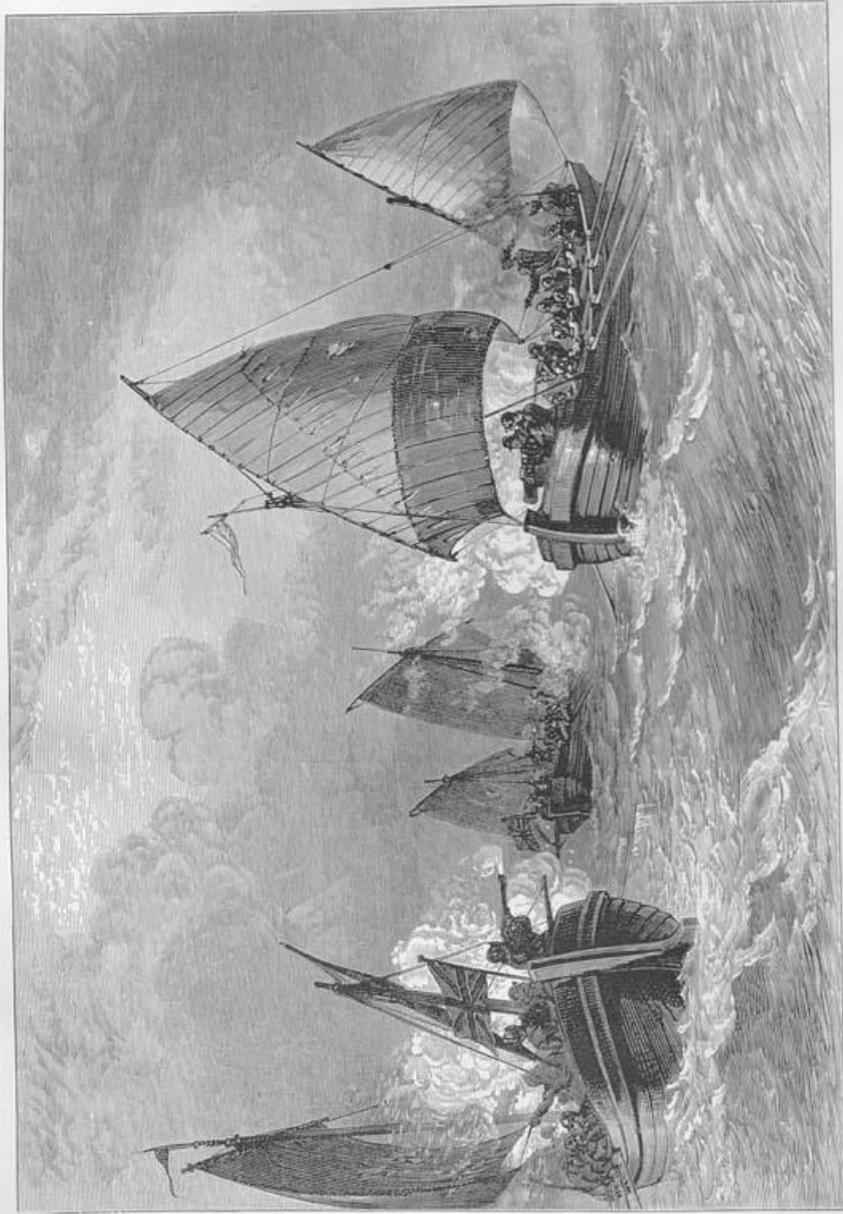
new-comers that they charged their followers to faithfully keep the league of friendship made with the English.

During the year that the village was jointly occupied, the Indians lived in the greatest harmony with the whites. After their corn was harvested, most of them departed to "pitch their tents" with their friends who had sought a home more remote from the dreaded Susquehanocks, though there were still portions of the tribe within visiting distance. The colonists then commenced in earnest to establish themselves in more commodious and permanent houses. While they were still engaged in this work, a change came over the temper and conduct of the Indians, who began to manifest suspicion and hostility towards the colonists with whom they were lately on such friendly terms. This change was caused by the efforts of William Clayborne, who had from the outset contested the grant to Lord Baltimore.

Clayborne, under certain trading privileges, had established a settlement on the Isle of Kent, in Chesapeake Bay, and was not disposed to acknowledge Lord Baltimore's authority. His conduct was so offensive that Lord Baltimore sent orders from England for his arrest. Whether this was at first attempted or not, Clayborne was not taken, and he aroused the suspicions and hostility of the Indians towards the proprietary's colonists by representing that they were Spaniards, and equally enemies of the Virginians and natives. The religious ceremonies of the Catholic settlers served to give credit to this story, and the Indians suddenly withdrew from St. Mary's, and exhibited signs of hostility. The colonists at once built a fort for security in case an attack should be made. The Indians, however, were more disposed to avoid the colonists than to attack them; and after a time, learning that they had been deceived, they renewed their friendly intercourse.

Meanwhile, Clayborne, not content with stirring up the Indians against the infant colony, undertook to assert his claims by force. He fitted out an armed pinnace under the command of one Lieutenant Warren, with "Thomas Smith, gentleman," as second in command, and assumed to commission these officers to seize and capture any of the pinnaces or other vessels belonging to Lord Baltimore's colonists. With fourteen men this formidable naval expedition sailed from the Isle of Kent to capture whatever craft belonging to the colonists of





FIRST NAVAL BATTLE ON CHESAPEAKE BAY.

St. Mary's might be found abroad in the waters of Chesapeake Bay. The search was not fruitless; for Governor Calvert, being informed of Clayborne's warlike measures, fitted out two armed pinnaces under the command of Thomas Cornwallis, one of his "assistants," with instructions to capture the hostile force. The two expeditions met near the eastern shore of the bay, and Clayborne's men, regardless of the superior armament opposed to them, first opened fire upon Cornwallis's boats. The fire was immediately returned, and for a brief space a "naval" battle disturbed the waters of the Chesapeake and startled the natives on the shore, who saw with wonder the white men shooting each other. The result was, that Lieutenant Warren and two of his men were killed on board Clayborne's boat, and Cornwallis lost one man; and at last Clayborne's boat and men were captured and taken back in triumph to St. Mary's.

Clayborne himself, after fitting out his hostile armament, got out of harm's way by going to Virginia; and Governor Calvert sent commissioners to demand his extradition as an offender against the laws of Maryland. Governor Harvey, of Virginia, however, sent Clayborne with the witnesses against him to England, where he again attempted to make good his claim to the Isle of Kent; but though the king was disposed to recognize his title as just, the lords commissioners of the council, after a full examination of the rival claims, decided that the lands in question absolutely belonged to Lord Baltimore, and their decision received the royal confirmation. At a later period, however, Clayborne again asserted his claims by force, and for a time succeeded.

The settlers of Kent proved a rather troublesome adjunct to Lord Baltimore's colony. After the capture of Clayborne's pinnace, the authority of the colonial government was, in a measure, extended over them, and they were represented in the assembly which was soon after convened. But there was among them an insolent and mutinous company, guilty of numerous offences great and small, who defied the processes of law issued against them, and conspired with some of the Indians against the peaceful settlers at St. Mary's. So serious was their rebellious and hostile conduct that Governor Calvert at last proceeded with an armed force to reduce them to obedience.

Three years after the battle of the pinnaces, "Thomas Smith, gentleman," who was second in command in Clayborne's boat, was indicted and brought to trial before the assembly for a piratical assault on Cornwallis's boats, and for murdering one Ashmore, one of the crew. He was found guilty, and condemned to be hanged without benefit of clergy,—which sentence was probably executed. At the same time an inquiry was made into the killing of Clayborne's men, more for the purpose of justifying the act than of ascertaining any new facts concerning the affair, and after the taking of abundant testimony adverse to Clayborne, it was found that Cornwallis and his men "did lawfully and in their own necessary defence" kill the parties in question.

INDIAN HOSTILITIES AND CIVIL CONFLICTS.



THOUGH the Maryland colonists met with a friendly reception from the Indians at St. Mary's, they were destined in a very few years, like most of the settlers of other colonies, to encounter the hostility of the natives. This hostility was partly induced by the machinations of Clayborne, and was partly the result of an ancient enmity entertained by the Susquehanocks and others towards the small tribes which were friendly to the colonists. When the latter extended their plantations beyond the immediate vicinity of the village of St. Mary's, they began to experience annoyance from the more distant tribes. Their cattle and swine were stolen, their crops were damaged, and finally some of the settlers were murdered.

Measures were at once taken for the defence of the colony: each householder was required to be provided with arms and ammunition, and to be ready to respond to any alarm, like "minute-men" of a later period, and to join their neighbors for common defence. The settlers were, moreover, allowed to retaliate upon the offending savages; the people of the Isle of Kent, who were threatened with a serious attack from the natives of the eastern shore, were specially authorized "to shoot, wound, or kill any Indian whatsoever coming upon the said island." Fortunately the Indians at that period were without fire-arms; and the few able-bodied men of the island were sufficient to deter the more numerous savages from encountering the terrors of gunpowder. A few years later some of the Indians obtained arms, and became pro-

ficient in the use of them, through the Dutch and Swedish settlers on the Delaware and illicit traders in Virginia, and their hostility was then more formidable. It became necessary to concentrate the inhabitants of the outlying plantations into places of greater safety, and to provide strong places of refuge for the women and children. Several expeditions—none of them, however, very formidable—were sent against the hostile Indians; but there does not appear to have been any considerable conflict, and the results were of no great consequence. The colonists, for the most part, acted on the defensive, the government sought to prevent war rather than provoke it, and the history of Maryland is not darkened by the story of any great massacres by the savages, or any fierce battles between them and the whites.

A more serious danger soon threatened the peace of the colony and the rights of the proprietary, if not the lives of the colonists. The civil conflict in England between the king and parliament, of which some of the colonies availed themselves to manage their affairs with greater independence, was the occasion of trouble to Maryland. The liberal concessions and tolerant policy of Lord Baltimore had induced a considerable number of Puritans, who had been banished from Virginia, or had come voluntarily from New England, to settle within his lordship's province, at a place they called Providence, near the present site of Annapolis. Although enjoying religious liberty and civil rights, their hatred of Papacy made them look with little favor on the government or rights of Lord Baltimore. Their sympathies were with parliament, and he was known to be a supporter of the king. When at last parliament triumphed, they were disposed to assert the triumph of the same principle in Maryland, and since the royal prerogative was destroyed in England, the proprietary's prerogative must be denied in Maryland.

In the Isle of Kent some of the inhabitants had always been hostile to Lord Baltimore's claims, and these, also, availed themselves of the times, which necessarily weakened the proprietary's government, to manifest their opposition. Clayborne, too, was ready to avenge what he considered his wrongs. He had been sent to England by the governor of Virginia to answer to the charges preferred by Lord Baltimore's government. His claims had been overruled; but by royal favor

he returned to Virginia with a lucrative office. When, however, the fortunes of the king waned, he joined the parliamentary party. He now came to Maryland, determined, through civil commotion, to reap some advantage, or at least to gratify his revenge. About the same time one Ingle, who had been proclaimed a traitor to the king, came over and instigated a rebellion among the discontented spirits of Maryland. With him Clayborne joined, and, proclaiming popular rights against the rights of the proprietary, they raised so formidable an insurrection that the governor was unable to contend against it, and was obliged to fly to Virginia. The insurgents retained control of the colony for a year; but their mismanagement was such that the people were glad to have the old order of things restored. The governor returned, and a general amnesty for a season promised peace.

But the troubles of the colony were not over. Clayborne and Richard Bennett of Virginia were appointed, with certain naval officers, commissioners for reducing that colony to due obedience to the Commonwealth of England. Maryland was at first included in the instructions to these commissioners; but it appearing that Lord Baltimore and the government of his province were not disaffected towards parliament, it was thought best not to disturb that colony. A little ambiguity in the instructions, however, served to give an excuse to Clayborne for extending the offices of the commission to Maryland as well as to Virginia. At this time Governor Calvert was dead, and had been succeeded by Thomas Greene, who was subsequently removed by Lord Baltimore, and William Stone, a Protestant, appointed in his place.

Having reduced Virginia to submission to the parliament, Clayborne and Bennett repaired to Maryland to effect the "reducement" of that colony also. The Puritans, who now formed a considerable part of the population of Maryland, gave the commissioners a cordial reception; and with their support the government of Lord Baltimore was subverted. Governor Stone's commission was taken from him; but it was proposed to continue him in office if he would renounce his allegiance to Lord Baltimore, and exercise authority under parliament. This he refused to do; and a temporary and inefficient government was established, and continued some months, while Clayborne and Bennett were in Virginia. Returning to Maryland, the commissioners finding that the people

desired that Governor Stone should be reinstated, and he, from policy and a desire to protect the interests of Lord Baltimore, acquiesced in the terms of the commissioners, except that his allegiance to Lord Baltimore should await further commands from England, he was again made governor.

A new assembly was chosen, from which Roman Catholics were excluded, and were not allowed even to vote for the burgesses. Forgetting the tolerant spirit in which Lord Baltimore had permitted them to come into his province and enjoy their religion undisturbed, the Puritans, in their triumph, passed severe laws against Papacy, and imposed various disabilities on the Roman Catholics. While the affairs of the colony were conducted with apparent quiet, though it made little progress in numbers or prosperity, there was naturally discontent in that part where the Roman Catholics predominated; and Governor Stone bided his time for a new revolution.

Meanwhile Cromwell had become Lord Protector of England, and Lord Baltimore, being on amicable terms with him, secured the recognition of his title and authority in Maryland. A messenger having arrived from England bringing this important intelligence, and instructions from Lord Baltimore, Stone issued a proclamation announcing the accession of Cromwell, to whom alone the authority of the lord proprietary was subordinate. He also declared a general amnesty for all offences, except to such persons and offences as had been excepted in former pardons, and excepting also all rebellion, conspiracy, and combination against the lord proprietary's rights. This proclamation was followed by the removal from office of Richard Brooke, one of the council, and other Puritans, and by other measures to re-establish Lord Baltimore's authority.

These proceedings were soon reported to Bennett and Clayborne, in Virginia; and, with questionable authority, they repaired again to Maryland to reduce the colony to obedience once more, having provided for an armed force to follow them to assist in the work. With a force of the Puritans at Providence, or New Arundel, before him, and another advancing from Virginia in his rear, Governor Stone saw the necessity of submitting, and he accordingly met the commissioners and surrendered his power. The commissioners appointed William

Fuller and other Puritans to administer the government under the Protector, "and in his name only, and no other." All Roman Catholics were removed from office, and a law was passed by the assembly, which was soon after convened, to restrain the exercise of the "Popish religion."

For a time the affairs of the colony were conducted to the satisfaction of the Puritans of Anne Arundel, and to the discomfort and annoyance of the Catholics of St. Mary's. Stone, though he had submitted to the commissioners, still claimed to be the rightful governor, as the representative of Lord Baltimore, and only awaited some further instructions from the proprietary to again assert his authority. At last a vessel arrived bringing the expected instructions, and the information that the Protector had confirmed Lord Baltimore's power. Governor Stone, acting on this intelligence, immediately took measures to assert the proprietary's authority. He organized a military force of about two hundred of the yeomanry of St. Mary's, captured some arms and the colonial records, which were in a house on the Patuxent, where the Puritan government was wont to meet, and with a number of small vessels proceeded towards New Arundel, or Providence. Near the mouth of the Severn he landed his force, and marched towards the Puritan settlement. To messengers who were sent to inquire his purpose, he announced that he sought to re-establish Lord Baltimore's authority, which was recognized by the Protector. The Puritans, putting no faith in this assertion, prepared to meet force with force. A large ship was pressed into their service, and proceeding to the mouth of the Severn, opened fire upon Stone's force. At the same time a land force about equal to Stone's advanced to meet him. Finally the opposing armies met, and a conflict ensued. The Puritans, with characteristic enthusiasm, shouting "God is our strength!" commenced the fight; and Stone's men, crying "Hey, for Saint Mary's!" responded with a few shot. But the battle was brief; the onset of the Puritans was too much for the yeomanry of St. Mary's, and many of them having fallen, killed or wounded, Stone, with the rest of his men, cried for quarter, and surrendered.

The success of the Puritans was complete, and they were disposed to follow it up by putting an end to Stone's pretensions. By a sum-

mary process he with eight or nine others, members of his council, or prominent men, were tried and condemned to death. Four of them were hanged; but the Puritan soldiers, more prudent if not more merciful than their leaders, opposed the execution of Stone, and some of the women interceded for others of the condemned, and they were accordingly spared. They were, however, detained as prisoners until the will of the Protector with regard to Lord Baltimore's authority should be known; and in the meantime their property was sequestrated.

The Puritan agents and Lord Baltimore each endeavored to secure a recognition of their claims by the Protector, and the controversy continued for some time. The matter was finally referred to the commissioners of trade, who reported in favor of the proprietary. Although this report was not then confirmed by the Protector, who was too much engaged with more important affairs to give it his attention, Lord Baltimore was encouraged to take measures to recover his rights and authority in Maryland. He appointed Josias Fendall, a zealous supporter of his rights, as governor, and also sent out his brother, Philip Calvert, as secretary, to look after his interests. As the report of the commissioners of trade was not confirmed by the Protector, the Puritans continued to maintain their authority, though the result was so doubtful that they did not presume to resort to any violent measures against the representatives of the proprietary. Meanwhile the condition of the colony was deplorable, the rival claims rendering the rights of the settlers uncertain, and the long-continued controversy preventing any accession to their numbers. At last, finding that the report in favor of the proprietary was likely to be confirmed whenever it received the attention of the Protector, to end the unhappy condition of the colony, the Puritans entered into an agreement with the representatives of Lord Baltimore, by which they recognized his title to the province and authority to rule over it, and received a confirmation of their titles, and liberty of conscience, and an acquiescence in the legality of certain of their acts. Mutual indemnity for acts done on either side during the contentions was also agreed upon. Under this agreement Lord Baltimore's authority was restored, and peace returned to Maryland.

During the civil contentions in Maryland many of the early records were lost or destroyed, while, apart from official documents, few inci-

dents of early colonial life have come down to us. At first, with the exception of the troubles caused by Clayborne and his followers, the settlers at St. Mary's enjoyed peace and quiet, and they had an opportunity to establish themselves under the liberal grants of the proprietary. At a later period they experienced the hostility of some of the more remote tribes of Indians; and then the tolerant policy of Lord Baltimore, opening the province to nonconformists from Virginia and Puritans from New England, introduced a civil strife similar to that in the mother-country; and on a small scale the conflicts of cavaliers and roundheads were repeated in Maryland. Under such circumstances the life of the colonists was too often disturbed by fears and anxiety; the frontier settlers were exposed to the attacks of the savages, and all were uncertain how soon their title to lands might be questioned, or they themselves be driven into exile. When at last Lord Baltimore's authority was re-established, and the rights of all parties were confirmed, it was a happy day for the mass of the people of both the Catholic and Puritan settlements. In the meantime they had all become jealous of their rights as Englishmen, and cherished a spirit of liberty which manifested itself in that later day when Maryland united with her sister-colonies in resistance to England.

PIONEERS OF NORTH CAROLINA.



ALEIGH'S unfortunate colonies had long been forgotten when, about the year 1660, some of the adventurous spirits of Puritan New England, in search of trade or a home in a more genial climate, entered the Cape Fear River. Though the country was not particularly attractive, the climate was mild, and the region seemed to offer sufficient advantages to induce the explorers to establish themselves there. They purchased of the Indians, who appeared to be neither very numerous nor very savage, a considerable tract of land, and commenced a settlement. They brought cattle, and established themselves as lumbermen and herdsmen. This scheme of colonization was, in the main, a commercial venture, the leading men being associated with merchants in England, and it was hoped that a prosperous trade might be created, through which the settlement would flourish. The settlers brought with them the democratic system of New England, and elected from their own number a governor and magistrates. It was not, however, a successful enterprise. The herds increased, and the pine forests furnished lumber and pitch; but the soil was not fruitful, and the colonists had little with which to trade. Some of the settlers, after a few years of fruitless toil, abandoned their land, and returning to New England gave the country a bad name. Those who remained were reduced to want, and in 1667 were obliged to seek aid from Massachusetts, whose people generously contributed to their relief, and the general court sent agents to distribute the bounty. Though

many of the colonists left, the settlement was not wholly abandoned; but those who remained were soon absorbed into a colony which came from another quarter.

This colony came from Barbadoes, and having purchased from the Indians a tract thirty-two miles square on the south bank of the Cape Fear River, settled near the New England emigrants. More fortunate than the New Englanders, they found in the pine forests of Carolina the commodities for a moderately prosperous trade, and exported lumber and staves to the West Indies in quantities sufficient to give them a fair supply of the necessaries of life. The success of the colony invited further emigration, the New England emigrants who remained in the country were absorbed into it, and in two years it numbered more than six hundred settlers.

About the same time that the settlements were made on the Cape Fear River, a different class of emigrants from Virginia, led by higher motives, settled in the wilderness along the banks of the Chowan River, in the northern part of Carolina, a region which afterwards received the name of Albemarle. The nonconformists, who met with intolerance and persecution in Virginia, where the English church was established, had sought homes beyond the limits of that colony; and in the forests of North Carolina established themselves on scattered plantations, where they were under no restraint in the exercise of their religion, and no subjection to obnoxious laws. Dealing fairly with the natives, they experienced only friendship and hospitality at their hands, and were under no necessity to congregate in villages for common defence, or to keep fire-arms except for the purpose of killing game with which the woods and waters abounded. In their humble sylvan homes, scattered through the wilderness and along the banks of the river, they found contentment, peace, and religious freedom, free from license on the one hand and austerity on the other; and when, some years later, George Fox visited them, he found a people imbued with something of his own spirit, who gave him a cordial welcome, and among whom he enjoyed a season of rest and successful teaching of his doctrines in their families. At this early period Albemarle was a veritable Arcadia.

But while these adventurers and fugitives were establishing themselves in the wilds of Carolina, a more ambitious scheme for colonizing

and disposing of that territory was projected in England. A company of courtiers, among whom were the Duke of Albemarle and Lord Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, whose names have been given to the geography of Carolina, obtained from Charles II. a grant of a province from the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude to the river San Matteo. This grant was of extraordinary liberality on the part of the king, and gave the proprietaries nearly absolute authority over their domain. They could not only dispose of the lands as they saw fit, but could establish whatever government they chose, with the absolute power of autocrats, save that they owed a nominal allegiance to the king.

Shaftesbury was the ablest and most active of the proprietaries, and was most earnest in his endeavors to realize advantages from the grant. In principle he was alike opposed to absolute monarchy and to democracy, and believed in a powerful nobility as the bulwark of safety against the prerogatives of absolutism on the one hand and of popular sovereignty on the other. He sought, therefore, to establish in this new province a government based on the principles which he had always advocated; and he called to his aid John Locke, whose genius he had discovered, though the philosopher had not then attained to the distinction which he afterwards achieved. Locke sympathized with the views of Shaftesbury, and prepared an elaborate scheme of government and social order, complete in all its details, and designed for the exclusive benefit of an aristocracy of nobles.

In this scheme the eight proprietaries constituted a body of sovereigns whose rights were hereditary, and whose number, always limited to eight, was to be kept full, in case of the decease of any of them without heirs, by the election of a successor by the survivors. Under them there were to be two orders of nobility,—landgraves, or earls, and caciques, or barons,—and in these nobles, together with the proprietaries, was vested the legislative power. The entire province was to be divided into counties, and each county was to have one landgrave and two barons. The land was to be divided into five equal parts, one of which was to be the inalienable property of the proprietaries, another was to be the hereditary estates of the landgraves and barons, and the remaining three fifths was to be reserved for the commons as tenants,

or held by lords of manors who did not belong to the nobility, but were to possess certain judicial powers in their respective districts. The tenants were to hold their lands at a fixed rent, and could never become proprietors of the soil; but they and their children, through successive generations, were to remain only tenants "under the jurisdiction of their lord, without appeal." Moreover, the church of England was declared to be the established church of the province.

It is difficult to conceive a scheme of government and social order less adapted to the genius of the liberty-loving Englishmen who sought homes in the new world, and events proved that it was impossible to set up such a feudal system in the wilds of Carolina. Soon after obtaining their grant, and before Locke had prepared his famous scheme, the proprietaries had, with a liberality not at all consonant with their subsequent purposes, allowed privileges to the settlers of Albemarle and Cape Fear, under which they had established simple popular governments, and managed their affairs successfully and quietly. Accustomed to self-government, and believing they were entitled to the soil which they had purchased of the natives and wrested from the wilderness, these pioneers were not the men to submit to the establishment of a system so utterly at variance with their ideas of liberty and their hopes of prosperity.

The settlers at Albemarle had increased in numbers by the accession of emigrants from New England and Bermuda, and under a government elected by themselves, and a few simple laws framed to meet their necessities and condition, they lived peacefully and happily. Their governor, Stevens, was recognized, and their laws were approved by the proprietaries, who had also confirmed to them their lands on favorable terms, and they were undisturbed by fears of oppression. Their wants which were not supplied from their own fields and herds were met by a limited trade with New England, in which they exchanged their small surplus of products for a few foreign necessities. They were lovers of civil and religious freedom, and in their scattered homes they realized it more fully than any other colonists in America.

But they had enjoyed their happy condition, under a government of their own choice, only for a few years when it was seriously disturbed. In 1670 the proprietaries transmitted to Governor Stevens the

new constitution framed by Locke, with instructions to introduce it in the place of the existing order of affairs. The governor, recognizing his allegiance to the proprietaries, promulgated the new scheme; but it was so contrary to the democratic ideas of the people, and so nullified the rights they had hitherto enjoyed, that they would not tolerate any attempt to enforce it. Repeated efforts to introduce it were doomed to successive failures, and though the existing government was superseded by the proprietaries, the new one was persistently rejected, and the assembly under the old form was still maintained, and exercised its authority, though its only right to do so was derived from the will of the people, and not from the proprietaries of the province. Locke's scheme was a machine that would not run even if the way had been smooth, much less where there were obstacles to overcome, and there was no power to remove them. Its earls and barons, and its officers for the division of lands, were not there, and the proprietaries had no means to enforce their demands. The people of Albemarle, therefore, continued to live under a government of disputed authority; but as no force was used against them, they enjoyed the same freedom as before, and found peace in their quiet homes. It was at this period that George Fox visited them, and his doctrines did not make them any more willing to accept the new scheme.

Governor Stevens, after several years, during which he had in vain attempted to introduce the new constitution, died, and the colony was left without a governor. At this stage the proprietaries, with a wise concession to the notions of the people, proposed that the assembly should elect a governor; and Mr. Cartwright, the speaker, was chosen. The new governor was no more successful than his predecessor in introducing the new system of government. The people and the assembly were utterly opposed to it, and while no attempt at force was used, either to establish or resist the new constitution, the colonists were determined not to submit to it. After two years of trial, Cartwright went to England to lay the condition of the colony before the proprietaries; and at the same time Eastchurch, the new speaker, was sent by the assembly to present their view of the matter.

The proprietaries, without abandoning their purpose, seem to have been inclined to adopt a conciliatory course, and appointed Eastchurch

governor of the colony. But at the same time they appointed Miller, a man exceedingly obnoxious to the people of Albemarle, secretary and collector of customs. Meanwhile the colonists, left to themselves for a year, had managed their affairs quietly in their own way, and during that time had received a considerable accession of refugees from Virginia, who, after the failure of Bacon's rebellion, had fled from persecution. These refugees were of a character that made the Carolina colony still more determined in its purpose of self-government, and more ready to resist with force any oppression from the mother-country.

Eastchurch did not at once repair to Carolina; but while he lingered in the West Indies, under the attractions of a lady with large fortune, Miller came and assumed the office of acting governor as well as collector of customs. He undertook to enforce the navigation acts so obnoxious to all the colonies, and imposed a duty on all tobacco and other commodities exported to New England, whose traders then monopolized the limited commerce of Carolina. The burden was a heavy one for the infant colony, and its injustice aroused the people of Carolina, hitherto unaccustomed to such impositions from abroad, to resistance. An insurrection was organized under the lead of John Culpepper, and, announcing the reasons for their acts, the people rose, and imprisoned Miller and his assistants, with the exception of one who joined in the insurrection. Having overthrown the government of the proprietaries, and nullified the navigation acts, the people again established a government of their own choice, and good order and content were once more for a season restored. Culpepper was then sent to England to negotiate a compromise with the proprietaries, whose rights to the province, under the royal grant, had never been disputed. While in England, serious charges were brought against him, and he was finally indicted for treason. Though protesting his right to be tried in Carolina, where the alleged offence was committed, his persecutors succeeded in bringing him to trial in England, and he would doubtless have been convicted had not Shaftesbury himself defended him, and secured his acquittal.

The next move of the proprietaries was to send one of their own number, Sothel, to Carolina to administer the government; but on his passage to America he was captured by pirates, and the colony was

again left to manage its own affairs. The people elected the governor and other officers, who were for the time being confirmed by the proprietaries. The latter, indeed, found that it would be more for their interest to conciliate the colonists, rather than have a contest with them, and on condition of the acknowledgment of their authority, granted a general amnesty. While permitted to regulate their own affairs, the colonists were contented and happy. Under their simple laws they enjoyed the freedom which they had sought in the wilderness, and a nominal allegiance to the proprietaries did not disturb them, so long as the model constitution and offensive laws were not imposed upon them.

But at last Sothel, having been released by his captors, came to assume the authority intrusted to him. He proved a rapacious officer, who sought to gratify his own avarice, rather than to advance the welfare of the province, or to promote the interests of his associates. He used his authority to monopolize the trade with the Indians, imposed unjust taxes, demanded exorbitant fees for administrative acts, and in various ways contrived to bring profits into his own pockets. His administration was of a mean order, and he was not guilty of any flagrant acts of oppression, else the independent yeomen of Carolina would not have endured him for five years. But his numerous petty acts of annoyance and injustice at length became unendurable, and the people once more rebelled. Sothel had no force with which to resist the popular uprising, and without any conflict he was deposed from office, and condemned by the assembly to a year's banishment and perpetual exclusion from office. Having wronged his associates, as well as the people of Carolina, Sothel was glad to escape with this punishment.

The colonists boldly appealed to the proprietaries for justification, and resumed their own government in full confidence that their rebellious acts would again be pardoned. The proprietaries, defrauded by their associate, could scarcely complain that he had been deposed by the colonists, and they began to realize how difficult was the task to impose upon this free people an obnoxious government. Left to themselves, the colonists maintained an orderly and peaceful state of affairs, prospering moderately, and enjoying that freedom and independence

which they prized more than prosperity, and for the sake of which they had sought homes in this pleasant wilderness. After the revolution in England, the efforts to impose Locke's model system of government upon them gradually ceased; and when at a later period other impositions were attempted, it was found that the spirit of freedom which had animated the early settlers still lived in Carolina.

The Cape Fear colonists did not manifest the same spirit of independence shown by those of Albemarle; they were more devoted to trade; and the proprietaries found less difficulty in dealing with them, though the model government was scarcely better received. There were few interests common to both settlements, and not much concert of action between them, though the measures of the proprietaries applied to both alike, and after some of the earlier troubles, Cape Fear appears to have had a separate government. The rapid growth of this settlement during the first two or three years after its commencement did not continue, and most of the new immigrants sought more attractive regions than those in the immediate vicinity of the first settlement.

The fertile savannas of South Carolina offered more encouragement to the planter, and the settlement between the Ashley and Cooper rivers more advantages to the trader.

SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE "MODEL
CONSTITUTIONS."

THE settlement of South Carolina was commenced under the auspices of the proprietaries, who sent out a small but well-supplied company of emigrants, with Captain William Sayle as governor, who established themselves at first at Port Royal, and afterwards removed to the banks of the Ashley River. The site selected for the settlement was too far up the river for commercial purposes, the depth of water not being sufficient for large vessels; and ten years after the first landing of the emigrants a more favorable position was selected at Oyster Point, between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, where a town was laid out and named, in honor of the king, Charleston. The first settlement was then abandoned, and no trace of it remains except the outlines of a moat, which probably formed a part of the defences against the Indians.

Though the settlers on the Ashley were not exposed to the rigors of a severe climate, the low lands and the excessive heats of summer, followed by chilling winds, subjected them to greater dangers, and they suffered not a little from sickness. Unlike the pioneers at Albemarle, they found the Indians hostile, and instead of attempting to conciliate them, they relied upon their arms for protection; and this hostile spirit on the part of the colonists continued for many years, resulting in shameful wrongs to the Indians, and occasional deeds of revenge upon the whites. Whether they were felling trees in the forest, or gathering

oysters on the flats, some of the settlers were ever on guard with their arms to watch for the stealthy savage. At a later period, enmity towards the Indians, combined with avarice, led the colonists to encourage war between the different tribes, and to obtain from the belligerents their captives, that they might sell them as slaves in the West Indies. And, not content with this, at one time war was waged on the Indians for the evident purpose of profiting by the capture of prisoners to be sold into slavery.

Among the early emigrants to South Carolina were many nonconformists, or dissenters, some of them men of substance, who, fearing a renewal of persecution under a monarch who was known to favor Romanism, sought a refuge in the new world. With these, however, came others who were "the ill livers of the pretended churchmen," and by no means contributed to the peace and good order of the colony. Some men of this stamp were deputies appointed by the proprietaries, and at an early day there was a division of the people into parties which continued, with some changes, for a long time, and led to many troubles. On the one side were those whose interest was apparently identified with that of the proprietaries, and most of the "pretended churchmen," "ill livers," and reckless adventurers, who had sought to better their fortunes by emigration; on the other were nearly all of the dissenters and some churchmen who formed the most sober, substantial, and valuable portion of the settlers. The men composing the latter party had that spirit of independence and love of liberty which characterized the middling class of English emigrants, especially of the nonconformist sects, and which led them to oppose oppressive or disagreeable measures with boldness, and sometimes to resort to insurrection and revolution.

Though the proprietaries sent out the first colonists, and took great pains to encourage emigration and promote the growth of the colony, they found it no easier to establish the model constitution in South Carolina than among the settlers of Albemarle, who had planted themselves there before the proprietaries received their charter. The absurdity of creating landgraves and caciques among a small company of adventurers, with all the grand officers prescribed by the model scheme, was apparent, and the proprietaries accordingly sent over a body of

temporary laws for the government of the colony. But even these were ignored by the colonists, who set up a government for themselves, consisting of a council and assembly, who passed such laws as the condition of the colony required.

The first settlement was but fairly established when Governor Sayle fell a victim to the unhealthy damps of the country, and he was succeeded by Sir John Yeamans, who was governor of the Cape Fear settlement, and now extended his authority over the settlement on the Ashley. The colony was not yet self-sustaining, and being still dependent on the proprietaries for supplies, was sometimes reduced to a meagre allowance. An accession of more industrious emigrants, however, would have made the new colony reasonably prosperous had the governor sought to promote its welfare. But the only business of Yeamans seems to have been to monopolize what little trade there was, "buying of the poor planters their provisions at low prices, and shipping them off to Barbadoes." This policy, which made Carolina "subservient to that island in provisions and timber," was satisfactory neither to the colonists nor to the proprietaries. Yeamans was recalled, and Joseph West, a man of excellent qualifications for the place, and the choice of the people, was commissioned in his stead. West administered the government for eight years with prudence and moderation, which made him popular with the better class of settlers, and during that time the colony was increased by the coming of many emigrants from England and the northern colonies. But the model "unalterable constitutions," though modified to meet the views of some wealthy persons who proposed to emigrate, were opposed and derided by the people and the assembly, and were of little account in Carolina.

Among other things the model constitution prescribed that the colonists should maintain friendly relations with the aborigines, and treat them with justice and humanity. But, even under the generally wise administration of West, this provision was little regarded; and injuries inflicted on both sides led to a war with the Westoes, one of the most powerful of the neighboring tribes. A short experience of the dangers of such a war, however, convinced the colonists that nothing was to be gained by its continuance, and a peace was concluded with mutual promises of forbearance. To prevent the recurrence of hostilities, the

proprieties appointed commissioners to decide all questions between the colonists and the natives, and all the tribes within four hundred miles of Charleston were nominally taken under the protection of the government. But these measures were of little practical use; for not only some of the principal inhabitants, but even officers of the government, as well as reckless adventurers, encouraged strife between the Indian tribes with a view to obtain captives to be reduced to slavery. When called to account by the proprietaries for these evil practices, the governor and council justified a policy which, as they alleged, secured safety to the colony by reducing the strength of the tribes in their mutual wars. By repeated remonstrances the proprietaries at length secured the passage of a law by the colonial assembly prohibiting such traffic in Indian captives. But it had proved so profitable a business that in time the next step naturally followed, and hatred of the Indians led to hostile acts and the enslavement of all natives who could be captured.

Negro slavery had been early introduced into Carolina, it being believed that the whites could not endure labor in such a climate; and the ease and importance which the owners of slaves enjoyed led to a rapid extension of an institution which was then almost universally recognized as just, and was here regarded as a necessity. To reduce captive Indians to slavery was therefore no very violent offence against the morality of the times, and while it was not an act of public war, but of the schemes of avaricious individuals, it was condemned by those who opposed it, more because of its dangers to the community than on account of its inhumanity.

Meanwhile the favorable reports of the mild climate and fertile soil of Carolina induced a considerable emigration. Lord Cardross, with a company of Scotch Presbyterians who sought a refuge from persecution, settled at Port Royal, where they attempted to set up a government for themselves; but the authorities of the elder colony resented this assumption, and with violence compelled them to submit to the government at Charleston. Lord Cardross returned to Scotland, and others of the colonists left Port Royal. Those who remained were too few to resist the Spaniards of St. Augustine, who, jealous of this encroachment upon territory which they claimed, drove the poor settlers from their newly found homes, and laid waste their little planta-

tions. Many of the unfortunate emigrants, who had crossed the ocean in the hope of finding peace and security from outrage, were glad to return to their native land, while a few mingled with the colonists on the Ashley.

Another notable body of emigrants was a company of Huguenots. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes had subjected the French Protestants to extraordinary disabilities, wrongs, and oppression, and many thousands left their native land to take refuge in Holland, Germany, and England, while a few sought homes in the new world. The tolerant policy of the first proprietors induced some of the unfortunate refugees to settle in Carolina. A considerable number came over, and received assignments of lands on the banks of the Cooper and the Santee rivers. No longer subjected to religious persecution, they forgot the sorrows of exile in their labors to establish for themselves new homes in a land as fertile and under skies as bright as they had left in sunny France. Though the proprietaries extended to them equal privileges with the English settlers, they soon experienced from the latter a treatment which dimmed the hopes that they at first indulged. The colonists shared the national hatred of Englishmen towards the French, and regarded the Huguenots as aliens, who were not entitled to the privileges which they themselves enjoyed; they denied them the rights of freemen, and refused them a representation in the assembly. They also subjected the exiles to numerous slights and indignities, and declared that their marriages were not lawful, and that their children, consequently, could not inherit their property. This declaration was a source of deep anxiety to a people who had fled from a power that had cruelly robbed them of their children; but happily they were soon reassured by the action of the proprietaries, who secured for them the rights of inheritance, and in the course of time all obstacles to their naturalization were removed, and they became incorporated with the other colonists.

The Huguenots were industrious and frugal, moral and orderly, and were a valuable addition to the colony; from them descended some of the wealthiest and most distinguished families of Carolina. They were, moreover, a religious community. "Their church," says Bancroft, "was in Charleston; and thither, on every Lord's day, gathering from their

plantations upon the banks of the Cooper, and taking advantage of the ebb and flow of the tide, they might all regularly be seen, the parents with their children, whom no bigot could now wrest from them, making their way in light skiffs along the river, through scenes so tranquil that silence was broken only by the rippling of oars and the hum of the flourishing village that gemmed the confluence of the rivers."

When West retired from the government, a rapid succession of governors, who were poorly qualified for the position, reduced the colony to a state of political distraction. The people were turbulent, the assembly opposed to the proprietary laws, and the opposing factions existing in the two branches of the "parliament" prevented the passage of any others. At this period the West India seas were infested with buccaneers who flourished on the plunder of Spanish ships and even Spanish towns. These freebooters came frequently to Charleston to obtain supplies, and to freely spend their ill-gotten gains. Though the buccaneers were not now honored in the mother-country as they had formerly been, and pirates were under the ban of civilized nations, the Charleston colonists received these lawless visitors with open arms, and entertained them as if they were heroes of an honorable war, and possessors of an honestly earned wealth. The frequent visits of these pirates, with their well-filled purses and licentious manners, did not improve the morals of the people of Charleston; and though the better portion of the colonists did not approve of such visits, there was a class of settlers in the growing town who fraternized with the pirates in spite of law or remonstrance.

The appointment of James Colleton as governor promised to secure an improvement in the condition of affairs. He was a brother of one of the proprietaries and a man of ability, and at first was well received by the people; but being devoted to the interests of his employers, when he undertook to carry out their commands or wishes, he was met by a party that opposed his measures, and disorder and contention followed. In imitation of Cromwell he drove by force the refractory members from the assembly, and indulged in other arbitrary acts against his opponents which provoked a fiercer strife. The opposition party was almost ready for insurrection against the governor, when Seth Sothel, who had a few years before been deposed from the governorship of

Albemarle, and banished from that colony, suddenly appeared in Charleston. He identified himself with the party opposed to the governor, and presuming on his interest as a proprietary, he seized the reins of government supported by the party whose cause he had espoused. He assembled a new "parliament," which impeached Colleton of high crimes and misdemeanors, banished him, and prohibited him from holding any office in the province. Colleton's followers were pursued with a vindictive spirit, and many of them were imprisoned, fined, or driven from the country. Though the arbitrary and oppressive conduct of the late government was a provocation to these violent measures, Sothel was clearly a usurper, and his proceedings gave great offence to the proprietaries in England, who recalled him under a threat of appealing to the king to enforce their commands.

The proprietaries now realized the impossibility of forcing upon the colonists of Carolina the "unalterable constitutions" framed on a theory and not on the condition of the people, and a new governor was instructed to inquire into the grievances complained of. The result was that they granted an amnesty for all past political offences, and in 1693 they resolved, "that as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request." The attempt to establish the model scheme of government was virtually abandoned, though land-graves were still appointed, and other features of an aristocracy were preserved, and a modified constitution was subsequently proposed, but never accepted by the colonists.

Notwithstanding this concession disorder still prevailed, and the people were divided into factions. The governor at last wrote to the proprietaries that it was "impossible to settle the country, except a proprietary himself was sent thither with full power to hear their grievances." Accordingly Mr. Archdale was appointed governor, with ample powers; and possessing patience and tact, he succeeded in conciliating the colonists and restoring quiet and general good order. He also secured the good-will of the Spaniards at St. Augustine by restoring some Indians belonging to their jurisdiction, who had been taken prisoners by a tribe of Carolina Indians, and he was instrumental in preventing

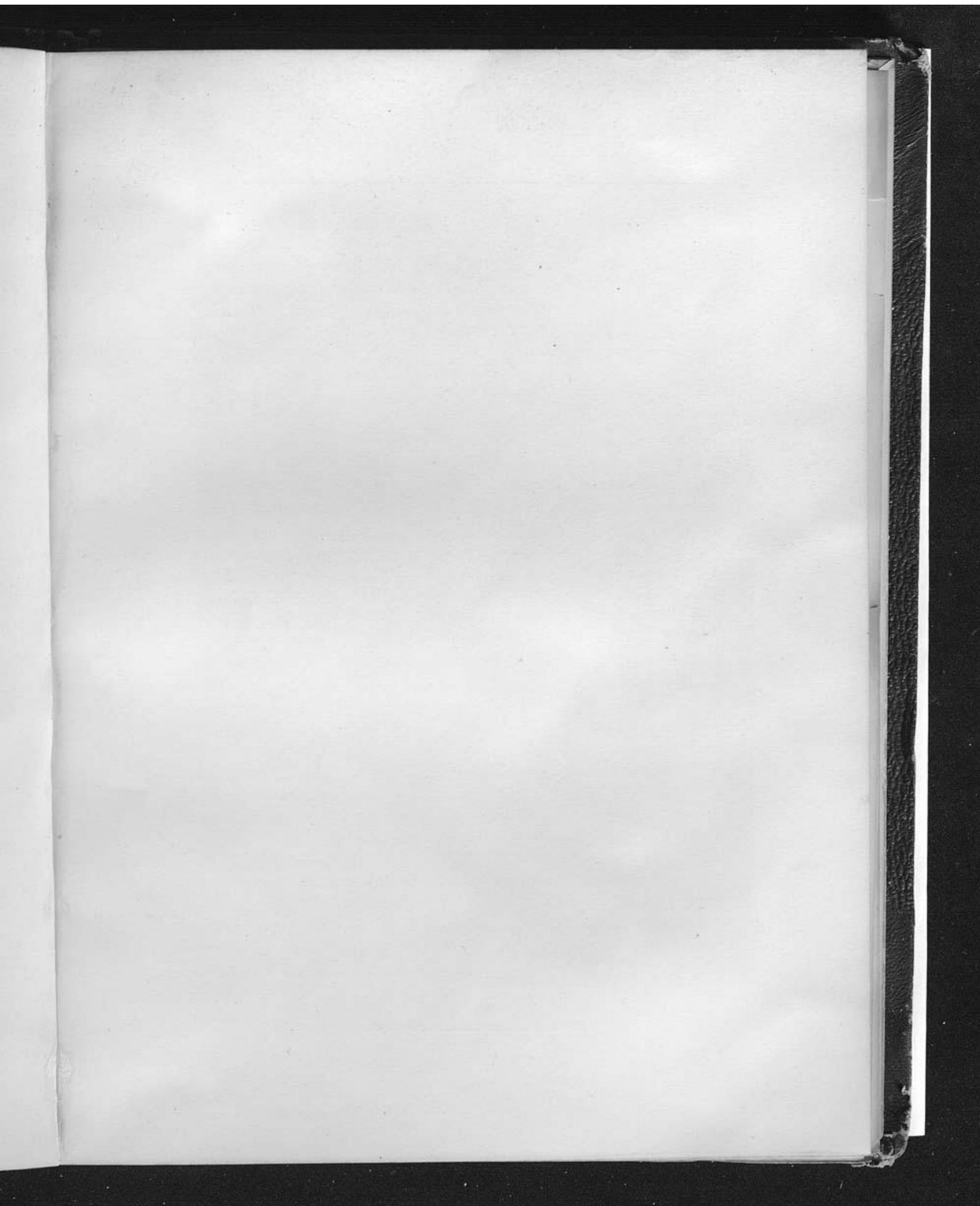
war between some of the native tribes. Archdale, by his prudence, moderation, and tact, having pacified the colony, and thereby induced an increased emigration from Europe, voluntarily relinquished the government and returned to England. So unusual was it for the Carolina governors to quit office in this manner, that he considered it important to state in his narrative of his service in the colony, that he "returned for England, being not sent for home." Governor Blake, who was chosen to succeed him, was one of the most substantial and respected of the settlers. He was a dissenter; but, like Archdale, he administered the government with such moderation and prudence that he gave general satisfaction to dissenters and churchmen alike; and he was the first to secure a maintenance from the colonial treasury for a minister of the English church in Charleston. During the four or five years that he governed the colony, peace and good order prevailed, and the comparatively long period of quiet under his administration and that of his predecessor had brought a degree of prosperity to South Carolina; but at his death, which occurred while he was in office, there was a return of evil days.

EVIL DAYS IN SOUTH CAROLINA.



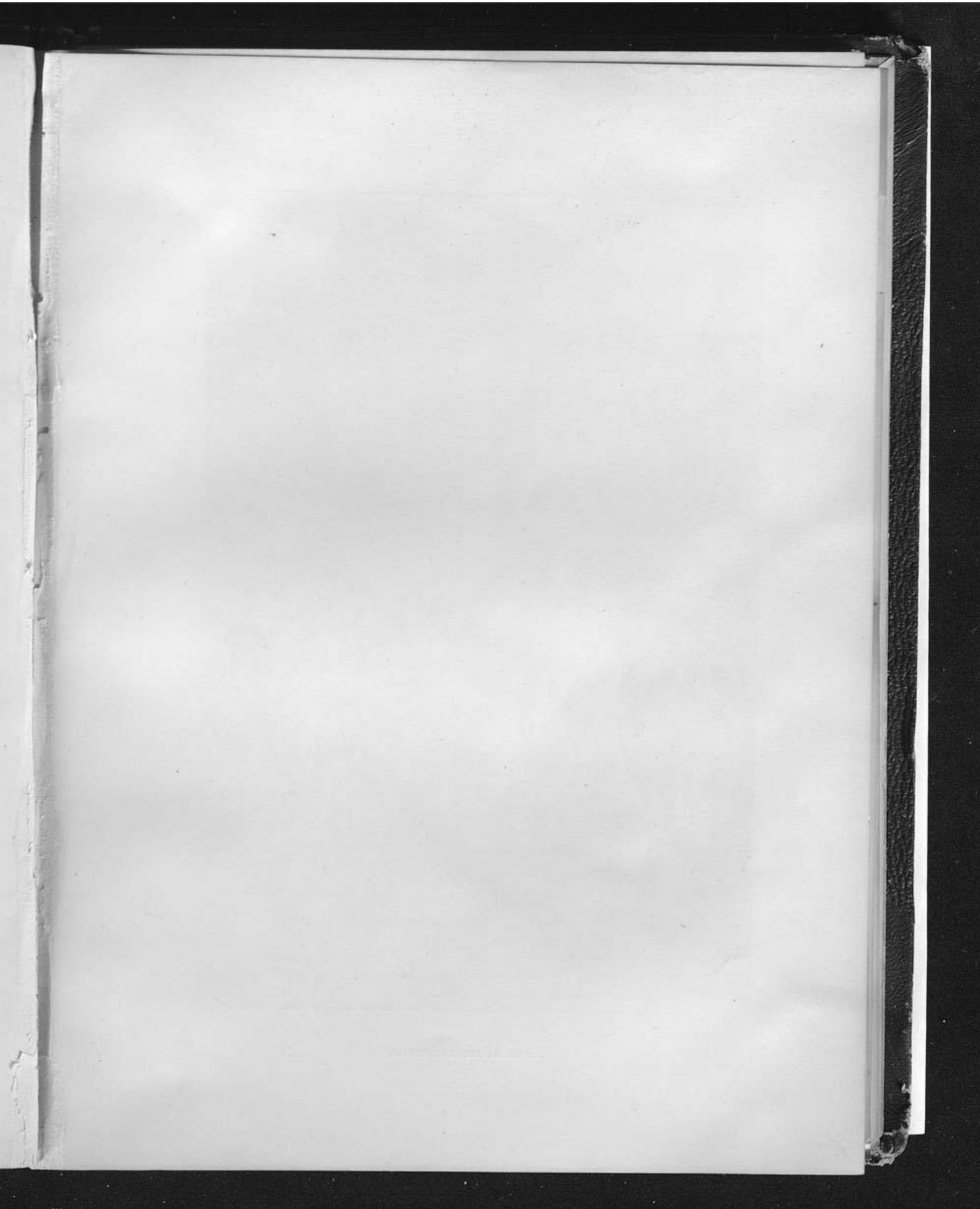
UPON the death of Governor Blake, James Moor, one of the deputies who sought the office in order to enrich himself, was chosen governor. At that time Lord Granville was the head of the proprietaries, or palatine. He was a bigoted supporter of the English church, and violent hater of dissenters, and as palatine he sought to establish in Carolina a system of intolerance which he had zealously advocated for England in parliament, but which had been rejected with strong marks of disapprobation. His hatred of dissenters, who were the "most numerous and richest people of the province," and who were opposed to Moor, led him to countenance acts of the governor which were disgraceful and ruinous to the colony.

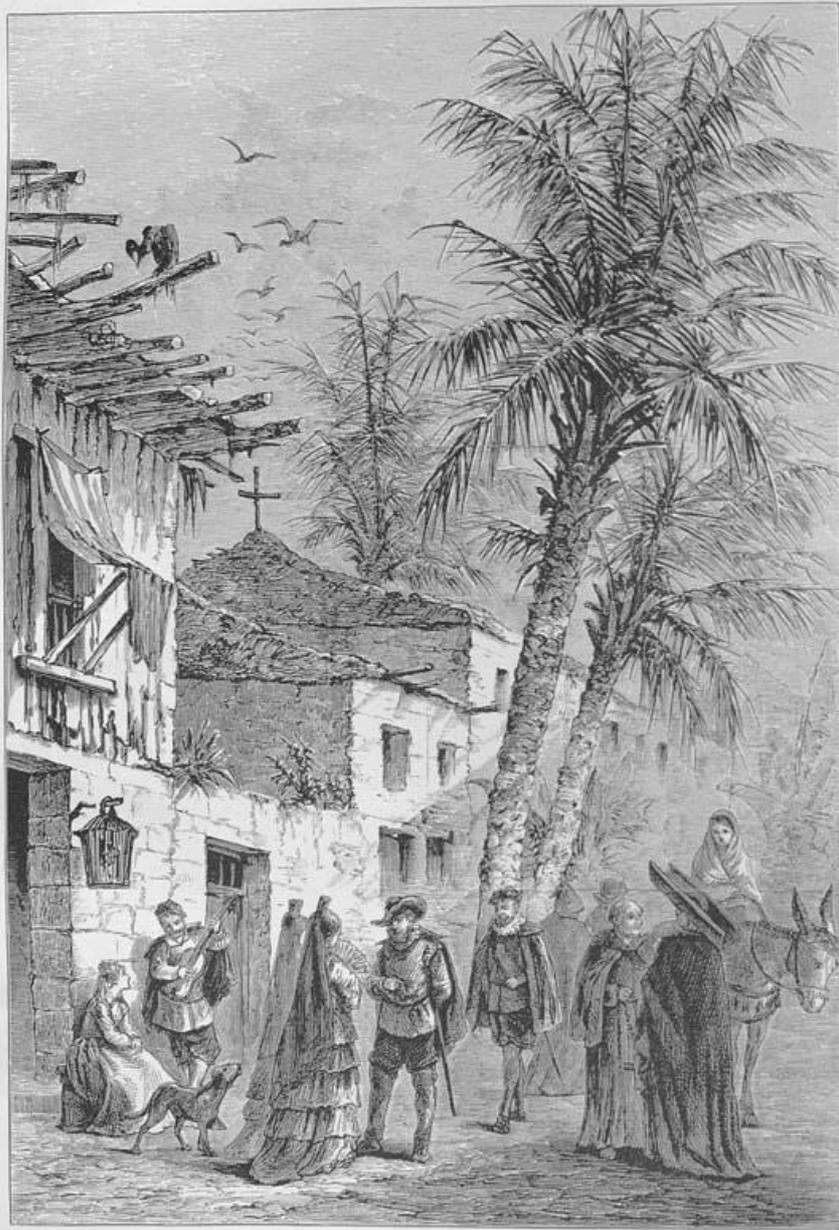
Having secured the office of governor, Moor attempted to obtain a monopoly of the trade with the Indians, and to that end had a bill introduced in the assembly; but it was rejected; and the governor, finding that he could not succeed in his purposes with that assembly, dissolved it. He subsequently called a new "parliament," and being determined to have an assembly to suit his designs, he managed the election in violation of all laws. By the laws of the colony the right of suffrage was confined to freeholders only; but under Moor's instructions the sheriff permitted aliens, strangers, servants, sailors, and even negro slaves to vote for his candidates, who were simply his tools, and some of whom were among the most profligate persons in the colony,





AN ELECTION IN CHARLESTON, 1704.





SCENE IN ST. AUGUSTINE.

and were not eligible as representatives. At that time the elections for the whole colony were held in Charleston, and with the orderly and better class of people were assembled a motley crowd of persons who had no legal right to vote, but were all supporters of the governor's candidates. This crowd gathered about the polling place, and gave their votes as they were instructed; and, not content with that, insulted and assaulted some of the better class of people who were opposed to the governor's course, and drove them from the polls.

In this manner Moor succeeded in getting a number of his tools into the assembly, "men of no sense and credit, who would vote as he would have them." Petitions were presented to set aside the election of such men, and when there appeared to be any danger that they might be excluded from the assembly, it was immediately prorogued. Meanwhile, if he could not monopolize the Indian trade, through some of his agents he engrossed the business of capturing natives and selling them into slavery, which proved as profitable as it was infamous. To distract public attention from his unlawful and discreditable course, Moor had recourse to an expedient adopted by rulers of more extensive empires, and undertook a warlike expedition against a foreign province.

The Spanish settlement of St. Augustine was the object of attack, and for this the assembly raised two thousand pounds; and six hundred whites and as many Indians were enlisted for the expedition. Of this force Moor, as general of all the forces of Carolina, took command. Impressing into his service a number of merchant vessels for transports, he embarked his troops and sailed for Florida. A part of the force, under Colonel Daniel, proceeded up the St. Johns River in boats to advance on St. Augustine upon the land side, while Moor proceeded to attack it by sea. On his way Daniel took two small Spanish settlements which were without defences, and then marching on St. Augustine, entered the town, meeting with little or no resistance. The inhabitants, alarmed while the English were yet at a distance, hastily packed their valuables and took refuge in the fort, which at this time was the strongest in America, and which was occupied by a not very large garrison. Daniel had already entered the town, when Moor arrived with the fleet. The troops were disembarked, and the whole force took up positions in the church and other buildings, and intrenched

themselves before the castle; but it was found that they could accomplish nothing without mortars and bombs. Moor accordingly sent a sloop to Jamaica to obtain the desired ordnance; but the master of the vessel, instead of sailing to Jamaica, returned to Charleston; and after waiting nearly a month in vain for his mortars, Moor dispatched Daniel on the same errand.

Meanwhile two Spanish vessels appeared in the offing; and Moor, alarmed at their magnified proportions, and no longer having the support of Daniel, who was the only able officer of the expedition, hastily raised the siege, and abandoning his ships and a large quantity of stores, retreated by land, greatly to the disgust of his Indian allies. After a long and difficult march, hastened at first by fear of pursuit, he reached Charleston, having won little credit, and lost a large amount of property. Daniel, having procured the required ordnance, returned to St. Augustine, and came near falling into the hands of the Spaniards; but he succeeded in escaping, and reached Charleston to learn the inglorious termination of the ambitious scheme.

The inglorious result of this costly expedition caused new disputes between the governor's party and his opponents. A bill was passed by the assembly to regulate elections; but it was rejected by the governor and council; and then followed a disgraceful contest. The opposition members of the assembly were insulted within doors and assaulted without. The governor appears to have encouraged the riotous proceedings by "treating" some of his lawless adherents to drink, and addressing them with inflammatory language. Many acts of violence were committed, a number of the most respectable colonists were beaten, and Mr. Ash, a member of the assembly, was carried on board a vessel and threatened with hanging or being left on a desolate island. No attempt was made by the government to suppress the riot, and when the governor was asked if he was not bound to maintain peace, he replied, "That is a question I am not obliged to answer." The lawless proceedings continued four or five days without let or hindrance, and ended rather because the rioters were tired of their work than because any authority was exerted to suppress them.

Subsequent attempts to inquire into the riot, and to punish the guilty actors, proved futile both while Moor was governor and after the

appointment of his successor. Sir Nathaniel Johnson was appointed governor; but that Moor's course was not disapproved by the palatine appears from the fact that he was made attorney-general, while Mr. Trott, his principal adviser, was made chief-justice. The subordinates of a government thus constituted were not such as to aid in the prosecution of the late governor's friends, and the efforts of his opponents were futile.

The election of a new assembly was attended with the same illegal proceedings as that above mentioned. "Jews, strangers, sailors, servants, negroes, and almost every Frenchman in Craven and Berkley counties, came down to elect, and their votes were taken, and the persons by them voted for were returned by the sheriffs." The assembly thus chosen was ripe for measures that pleased the intolerant spirit of the palatine, Lord Granville. The opponents of the governor were mostly dissenters; and to punish them the assembly passed a law requiring all persons chosen members of the commons' house of assembly "to conform to the religious worship in this province according to the church of England, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites and usage of the said church."

It has been said that "religious bigotry never disgraced South Carolina;"* but although this law originated in political dissensions rather than devotion to the church of England, it excluded dissenters, who composed two thirds of the colony, from the assembly, and "made room for the most bigoted of the faction to get in," and those admitted were "men of violent and persecuting principles." Many of the most able and substantial colonists were thus excluded from the assembly, ostensibly because they were dissenters, but really because they were in favor of a strict inquiry into the failure of the St. Augustine expedition and the riot which followed. The leading men who were thus disfranchised combined to send Mr. Joseph Ash to England to represent the condition of affairs to the proprietaries. But the governor's party, learning their purpose, endeavored to prevent the departure of Ash, who was obliged to go secretly to Virginia, whither his instructions were subsequently sent, and he sailed thence to England. He laid the complaints of his constituents before Lord Granville, the pal-

* Bancroft.

atine; but he found that intolerant gentleman in entire accord with the ruling party in Carolina, and despairing of obtaining redress, he prepared a "Representation" of the grievances of the dissenters. Before he had completed it, however, he died, and through some treachery his papers fell into the hands of the government faction. The consequence of this was that the men who had sent Mr. Ash to England were subjected to various insults and prosecutions.

Meanwhile the high-church party, being in the ascendant, passed another law for establishing religious worship according to the church of England, which was of an intolerant and persecuting spirit, entirely contrary to the charter and fundamental laws of the proprietaries, and established a lay commission to superintend religious matters, some of the individuals composing which were anything but exemplary members of the church. Under this law many persons obnoxious to the ruling party were persecuted. The assembly imprisoned whom it chose, and bade defiance to the *habeas corpus* act. Not only were dissenters persecuted, but Rev. Mr. Marston, the first clergyman of the church of England in Charleston, was subjected to like treatment because he opposed the measures of the dominant faction, and visited obnoxious dissenters. He was deprived of his salary, insulted by the governor, and "a bully lashed him causelessly with a whip, and tore his gown from his back;" for all which he could obtain no redress.

This state of affairs was unendurable, and friends of the colonists in England interceded with the proprietaries to set aside the obnoxious laws; but Lord Granville arrogantly refused to listen to such a proposal, and for himself and three others of the proprietaries signed and confirmed the laws. Nor could the injured parties obtain from him any hope of redress or relief. All other efforts failing, the agent of the colony, with some friendly London merchants, appealed to the House of Lords, who, having investigated the matter, presented an address to Queen Anne, showing that the passage of the laws was an abuse of the power granted to the proprietors by the charter, and that such power was forfeited, and asking that her Majesty reassume the authority thus abused. The result was that the queen declared the odious laws null and void, and gave directions to the attorney-general to prepare for proceeding against the charter by *quo warranto*. It does not appear that

this last measure was prosecuted any further; but the laws were repealed, and the disfranchised colonists were relieved from persecution and restored to their rights.

In another affair Governor Johnson appears in a more favorable light. In 1706 the Spaniards combined in an expedition against Carolina, and with a fleet of ten sail, carrying eight hundred whites and two hundred Indians, suddenly appeared off the harbor of Charleston. Their presence created great consternation. Charleston was at that time visited by a prevailing and fatal disease, — possibly the yellow fever, — the town was in a defenceless condition, and the number of effective men was small. Governor Johnson was at his plantation in the country; but a messenger was dispatched in all haste to inform him of the invasion. The governor immediately called out all the militia of the province, and ordered them to muster at Charleston, whither he proceeded and took command. He strengthened the existing fort, constructed another, and armed and manned all the available vessels in the harbor, which were placed under the command of Colonel Rhett. Meanwhile the enemy's fleet remained for several days outside Charleston bar, awaiting the arrival of a larger ship with the commander of the expedition, and thus affording time for these preparations for defence, and for all the militia to assemble. But having taken soundings on the bar, the ships at last passed over it and anchored inside. A force was landed on James Island and commenced war by burning the buildings there, and killing the cattle and swine. A Spanish officer was then sent to Charleston in a boat to demand a surrender of the province, under a threat of destroying the town if the demand was not complied with. Governor Johnson's force was not so large as that of the enemy; but he was determined to defend the place to the last, and he now had recourse to a ruse, which has been more than once practised under similar circumstances. By his orders the messenger was blindfolded and conducted into his presence in one of the forts, when the bandage was removed from his eyes, and he saw drawn up on parade nearly the whole body of militia. Being duly impressed with the strength of the fort and the force displayed, he was again blindfolded and conducted by a circuitous route to the other fort, while the militia were marched thither by a shorter way. Here the bandage was again removed, and

the messenger saw another fortification with a body of men as strong as that he had already observed in the work first visited. Governor Johnson then bade him carry back to his superiors for answer to their demand, that he would never surrender, that his men were prepared to meet the enemy, and would defend their homes to the last.

Whether the report of the messenger or some other cause deterred the invaders from an attack on Charleston, after a few raids on exposed houses they withdrew, and their ships disappeared from the harbor. A force of a hundred men under Captain Fenwick then proceeded to James Island, where they discovered a considerable number of the enemy, who had been left when the ships sailed. Fenwick promptly attacked them, and, after killing and wounding about thirty, took the survivors prisoners. The enemy's ships, meanwhile, had wholly disappeared from sight. Rhett's little fleet then proceeded to reconnoitre along the coast, and came upon the large ship of the missing commander of the hostile expedition at anchor in Sewee Bay. Although this ship was a frigate of that date, the commander was alarmed at the number of the Carolina vessels, or was so situated as to be placed at a disadvantage, and he surrendered without firing a gun. Rhett returned to Charleston with his prize, and the invasion of Carolina resulted in the triumph of the colonists rather than of the invaders.

The colonists of Carolina had from the first frequently experienced the hostility of the Indians, and families living on remote plantations, and unwary adventurers, had occasionally been cut off by the savages. But, for the most part, the natives had been the greatest sufferers, and had experienced the most treacherous and inhuman treatment; and it was not till 1715 that the whites realized the horrors of an Indian war, or suffered from a considerable massacre. The Yemasee Indians, who had formerly inhabited the region about St. Augustine, had, before the colonization of the southern portion of Carolina, removed to that part of the country, and dwelt in the neighborhood of Port Royal. The colonists who were settled at that place lived on friendly terms with them, and a number of traders were domiciled in the midst of the tribe. They formed an important part of Governor Moor's expedition against St. Augustine. On account of some ill-usage by the traders, and, it was

supposed, at the instigation of the Spaniards at St. Augustine, who watched with jealous eyes the growth of Carolina, the Indians suddenly determined upon a fierce and bloody war. Though they had for a time exhibited an uneasy and unfriendly feeling, the settlers did not realize the danger till the Indians, on an appointed day, massacred more than eighty of the inhabitants, with the usual savage atrocities. Consternation spread through the southern settlements, and the people who could, fled towards Charleston, while the savages were by no means disposed to rest satisfied with their first successful attack. The Yemassee were the most powerful of the native tribes in Carolina, and they were joined by nearly all the other tribes, except those who were nearest to Charleston and the neighboring settlements, and the colony was soon involved in a general Indian war. Hastily organized bodies of militia were sent to resist the savages, and several engagements took place, in some of which the whites succeeded in routing the enemy, and in others they were obliged to retreat before superior numbers. Meanwhile the savages carried on the war after their usual manner, most of the plantations in the southern part of the province were desolated, many whites murdered, and the slaves were carried off and delivered to the Spaniards at St. Augustine. The government did not promptly organize any adequate resistance; and eluding such forces as took the field, the Indians extended their ravages to the country within twenty miles of Charleston. A larger force being then called into service, the hostile natives retired, satisfied with the success they had achieved; but they were pursued, and, after one sharp battle, were driven across the Savannah. In this short war four hundred whites had been massacred or killed in battle, and the planters had suffered severely in the destruction of property and the loss of slaves.

The Indians continued restless and unfriendly, and the fears of the whites made it necessary to maintain several garrisons for their protection. These, with the cost of the war, entailed heavy burdens on the colony, and resort was had to bills of credit, or paper money, which was made a legal tender,—a measure which was attended with the usual evils; for a law passed by the assembly to secure the payment of these bills, levying a duty on certain imports, including some articles from the mother-country, was declared void by the home gov-

ernment, and they consequently became of little value. The colonists sought relief from the proprietaries; but they received nothing but rebukes for some of their proceedings, and the assembly was required to repeal a law providing for the choice of members in the several counties, and return to the system of a general election at Charleston. This was in the interest of a small faction, friendly to the proprietaries, which had previously resorted to fraudulent practices, and the assembly refused to comply with the demand. The proprietaries also appointed a new and larger council, composed of members subservient to their will. This course, which was opposed to the good order and welfare of the colony, together with the refusal to aid them in bearing the public burdens, brought to a crisis the long growing feeling of resentment and hostility to the proprietary government among a large majority of the people. The assembly refused to recognize the new council, and, meeting as a convention, declared that they would acknowledge the governor because he had been approved by the king; but they threw off all allegiance to the proprietaries, and besought the king to resume his authority over the province. The governor did his best to oppose this revolt, and a long conflict of words ensued; but in the end the colonists accomplished a peaceful revolution, and subsequently, parliament having purchased the rights of the proprietaries, North and South Carolina became royal provinces.

GEORGIA AND OGLETHORPE.



THE settlement of Georgia originated in the disinterested philanthropy of James Oglethorpe, the representative of a distinguished family in England, who, as a member of parliament, had interested himself in alleviating the distress and hardships to which poor debtors were subjected in the prisons of England, and who, not content with securing reforms which afforded great relief to the unfortunate poor, proposed to open some of the vast unoccupied territory of America as an asylum for some of the victims of misfortune.

Belonging to a wealthy and influential family, Oglethorpe, after graduating at Oxford, went abroad as a diplomatic *attaché*, and afterwards entered the military service as a captain of Queen Anne's guard. Through the influence of powerful friends his active temperament was gratified by an appointment on the staff of Prince Eugene of Savoy, who, in the service of Austria, had become the greatest general of the age. In this capacity Oglethorpe became well versed in the art of war; and during the war against the Turks he was in the fiercest battles of the time, and at Belgrade, when Eugene defeated a vastly superior force of the Mussulmans, he held an important command. Upon the conclusion of peace between Austria and Turkey he returned to his native land, where, satisfied with his experience of the dangers and glories of war, he devoted himself with zeal to the pursuits of peace.

Elected to parliament from a borough which had long been repre-

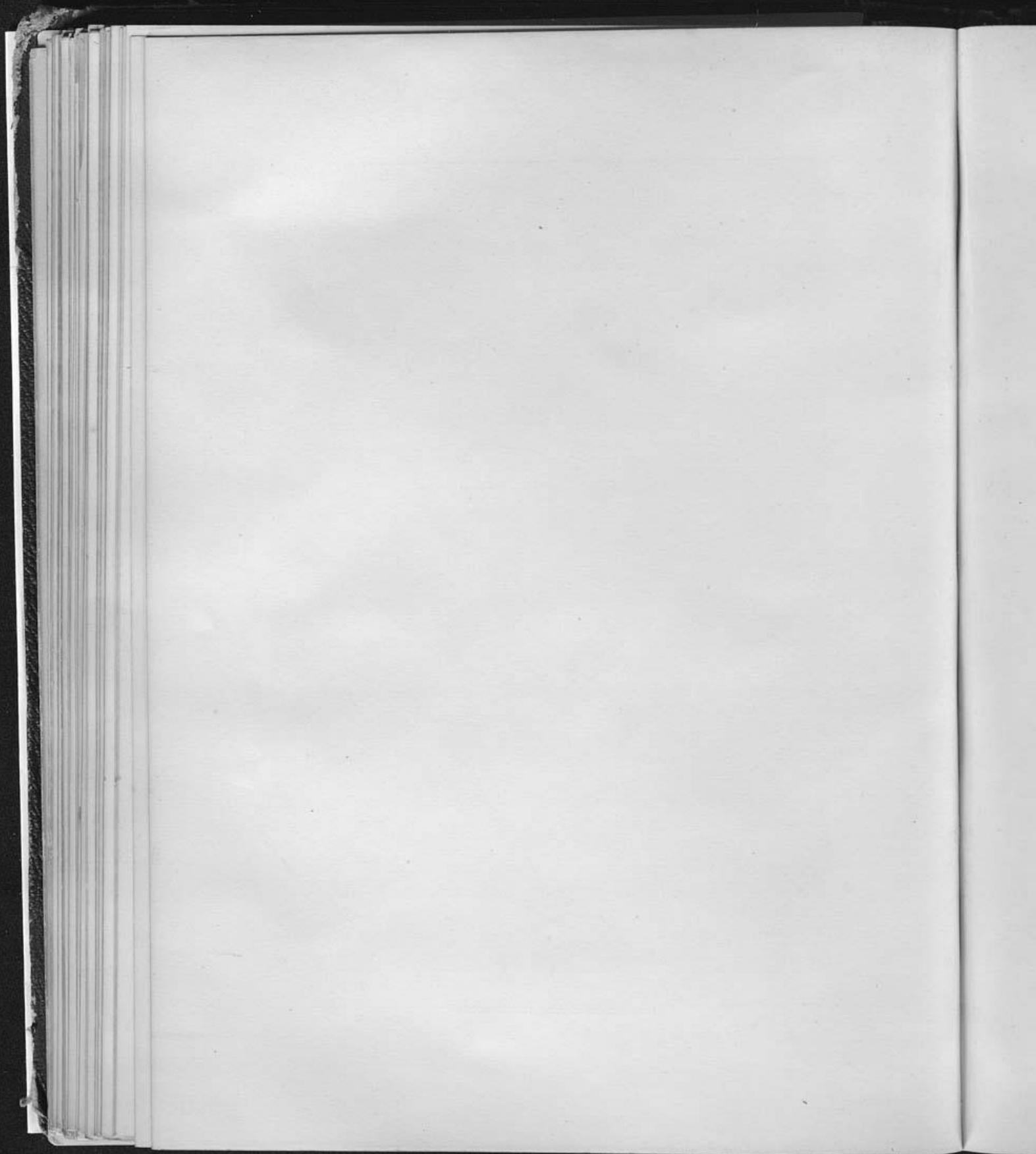
sented by his father and brother, Oglethorpe took an active part in favor of measures which were in spirit the opposite to the strife in which he had been engaged abroad. He defended the persecuted, and advocated various movements for the relief of the oppressed. Of a benevolent disposition, he was greatly moved, on visiting the prisons of London, by the cruel wrongs which he saw inflicted on the unfortunates who were confined for debt, and he procured the appointment of a parliamentary committee to inquire into the state of the jails of the kingdom. This committee, of which he was chairman, engaged earnestly in the work for which it was appointed, and the result of its inquiry was the redress of many grievances in the administration of the prisons, and the passage of a bill for the relief of debtors. While engaged in such public works of philanthropy, he was also a zealous member of humane and benevolent societies, and his private acts of charity and kindness proved the genuine character of the man.

During his inquiries into the condition of the prisoners for debt, Oglethorpe conceived the idea of transporting some of the more worthy of this class to the new world, where they could begin life anew, and by industry improve their condition and enjoy the fruits of their toil, while the mother-country would be relieved of the presence of an unproductive class, and benefited by the growth of another colony. Under an act of parliament the rights of the proprietaries of Carolina had recently been purchased by the king, and now Oglethorpe, with others who had become interested in the cause, petitioned for a grant of the unoccupied territory south of the Savannah River, which had been included in the province of the Carolina proprietaries, that they might there plant a colony of the unfortunate debtors. This petition met with favor from the privy council, and was approved by the board of trade, to whom it was referred; and accordingly a charter of remarkable liberality, and more truly in the interest of settlers than any which had yet been granted, was issued, incorporating the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, the name being given in honor of the reigning monarch.

This charter differed from any which had previously been granted by any European power, inasmuch as the promoters of the project were to derive no personal advantage from the grant. It was purely a



OGLETHORPE AND THE INDIANS.



benevolent scheme, and the trustees were authorized to receive contributions from any parties who sympathized with its object, to be used exclusively in promoting the success of the colony. They could hold no office of profit or emolument, and could receive no grant of lands; and while they had authority to regulate the affairs of the colony, and appoint judicial and other officers for twenty-one years, their services were to be gratuitous. Oglethorpe and his associates asked nothing more; they acted from disinterested motives, and found their reward in laboring to promote the welfare of the unfortunate.

In many respects the charter was a liberal one to the colonists. It provided for assigning them lands on favorable terms; it guaranteed to them the rights enjoyed by Englishmen at home; it secured liberty of conscience, and a free exercise of all religions except the Roman Catholic. The exclusion of Catholics was not so much an exhibition of religious intolerance as it was a political measure. One of the reasons for establishing the colony, which probably had great weight with the government, was to interpose a barrier between the more northern colonies and the Spaniards of Florida and the French of Louisiana. Holding such a position, it was deemed desirable to exclude from the colony parties whose religious sympathies with those nations might weaken it in case of war, or lead to intrigues which would be dangerous to the interests and claims of England. In order to establish the colony at once as a barrier against the encroachments of the Spaniards, the trustees were required to defend the province by all military means, and the colonists were to be organized as militia, subject to the orders of the governor of South Carolina. The country granted to the trustees in which to plant a colony was that part of the province of Carolina southwest of the Savannah River, and extending to the Altamaha, and from the head-waters of those rivers (then unknown) westward to the Pacific Ocean.

The charter having been obtained, measures were adopted to carry out the project. Contributions of funds were received from the benevolent in all parts of England, and a very general interest was manifested in the enterprise by the nobility and wealthy gentry. A careful selection of emigrants was made from the unfortunate debtors of good moral character, who were supplied with their necessary outfit from the funds

so charitably provided, while a fair allowance of land was secured to them in the new province. To give a higher character to the colony, emigration was not confined to the unfortunate; but grants of five hundred acres of land were promised to such persons of means as would emigrate at their own expense and settle upon their grants. Moreover, the country was opened to the oppressed Protestants of continental Europe, who were promised here an asylum, and the fame of this Canaan before long extended to the interior of Germany, where thousands of Protestants had long been subjected to persecution.

To Oglethorpe—the originator of the project, and its most zealous, active, and liberal promoter, who was skilled in affairs, and was, moreover, an able and distinguished military man—was assigned the duty and honor of establishing the colony. After careful preparation and long delay, the first company of emigrants, consisting of thirty-five families, and numbering one hundred and twenty-five persons, sailed from the Thames in a ship of two hundred tons, in November, 1732. Accompanying the emigrants were Oglethorpe, looking carefully after their welfare, the Rev. Mr. Herbert, who volunteered to render his assistance in settling the community and to afford religious instruction, and two or three other gentlemen, who were to act in official capacities. After a voyage of nearly two months they arrived at Charleston, where Oglethorpe was received with marked respect by the South Carolina authorities, who offered all the assistance in their power. No company of colonists had come to America under such favorable auspices. Having the hearty sympathy of very many of the influential class in England, it also received the friendly aid of the government, which had directed its naval officers to render all needed assistance, and had commended the enterprise to the governors of all the other colonies. In South Carolina a generous interest in the new colony was manifested, and liberal aid was extended both by the government and individuals.

Without tarrying at Charleston, the emigrants proceeded to Port Royal, while Oglethorpe with Colonel William Bull, one of the council of South Carolina, proceeded to the Savannah River in a small boat to select a site for the new settlement. Rowing some distance up the river, they landed at a pine-covered bluff, which seemed to offer peculiar advantages for the establishment of the first village in Georgia. As-

ending to the top, they found a wooded plain, from which they looked down upon the broad and beautiful river coming down through the far-reaching forests, and flowing among many green islands in its course to the sea. Exploring the plain on the bluff, they came upon a small Indian village and the house of a white trader who had an Indian wife. Through this woman, who had lived some time among the whites in Carolina, and now acted as interpreter, Oglethorpe made known to the Indians, a branch of the Creek nation, his desire to establish a settlement in the neighborhood. The natives at first were unwilling to permit it; but the friendly interpreter eloquently represented the advantages to be derived from such a settlement, and succeeded in obtaining from them a conditional treaty giving their consent to Oglethorpe's planting his colony on their domains, subject to the approval of the great tribe of which they were but a small part. Mutual promises of friendship and good-will were exchanged; and, assured of the ultimate consent of the tribe, Oglethorpe returned to Port Royal to bring forward his colonists.

It was the middle of February when the emigrants landed at the chosen site with their household goods, and, clearing a sufficient space on the top of the bluff, set up their tents and took up their abode in Georgia. Whatever they may have thought of the discomforts and comparative hardships which necessarily attended the beginning of a settlement, far different was their situation from that of some of the pioneers in the more northern colonies, who landed on desolate and frozen shores, far away from kindred and friends and civilized life, and exposed to unknown dangers and the severest toil and hardships. The settlers, whom Oglethorpe had charitably led to a new home with fair hopes of improving their fortunes, found themselves in a genial climate, where the swelling buds and the green herbage already told the approach of spring, and the land gave promise of luxuriant fields, while not far away were the friendly planters and merchants of Carolina, now a firmly established colony, ready to afford their generous aid.

Under the direction of Oglethorpe, the emigrants at once were set at work to prepare for a more permanent settlement by felling trees and sawing timber for the construction of houses. With the eye of a soldier for military defence, the experienced leader gave his first atten-

tion to the construction of a magazine and mounting a battery of cannon. The labor was scarcely commenced when a company of Indians came, with simple barbaric pomp, their chiefs and "medicine men" at their head, to welcome the strangers. The announcement of the approach of the savages, who were objects of wonder to most of the emigrants, and of terror to many, called the men from their work, and with the women and children they gathered in front of the tents to witness the novel scene. As the Indians came near, Oglethorpe advanced to receive them, and was greeted with the loud declamation of one of their orators, and various symbolic acts of friendship. Oglethorpe returned these demonstrations with friendly words, and mutual promises of peace and amity were faithfully interpreted by the trader's Indian wife. An entertainment, such as could be hurriedly prepared, followed; and the Indians, leaving with Oglethorpe two of their number as hostages for their good faith, took their departure, apparently well pleased with their reception, and ready to aid in securing a more formal treaty from the grand council of their nation.

Such a treaty was made in the following May, when Oglethorpe, accompanied by several of the principal men of the colony, met the chiefs of the nine tribes composing the Creek nation, with their numerous attendants, in solemn council. The proceedings were conducted in the usual manner of Indian councils. After an impressive silence, speeches were made by several of the chiefs in the figurative language of the savage, which, being duly interpreted, were responded to by Oglethorpe with a dignity calculated to impress the natives, and in friendly terms. These preliminaries having secured mutual good-will, two or three days were occupied in negotiating the terms of this important treaty in regard to trade, the rates at which goods should be bartered, the reparation of injuries, the occupation of lands by the colonists, and various other provisions, which secured trade to the trustees' settlers exclusively, and fair treatment to the natives, with pledges of lasting peace and friendship. A distribution of presents to the Indians followed the conclusion of the treaty, and they departed well pleased with its stipulations, which were carefully recorded in their memories.

Previous to this treaty the settlement of Savannah was already well established. Oglethorpe had laid out a public square and regular streets,

and dividing the land into suitable lots, had apportioned them to the settlers; while with liberal aid from the friendly planters of Carolina houses had been built, and gardens planted. The people of Carolina were very generous in their gifts; they had supplied a large number of cattle, some horses, and men to labor, while numerous smaller donations added to the comfort of the emigrants, and the assembly voted a considerable sum of money for the colony. Tomochichi, the chief of the neighboring tribe of Indians, was also very friendly, and became strongly attached to Oglethorpe. No colony had been planted in America under such favorable circumstances, or was subjected to fewer hardships in its early days. There was some sickness, but no famine nor want of the necessaries of life; and if the thoughts of the settlers sometimes reverted sadly to their native land, they had before them at least a brighter prospect than the debtors' prison afforded.

The first company of emigrants was soon followed by a larger one, and all were but fairly settled, and their small jealousies and differences about their portions of land adjusted by the tact of Oglethorpe, when a party of Jews arrived from England. They were sent over by certain gentlemen who had received commissions from the trustees to collect funds, and who had appropriated the money they received to transport these Israelites without the knowledge of the trustees. The latter were greatly disturbed lest it should appear that they proposed to make a Jews' colony of Georgia, and they sent orders to Oglethorpe not to grant them any lands, and to induce them to leave the province. Before he received these orders, Oglethorpe had found the new-comers to be a steady and industrious people, and one of their number, Dr. Nunis, had proved himself a skilful physician, and had shown great humanity and kindness in his attention to the sick. To drive away such emigrants Oglethorpe considered would be contrary to the liberal spirit of the charter, and he did not comply with the orders. The Israelites, however, saw greater opportunities elsewhere for the exercise of their peculiar talents, and nearly all left Georgia for Charleston and other older settlements.

A more important accession to the little colony was a company of German Protestants from Bavaria, who sought a refuge from the violent persecution of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Salzburg. This pre-

ate, by his cruel efforts to force them into the Roman church, succeeded in driving from their native land nearly thirty thousand people, and awakened the sympathy of Protestant Europe in behalf of the exiles. The benevolent spirit which had opened the rich valleys and luxuriant forests of Georgia to the unfortunate, was extended to these martyrs, and such as desired were invited to join the colony. Deprived of their property, few of them had means to emigrate; but by a grant of aid by the English parliament, and the contributions of the benevolent, a company of less than one hundred were enabled to embark at Rotterdam for a home in the new world. They had travelled on foot from the interior of Germany, a band of pilgrims to a land where persecution should no longer reach them. By the sympathizing Lutherans they were cheered and assisted on the way, and at Rotterdam they found liberal provision for their voyage and for their support in Georgia till their industry should make it no longer necessary. The Pilgrims of the Mayflower had departed on their voyage to an unknown shore with perhaps more devout and earnest prayers and blessings from their friends; but no band of emigrants from the old world to the new had come with the sympathy of so many generous strangers.

When these Salzburgers arrived at Savannah, Oglethorpe with several of their leading men and some Indians went up the river to select a site for a settlement, while the remainder of the company enjoyed the hospitality of the colonists, and raised devout thanksgivings that they had come to so fair a land, where the arm of religious persecution could not reach. About thirty miles up the river, near the mouth of a small tributary, the explorers landed at a place which seemed to have many attractions for the Salzburgers. Here they desired to establish their homes, and kneeling on the chosen ground in gratitude to Heaven, with devout hearts they named the place Ebenezer. Oglethorpe readily confirmed their choice, laid out a town for them, apportioned lots for cultivation, and sent men to help build their houses. The whole company of Salzburgers were soon established in their new home, and with sturdy industry applied themselves to the improvement of their goodly heritage. Safe now from persecution, and free to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, one of their first works was to build a chapel, where the pious exiles were wont to

assemble for worship with a sense of security they had never before enjoyed.

The favorable reports of the beauty and fertility of the country which were carried to Europe, and the liberal terms on which Georgia was opened to emigrants, soon attracted other settlers. Another company of Salzburgers came to join their friends at Ebenezer, while one of pious Moravians from Germany, a band of sturdy Highlanders from Scotland, carefully selected and trained to arms, a few Swiss and Italians, and a large number of those English for whom benevolence had first established the colony, soon followed, to make their homes in these attractive wilds. Most of these had their clergy, or religious teachers, and no colony south of New England was so well provided for religious instruction, or generally more disposed to religious observances, though, from the character of some of the English emigrants, there was not a little vice and immorality.

Among the clergy who came over with the early settlers were several able and earnest Germans, who devoted themselves to the welfare of their countrymen, and from England, among others, came John and Charles Wesley. The Wesleys came to labor devoutly among both whites and Indians, and the preaching of John Wesley at first attracted many hearers; but to some his zeal and his severe religion soon became offensive, and through the machinations of enemies he was subjected to outrageous accusations and persecution, from which he was at last glad to escape by returning to England. Charles Wesley was appointed secretary of Indian affairs by Oglethorpe, and was also his chaplain; but he too found enemies, who for a time alienated his patron from him, and made his life miserable by constant and petty annoyances, while his very innocence and ingenuousness subjected him to base charges. After a reconciliation with Oglethorpe, he went to England on some mission for the colony, and sickness preventing his return at the time contemplated, he never visited Georgia again. In England these earnest men found a larger following than in the infant colony, and soon laid the foundations of Methodism more successfully than at Savannah. During John Wesley's stay in Georgia he induced the celebrated Whitefield to come over; and that earnest and fiery preacher and industrious worker labored, first and last, for several years in

Georgia, and established there an orphan asylum somewhat celebrated in its day, obtaining the means in part by a tour through the northern colonies, where his remarkable preaching produced a great religious revival.

The colonists were established in four principal towns besides Savannah, and in a few small plantations, the several nationalities by themselves, and each giving its settlement something of the character of their native land. Within five years from the first settlement at Savannah the trustees had sent over at their own expense more than a thousand colonists, besides whom a considerable number of a more substantial class had come with their families and servants, and taken lands which were offered them on liberal terms. Though not large, the various settlements were at such points as to occupy a large part of the south-eastern portion of the present state of Georgia, and already assumed the form of a barrier between the Spaniards of Florida and the other colonies.

The benevolent feature of the plan for the colonization of Georgia was by no means a success. Broken-down tradesmen from London were not the material of which to make a prosperous colony. Unused to labor, and indisposed to exertion in a climate warmer than that of their native land, they did not comply with the terms upon which they emigrated, and, as soon as they could, many of them left the colony. The Germans and Highlanders, however, were more industrious and persevering, and for a long time successfully cultivated their fields without the help of slave labor. One of the regulations of the trustees prohibited the introduction of slaves into the colony, and the wealthier class of colonists after a time found it difficult to obtain labor from their indentured servants or the poorer settlers. There was a desire for slave-labor in order to compete with the planters of South Carolina, who employed slaves almost exclusively, and a repeal of its prohibition was demanded. The trustees, however, were not disposed to yield, and for some years resisted the pressure in favor of the introduction of slaves. This action was regarded as oppressive, and with some other ill-considered measures caused much dissatisfaction among the colonists. Some ventured to introduce slaves upon their plantations in spite of the prohibition, and among these was Whitefield, who

declared he could have done much better for his Orphans' Home if he had employed them sooner. Persistent efforts and loud complaints, with the languishing condition of the colony, which resulted in a great measure from the troubles with the Spaniards, at last prevailed, and slaves were admitted under some restrictions, gradually to become the only laborers in a great part of Georgia.

One of the pleasing anticipations in which the trustees and some of the early settlers indulged was that of making Georgia the rival of France and Italy in the production of silk, and great pains were taken to introduce the culture. The labor was to be light and pleasant, and the business was to be very lucrative. A partial success was attained, and it was considered a great cause for rejoicing when a sufficient quantity of silk was sent to England to be woven into a dress for the queen, which received the warmest encomiums from her Majesty. But unexpected difficulties were encountered, and silk-culture did not become a general or prosperous pursuit. The future prosperity of Georgia was in a more common and more useful staple, the product of which has probably exceeded the most extravagant dreams of the early silk-culturists.

OGLETHORPE AND THE SPANIARDS.



WHILE the colonization of Georgia was commenced with a view to afford homes for the unfortunate, it was also to be a barrier against the Spaniards of Florida; and it was this latter consideration, doubtless, which led the people of South Carolina to take so deep an interest in its success, and to afford material aid. Oglethorpe, while earnestly devoting his energies to the benevolent part of the project, did not neglect the other object for which the grant had been made to the trustees. As soon as he had laid out and fortified Savannah, he went to the Ogeechee River and constructed Fort Argyle, a small fort commanding the passage by which the southern Indians, instigated by the Spaniards, had been wont to make incursions into South Carolina, and garrisoned it with a small force of rangers from that colony, while a number of families were sent to settle on the adjacent lands. Going to England soon after, he represented the necessity of strengthening the colony by sending out additional emigrants. The Spaniards had already begun to murmur at the encroachments upon territory which was claimed by them, and the government of South Carolina urged that measures should be taken to guard against attacks from the Spaniards and the French, who were establishing forts and trading-posts on the tributaries of the lower Mississippi and on the Gulf of Mexico. Accordingly the trustees exerted themselves to secure additional emigrants, and the government appropriated a considerable sum to aid in the defence of the colony. A

considerable number of colonists were soon after sent over to settle in the southern part of Georgia, on the banks of the Altamaha, among whom were the Highlanders already mentioned, who, from their sturdy character and military organization, were an important addition to the colony.

Returning to Georgia with some of these settlers, Oglethorpe gave his attention to the proper distribution of the colonists, and to the construction of forts at important points. On the pleasant, thickly wooded island of St. Simons the town of Frederica was regularly laid out and tastefully built, and was defended by a fortification marked out by Oglethorpe himself, who also taught the men how to construct it. On the southern point of St. Simons he built another important fort, and smaller ones on other islands in the vicinity. In all this work of establishing settlements and constructing defences he personally directed, and often shared, the labors of the colonists. Accompanied by Indians, he explored the adjacent waters; wrapped in his tarlatan, he slept by the camp-fire of the Highlanders; and everywhere, by his foresight, energy, and endurance, inspired the greatest confidence and respect among the settlers and the natives. Moreover he neglected no opportunity to make treaties with the neighboring tribes of Indians, and secure their alliance against any invaders.

Meanwhile Oglethorpe endeavored to establish amicable relations with the governor of St. Augustine, and, after some correspondence, sent a Major Richard to secure such a result. The messenger was well received, and returned to Georgia with letters which, with Spanish compliments, exhibited not a little Spanish hostility. Major Richard, with another gentleman, was sent again to St. Augustine with Oglethorpe's reply; but instead of again meeting a friendly reception, they were both imprisoned as spies, and military demonstrations were immediately made along the St. Johns River. Oglethorpe took prompt measures to show by stratagem an apparent considerable force, and drove off a Spanish gunboat from the vicinity of St. Simons; all which served to impress the Spaniards with an exaggerated idea of the English strength, and the people of St. Augustine, with the bishop at their head, begged the governor to release the messengers and establish peaceful relations. This request was acceded to, the messengers were released, and com-

missioners were sent with them to Georgia, where a treaty for the cessation of hostilities was agreed upon with Oglethorpe, and was subsequently ratified by the governor of St. Augustine; who, however, was recalled to Spain for this act, and was there executed.

It soon became evident that the Spanish government would not recognize the treaty; new demands were made that the English should abandon Georgia, and, indeed, Carolina also, and there were frequent rumors that the Spaniards were preparing for an invasion. Oglethorpe accordingly went again to England to represent to the government the danger to which the colony was exposed, and to obtain military stores and such aid as would enable him to make Georgia the much-desired barrier between the Spaniards and the more northern colonies. While the English ministry was disposed to maintain peace with Spain, even at the cost of humiliation, the indignation of the king and the people was aroused by the arrogance and offensive conduct of the Spaniards towards English merchants, and the threatening attitude they assumed in the West Indies. Oglethorpe, therefore, found little difficulty in obtaining aid. He was appointed commander of the forces of South Carolina and Georgia, and was authorized to raise a regiment, which was speedily filled and mustered into service. This regiment was officered by gentlemen of family, and attached to it was a small company of cadets, who were to be promoted to the rank of officers as vacancies occurred. To attach the soldiers to the colony they were allowed to take with them their wives, for whom supplies were to be allowed. Upon this regiment Oglethorpe placed great reliance as a regular and well-organized force, the nucleus of an army around which the militia of the province could be rallied. He found, however, that he had enlisted some traitors, who sought to betray the province to the Spaniards, and some mutineers, who were ready to shoot him. Besides these soldiers, military stores were provided, and when the regiment sailed for Georgia, two or three men-of-war accompanied the transports.

Upon his return to Georgia one of Oglethorpe's first efforts was to renew and extend the treaties with the Indians, and for this purpose, with a few attendants, he travelled through the forest to the distant Chattahoochee to meet a grand council of the Creek nation. The

Indians entertained him with characteristic hospitality, and a treaty of friendship and alliance was entered into with all the customary formalities of the natives. To the warriors of these confederated tribes Oglethorpe looked for important aid in his defence of Georgia, and he soon had occasion to call upon them. Upon his return to Savannah he learned that the English government had at last been driven to resent the hostile acts of the Spanish authorities, and had issued orders to make reprisals. He at once sent messengers to summon a thousand warriors from his Indian allies to join in an expedition against St. Augustine, which he was authorized to undertake if, upon consultation, the governor of South Carolina assented to it. At the same time he organized a troop of horse, and made other preparations for a campaign, and called upon the men-of-war to co-operate.

While Oglethorpe was making these preparations, the Spaniards commenced hostilities by landing with a small force on one of the islands and killing two unarmed Englishmen. To retaliate for this outrage, the Georgia commander organized an expedition with a force of whites and Indians, and proceeding up the St. Johns River, destroyed all the Spanish boats, burned a small fort, and, after some resistance, captured another more important one called St. Francis, thus cutting off communication between St. Augustine and the Spanish settlements west of the peninsula.

Meanwhile England had declared war against Spain, and upon receiving intelligence of the declaration, Oglethorpe determined upon an expedition against St. Augustine, and hastening to Charleston, earnestly sought the co-operation of South Carolina. But the interest manifested at first by the Carolinians in the Georgia colony had abated, because they were prohibited from trading with the Indians, and from selling rum or carrying their slaves south of the Savannah. It was not without serious opposition, therefore, that the Carolina assembly voted to raise a regiment of troops and to fit out a small armed vessel to join in the expedition. Having secured this aid, after much delay, and encountering many obstacles, Oglethorpe succeeded in collecting his forces and their necessary supplies and means of transportation. His little army numbered not more than fourteen hundred whites, and was composed of his regiment of regulars, the South Carolina regiment, the

hardy Highlanders, and one or two companies of English volunteers, a part of whom were mounted. With these were joined about one thousand Indians, while four ships of war, with some smaller armed vessels, were to co-operate in the proposed attack.

The forces proceeded in two divisions to the St. Johns, one marching overland, and the other, with the artillery and supplies, in small vessels and launches, convoyed by the men-of-war. From the St. Johns, Oglethorpe advanced with about one thousand whites and as many Indians towards St. Augustine, taking two forts on the march, and hoping to surprise the town. He found, however, that the Spaniards were prepared for defence, and he fell back till the fleet should approach the town on the seaward side and land forces on Anastasia Island to plant batteries for a simultaneous attack on that side, which was to commence on a given signal from the land-side. At the appointed time Oglethorpe had his troops ready for assault, and gave the preconcerted signal; but though it was several times repeated, there was no response from the other side, for the fleet had found the Spanish galleys so disposed within the bar, and out of gun-shot, that they prevented the landing of men in boats.

Disappointed at the failure of his plans, Oglethorpe determined to resort to the slow process of a siege, and, with the aid of the fleet to cut off reinforcements and supplies by sea, he hoped to reduce the enemy to such straits as to compel them to surrender. While pursuing this tedious and trying mode of attack, he succeeded in placing the greater part of his force on Anastasia Island and a neighboring point of land, where he planted batteries which annoyed the Spaniards, but had little effect on the strong castle of St. Mark. Meanwhile, on the landward side, he left a small force of Highlanders and Indians, with orders to move rapidly from point to point, so as to produce the impression of greater numbers, and not to remain more than one night in the same place. These orders were disobeyed; and while the troops were occupying one of the captured forts, the Spaniards made a *sortie* from the town, and a sudden attack, and, after a sharp fight, defeated the English with a heavy loss in killed and prisoners.

This success was of no great advantage to the Spaniards, who soon began to be in a strait for supplies. Day by day the allowance of

food grew smaller, and it was only a question of time when starvation should compel them to capitulate. At this juncture, however, some small vessels laden with supplies succeeded in entering an unguarded inlet and making their way to the beleaguered town. This was another blow to the plans of Oglethorpe just as they seemed about to be crowned with success. His troops were suffering from tedious toil and summer heats, his artillery was too light to be effective, and a longer continuance of the siege was useless. He therefore abandoned further operations, and, crossing to the mainland, marched away, much to the surprise of the Spaniards. The campaign was unsuccessful in accomplishing its purpose; but in it the English had inflicted a much heavier loss upon the Spaniards than they had themselves suffered, and the danger of a Spanish invasion of Georgia was for a time averted. Oglethorpe had displayed marked military ability; but his plans failed through circumstances beyond his control,—long delays in the preparation of the expedition, the want of promised artillery, disobedience of orders, and the failure of the fleet to effectually blockade the approaches to the harbor. But his want of success, as usual, subjected him to charges of incompetency and even more serious calumnies among the people of South Carolina; and these led to mutual criminations between the troops of the two colonies, and to dangerous dissensions.

After this expedition against St. Augustine two years passed with some border conflicts between the English and Spaniards, but no important movement on either side. Meanwhile Oglethorpe kept a sharp watch upon the Spaniards through spies and Indian scouts, and in 1742 he learned that a formidable force had arrived at St. Augustine from Cuba, destined to invade Georgia. The Spaniards were no less well-informed of the condition of affairs in the English colony, and learning its weakness and the disaffection of South Carolina, they were confident of the complete conquest of Georgia. A fleet of more than fifty vessels, a number of which were ships-of-war, carrying upwards of five thousand men, was fitted out in Cuba, and, after encountering an English ship which captured two or three of the transports, arrived at St. Augustine. After a short delay, a portion of this expedition appeared off St. Simons Island.

At the first intimation of the arrival of the Spanish forces at St. Au-

gustine, Oglethorpe sent messengers to South Carolina for help; but the people of that colony were in no mood to succor a general against whom they were still making charges of incompetency, and he was therefore left to repel the invasion as best he might. He mustered all the troops at his command, which numbered scarcely more than a tenth part of the enemy's force, armed the planters, and strengthened his forts. When the enemy appeared, he again dispatched a messenger to South Carolina, announcing that the invaders had actually arrived; but, whether aided or not, he determined to resist to the death, if he might so save the colonies from desolation. With the few gunboats at his command he promptly attacked the vanguard of the Spanish expedition, and compelled them to retire. In a few days the entire Spanish fleet of nearly forty sail appeared off St. Simons, and after some delay in taking soundings and waiting for a fair wind, entered the harbor, and in line of battle moved up the river towards Frederica. Oglethorpe, however, was resolved to dispute the passage of the enemy; and from the fort of St. Simons and a water-battery on shore, and an armed merchant-ship and several small vessels, he opened on the enemy a fierce fire. The fight continued for several hours; but the opposing force was too formidable, and, after disabling some of the colonial vessels, the Spanish fleet succeeded in passing up the river. Lest he should be cut off, Oglethorpe now determined to spike the guns of the fort, dispatch his vessels which had escaped to Charleston with yet one more appeal for help, and retreat with all haste to Frederica. This he accomplished in the night, evading the Spaniards, who landed some distance up the river and marching down took possession of the abandoned fort.

Reaching Frederica, which was about four miles above Fort St. Simons, Oglethorpe prepared to defend it to the utmost with his small force. The second day after the landing of the Spaniards, the greater part of their force advanced towards Frederica, and were within a mile of the town when they were first discovered by the Georgia rangers. Hastening forward with such of his troops as were ready, and ordering the others to follow, Oglethorpe attacked the advance-guard of the Spaniards as they were exposed in an open meadow, while his own men were protected by the thick woods, and poured into their ranks so deadly a fire that many of the enemy were killed, and the others

fled. Placing the men he had at hand in ambuscade, where they could command the open land over which the Spaniards must advance, the general hastened back to bring up his remaining force; but he had scarcely mustered them when the Spaniards, advancing in large numbers, made a vigorous attack and drove back a part of the men posted in the woods; and these, as they fled, reported that the whole force was defeated. But a portion of the force, consisting of rangers and Highlanders, had made a detour in the woods and gained the flank of the Spaniards. Oglethorpe with spirited words rallied his forces, and hastened forward to the support of this small body of his men. Meanwhile, just as the Spaniards again entered upon open ground, at a given signal the little force lying in ambush once more opened fire, and poured volley after volley into the ranks of the Spaniards with such deadly effect that they were quickly thrown into disorder, and in spite of the efforts of their officers they began to retreat in confusion. At this juncture the rangers and Highlanders, with shouts of victory, made a charge and completed the rout. The enemy fled precipitately, and many of them, sinking in the mud of the meadow or entangled in the thicket, were taken prisoners. The victory was complete, and was won by this small force of scarcely a hundred men under two lieutenants, for Oglethorpe with his other troops did not reach the battle-ground until the enemy had fled. The pursuit was then continued, however, within a mile and a half of the Spanish camp.

This defeat was mortifying to the Spaniards, who had confidently expected victory; and well it might be, in view of the small force which accomplished it. It caused crimination and recrimination among the officers, and dissension between the Cuban and Florida troops. The whole force was utterly demoralized, and for the time unfit for any further demonstration. Learning the state of affairs in the Spanish camp, Oglethorpe determined to surprise it by night. With this view he moved nearly his whole force of five or six hundred men, under the cover of darkness, to within a mile of the camp, and then with a small force went forward to reconnoitre. But unfortunately he had among his men a treacherous French spy, who discharged his gun as a signal to the Spaniards, and then succeeded in making his escape to their camp. With the enemy thus warned, an attack would have been fatal to the assailants, and Oglethorpe withdrew to Frederica.

The escape of the Frenchman brought a new danger, for he would inform the Spaniards of the real weakness of the colony, and under his guidance, they would be likely to make an irresistible attack. To avert this imminent danger, Oglethorpe had recourse to artifice. He caused a letter to be written to the deserter, in French, apparently from a friend, in which was mentioned the money he had received, and that it was his duty to make the Spaniards believe that the English were weak; that he should pilot the Spanish galleys up the river to a point where he knew the batteries were concealed; that at any rate he must try and keep the Spaniards three days more at St. Simons, by which time a large reinforcement of troops and six ships-of-war would arrive from Charleston; and he was cautioned against saying anything about Admiral Vernon's contemplated attack on St. Augustine. This letter Oglethorpe bribed one of his prisoners to convey secretly to the deserter; and as he anticipated, this man, from his manner, was suspected by the Spanish officers, and being searched, the letter was found upon him.

The contents of the letter alarmed the Spaniards, and the Frenchman, notwithstanding his strenuous denial of all knowledge of the writer and of any treachery, came near being hanged for a spy of the English. A council of war was called, and though a few officers regarded the affair as a ruse, the majority believed that the information conveyed in the letter was true, and favored an immediate return to St. Augustine. In the midst of their dissensions three vessels appeared off the bar, and, supposing these to be a part of the expected fleet, the council soon settled the dispute by advising an immediate withdrawal from Georgia. The order was given, and the forces embarked in such haste that they abandoned a number of cannon and a quantity of stores. The Cuban vessels proceeded to sea; but the governor of Florida, who was one of those who suspected a ruse, entered Cumberland Sound with his forces, and seemed determined to continue hostilities. But the movement of Oglethorpe's scout-boats, and the sharp fire from Fort William on that sound, caused this part of the expedition also to seek safety in flight.

The formidable invasion, which was to subjugate not only Georgia but South Carolina also, was an ignominious failure. Oglethorpe, with only six hundred men and a few galleys, by his boldness, skill,

and shrewd artifice, had defeated the enemy in one sharp battle, and compelled a force of five thousand men with fifty vessels to abandon their undertaking and return discomfited to St. Augustine and Cuba. Such a victory, achieved so speedily, against such odds, and with so small a loss, might well entitle him to the name of the savior of Georgia. The Spaniards were deterred from attempting another invasion; but Oglethorpe, to make a show of strength and defiance, conducted two expeditions to St. Augustine. With a number of armed vessels he cruised for several days before the Spanish town, but was unable to approach near enough for an attack; and again, with a force of a few hundred men, he marched to the landward side of the town, where, being without artillery, he could not attempt an assault, and tried in vain to induce the Spaniards to make a sally.

Not long after these events, Oglethorpe returned to England, honored as the father, ruler, and preserver of the colony, but not without enemies, who brought against him various unfounded charges. The lieutenant-colonel of the regiment which he had carried to Georgia was among his accusers, and on the charges brought by this officer he was tried by court-martial; but he was triumphantly acquitted, and subsequently promoted to higher stations, while his accuser was discharged from the service in disgrace.

Oglethorpe was the central figure in the colonization of Georgia; he conceived and in a great measure organized and carried into effect the enterprise; he selected the sites for settlement and defence; his discretion secured the friendship of the most powerful tribes of Indians; his energy and boldness saved the southern colonies from invasion by the Spaniards; and his liberal views and taste planned and commenced the work which made Savannah one of the most beautiful of towns. He had his faults; but if he was sometimes hasty in temper, and not a little vainglorious, he exhibited sterling qualities as the leader of the colony, a disinterested benevolence, foresight in the management of affairs, military skill, and unquestionable bravery. After ten years of distinguished services he returned to England, and never again visited Georgia, though he lived to see it become a prosperous colony and an independent state.

THREATENED TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS.



WHILE Oglethorpe had entered into treaties with the Indians of Georgia, and by generally just treatment had secured their friendship, twice, through plots of white men, the colony was in danger of hostilities on the part of the savages, which, in one case at least, might have brought disaster not only to Georgia, but to the Carolinas, had not the danger been averted in season.

In 1739, while Oglethorpe was absent on his first expedition in Florida, some Indian traders, far in the interior of Georgia, captured a remarkable man, who had already caused some uneasiness among the southern colonies, and sent him to Frederica, to be disposed of as the commander might see fit. This man was Christian Priber, a German Jesuit, who had been sent by the French on the Mississippi to seduce the Cherokees from their friendly relations with the English. Priber was an adept in the learning, accomplishments, arts, intrigue, and unscrupulousness of his order, and while he nominally served the French, he commenced a scheme for the establishment of an empire which should exclude from the country all European colonies. By conforming to the customs of the savages, and learning their language, he ingratiated himself with them, and by his consummate art obtained a remarkable influence over them. With a combination of church ceremonies and savage pomp, he crowned the chief of the Cherokees as king of all their confederated towns, and gave titles and decorations to subordinate chiefs. He then obtained for himself

the appointment of royal secretary of the king of the Cherokee nation, and under that sounding title addressed the Indian agents of the English colonies. While careful not too early to reveal his ultimate purpose, the character of his communications and the change in the bearing of the Indians, excited some alarm in South Carolina, and a special agent was sent from that colony to demand that this enemy of the English should be given up, and they should observe their treaty obligations. Priber, however, had so far alienated the Indians from the English that they indignantly refused to surrender him. Subsequently, while on his way to the French settlements, some Indian traders captured him, and sent him under a guard of friendly natives to Frederica.

Priber was supposed to be an emissary of the French, whose efforts were to divert the Indian trade from the English, and secure an alliance with the Cherokees, which, in case of war, would be dangerous to the colonies of Georgia and South Carolina; but during his confinement at Frederica his extraordinary scheme was brought to light by his confessions and the papers found upon him. His purpose was to unite all the southern tribes in a confederation, encourage them to industry, teach them the common arts of civilized life, bring them nominally under the rule of the Roman Catholic church, and then lead them to assert their independence of all European allies, and especially of the Protestant colonists. Moreover, he proposed to make the country of this confederacy an asylum for runaway slaves, servants, and criminals, and to invite them thither by a toleration of the grossest immorality and licentiousness, and of nearly all the crimes condemned by civilized nations. He had reduced his scheme to a written form of government, drawn with great care and minuteness, in which he enumerated the various privileges for licentiousness which would encourage the most corrupt and base of mankind to seek a home in this new empire. This scheme was not the crude invention of an ignorant and depraved mind; it was carefully considered and thoroughly digested, and the written plan of government exhibited learning, a knowledge of human nature, and considerable skill in adapting its several parts to the object in view. Nor did Priber propose to risk failure by any hasty attempt to carry out his plans; on the contrary, it appeared by his confessions that he considered it the work of years, and he declared that

if he did not accomplish the task, others of his order would take it up where he left it. It was a Jesuitical scheme to establish the power of the Roman church in the southern part of the country, supported by a confederacy of savages that should drive out the Protestant colonies; and it was conceived in the spirit of the maxim that the end justifies the means.

When captured, Priber had probably not made much progress in developing his ultimate purpose, nor confided it fully to other parties; but he had succeeded in alienating the Indians from the English, and was cautiously and unscrupulously laying his plans. Whether, with all his zeal, ability, art, and persistence, he would have succeeded is very doubtful, except so far as he might have precipitated a savage war, which would have brought infinite trouble and misfortune to the English colonies. His capture, however, put an end to his dangerous influence over the Indians, and with his death, which occurred while he was a prisoner at Frederica, his extraordinary scheme also died.

In another instance the danger of Indian hostilities was more immediate and apparent, though really of less magnitude. When Oglethorpe was looking for a site for his first settlement on the Savannah, he found an Indian trader, named Musgrove, established there, with an Indian wife, called Mary. This woman, who was the daughter of a chief of the Creeks, had been partially educated in an English family in South Carolina. At the outset she served as interpreter between Oglethorpe and the neighboring tribe of Indians, and it was through her influence that friendly relations were established with these natives. On many occasions afterwards she acted not only as interpreter but mediator between Oglethorpe and the native chiefs, and by her representations and influence induced them to enter into treaties of friendship, and to furnish warriors against the Spaniards. She was much attached to the English, and for her services, which were fully recognized and appreciated by Oglethorpe and his associates, a liberal compensation was promised, and partly paid. By Oglethorpe's desire she established a trading-post on the Altamaha, where by her address and influence she would be of great service to the colony; but during her absence it was destroyed by the Yemasees; and on this account she had another claim upon the colony, though she was not urgent in her demands.

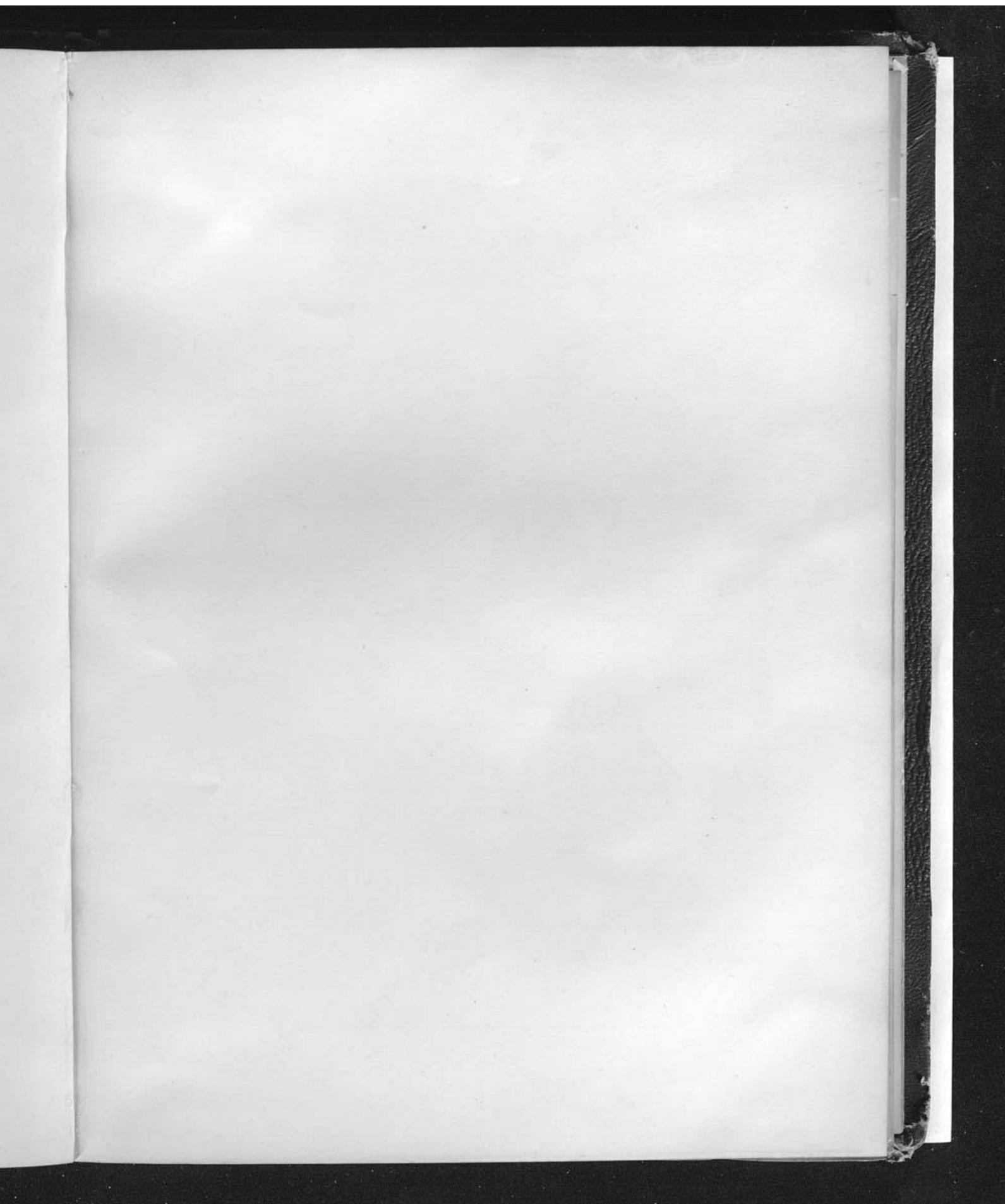
Some time after the death of her husband, Mary Musgrove married Thomas Bosomworth, who had formerly been an Indian agent, but who had more recently been to England and taken holy orders, and had returned as a clergyman. Whether or not Bosomworth, when he married his Indian wife, contemplated the scheme which he afterwards undertook to carry out, he soon neglected his clerical duties for more worldly affairs,—avarice apparently taking the place of piety. After another visit to England, where he declared he did not intend to return to Georgia, he again appeared in the colony, and brought with him some negroes, in violation of the strict regulation of the trustees prohibiting the introduction of slaves. When these slaves, by order of the trustees, were removed, he made an exorbitant demand of compensation for his wife's services to the colony, for which, unfortunately, she had not yet been fully remunerated, though Oglethorpe, after his final return to England, had urged that she should be liberally paid. With the indorsement of the military commander at Frederica, this exorbitant demand was forwarded to England to be presented to the king. At the same time, with the aid of his brother, Bosomworth entered upon a scheme to obtain a large grant of lands from the Indians, and to secure their aid in maintaining the grant against the colonial authorities. In this scheme he was greatly assisted by his wife, who, under his influence, had changed her disposition and conduct. She was no longer the disinterested friend and benefactor of the colony; but combining the avarice of her husband with the vindictive nature of her race, she used her influence to unite the savages in a hostile attitude against the whites to enforce his claims.

It would seem quite probable that the scheme upon which Bosomworth now entered was suggested by that of Priber, though it was conceived and carried out in the spirit of a self-seeking adventurer, rather than in that of the patient and far-seeing, if unscrupulous, devotee of the church. Among the chiefs of the Creeks was Malatchee, a near relative of Mary Bosomworth; and while her husband arranged plans with the military commander at Frederica, who was on bad terms with the civil authorities at Savannah, for forwarding his claims to England, she prevailed upon a number of minor chiefs and warriors to declare that Malatchee was their "natural prince," and emperor of all

the Creeks. The next step was to obtain from this proclaimed sovereign of the territory of Georgia a grant of three valuable islands on the coast; and this being accomplished, with the necessary formalities, Bosomworth's brother was sent to England to secure its recognition. While this agent tarried in England, meeting with little success in his mission, Bosomworth and his wife went to live among the Indians, in order to obtain a share of the liberal presents which were expected from the king.

As months passed, and the long expected presents did not arrive, Bosomworth, Mary, Malatchee, and about two hundred Indians went to Savannah and demanded a conference with the civil authorities, their purpose being, in the absence of any considerable military force, to intimidate the government into an acknowledgment of the justice of Bosomworth's exorbitant claim for his wife's services, and of his title to lands granted by Malatchee. The bearing of the Indians was insolent and threatening, and the inhabitants of Savannah, who had never before received such a visit, were greatly alarmed. But the president, Stephens, and council endeavored to conciliate them by kind treatment and hospitalities, and to please them arranged a parade and formal reception of the visitors. They were assembled at one extremity of the town, where they were required to discharge their loaded guns, and were then escorted by a troop of horse to the parade-ground. At the head of the Indians marched Bosomworth, arrayed for this occasion in his long discarded surplice, his wife and the "natural prince," Malatchee, and behind these came the other natives. At the parade a company of militia was drawn up to salute them, a salvo of artillery was discharged, and the ceremonials of introduction performed, the visitors displaying a rather sullen temper. They were then invited to a feast, always an acceptable offering to the natives; but Mary Bosomworth, Malatchee, and some others, refused to partake of it, and the feast was scarcely finished when the hostile intent of the savages was manifest in the appearance of a body of armed Indians in the streets, whose threatening movements spread alarm through the town. A great tumult followed; the roll of the drum called the militia to arms, and the air was filled with the discordant yells of the Indians.

In front of the excited natives was Bosomworth, still clad in his





MARY BOSOMWORTH INCITING THE INDIANS TO VIOLENCE.

canonicals, and as he was apparently the cause of this outbreak, the president with two or three of his council advanced unarmed, and seizing him, led him away for confinement. The chiefs were then invited to the president's house to talk of the matter over a glass of wine; but, as they were about to comply, Mary Bosomworth appeared, and with violent language and frantic gestures endeavored to dissuade them. Turning to the magistrates, she denied that the colonists had any rights to the soil they occupied, denounced Oglethorpe and the treaties she had herself been instrumental in negotiating, and stamping her foot in her fury, she exclaimed, "The very ground on which you stand is mine!" The violence of this mad woman, whose influence with the natives had previously been so great, seemed likely to precipitate bloodshed; but the magistrates, again acting promptly, arrested her, and placed her under guard.

Meanwhile the Indians, though turbulent and threatening in their bearing, seemed not quite ready to commence an attack upon the colonists, with whom they had so long lived in friendship, and the fearless and prompt action of whose magistrates commanded their respect. The armed militia, however, were with difficulty restrained from firing upon the natives, and only the firmness of the civil officers, who stood between the soldiers and the Indians, prevented a fearful conflict and a savage butchery. Upon the promise of good behavior, Bosomworth and his wife were set at liberty; but the Indians still remained, as if with some hostile intent; and the people were in constant dread lest some drunken quarrel should lead to a general massacre. For a few days the Bosomworths kept their promise, and then Mary again became violent, and endeavored by her fierce invective and urgent appeals to incite the Indians to commence war upon the whites, whom she denounced as robbers. The danger was greater than ever; it seemed as if the passionate words of this woman, a "princess" among her people, whose influence had once been so potent for peace and good-will, would stir the savages to instant violence; but while they hesitated, the civil authorities were again quick to act, and arresting the mad woman in the midst of her tirade, confined her in the guard-house. An attempt at rescue was made by a party of Indians; but the prompt and discreet action of the commander of a small troop of horse caused

them to lay down their arms. This was the end of the danger. Bosomworth was no hero, and, finding that his nicely laid scheme was a failure, and that the authorities were not to be intimidated by threats which he had neither the purpose nor the courage to execute, he broke down and begged for mercy. He was required to make a public acknowledgment of his offences, and humbling himself in the presence of the colonists and the Indians, he solicited from the magistrates a pardon for himself and the recreant Mary, with the most fervent promises for their future good conduct. The offenders, subdued if not penitent, and humiliated in the presence of assembled friends and foes, received the pardon, and with it the contempt alike of whites and Indians; and the latter, who had no real grievance, and had been incited to their ill behavior by the Bosomworths, at once became more friendly, and having been well supplied with presents, soon left Savannah in quiet.

FRENCH EXPLORATIONS OF THE MISSISSIPPI.



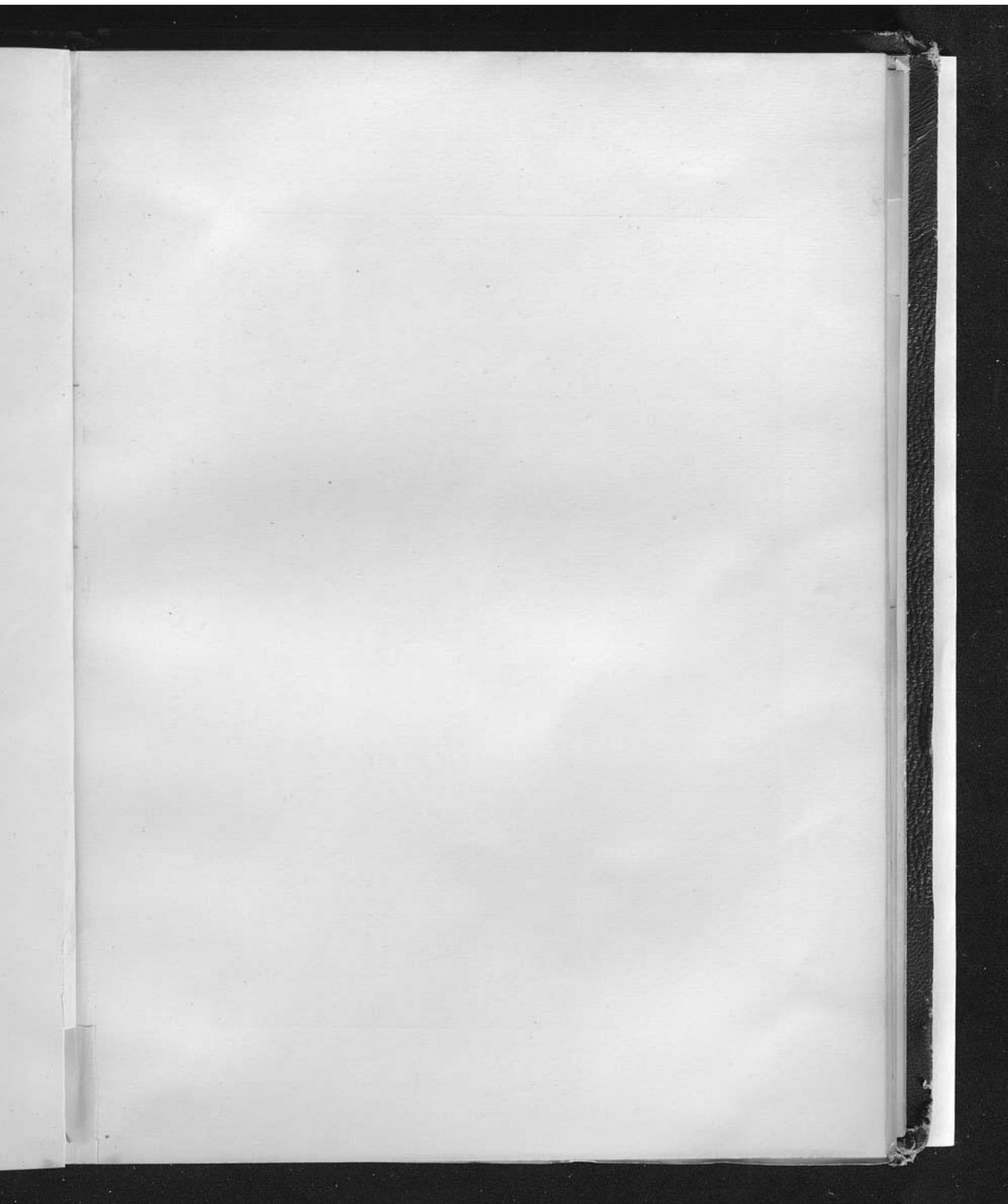
THUS far our pages have been devoted to the emigrants from Europe, the true pioneers in the settlement of America, who established themselves at various points on the Atlantic coast, and in weak and scattered colonies laid the foundations for a new nation. It remains to narrate some of the events and characteristics of the later emigration of the descendants of these early pioneers westward, across the Alleghanies, into the vast basin of the Mississippi, over the barren plains and the lofty ranges of the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada even to the shores of the Pacific. Before entering upon this task, however, it is proper to mention more particularly the advance of the French missionaries, explorers, and traders to the Mississippi valley, which was referred to in an early chapter.

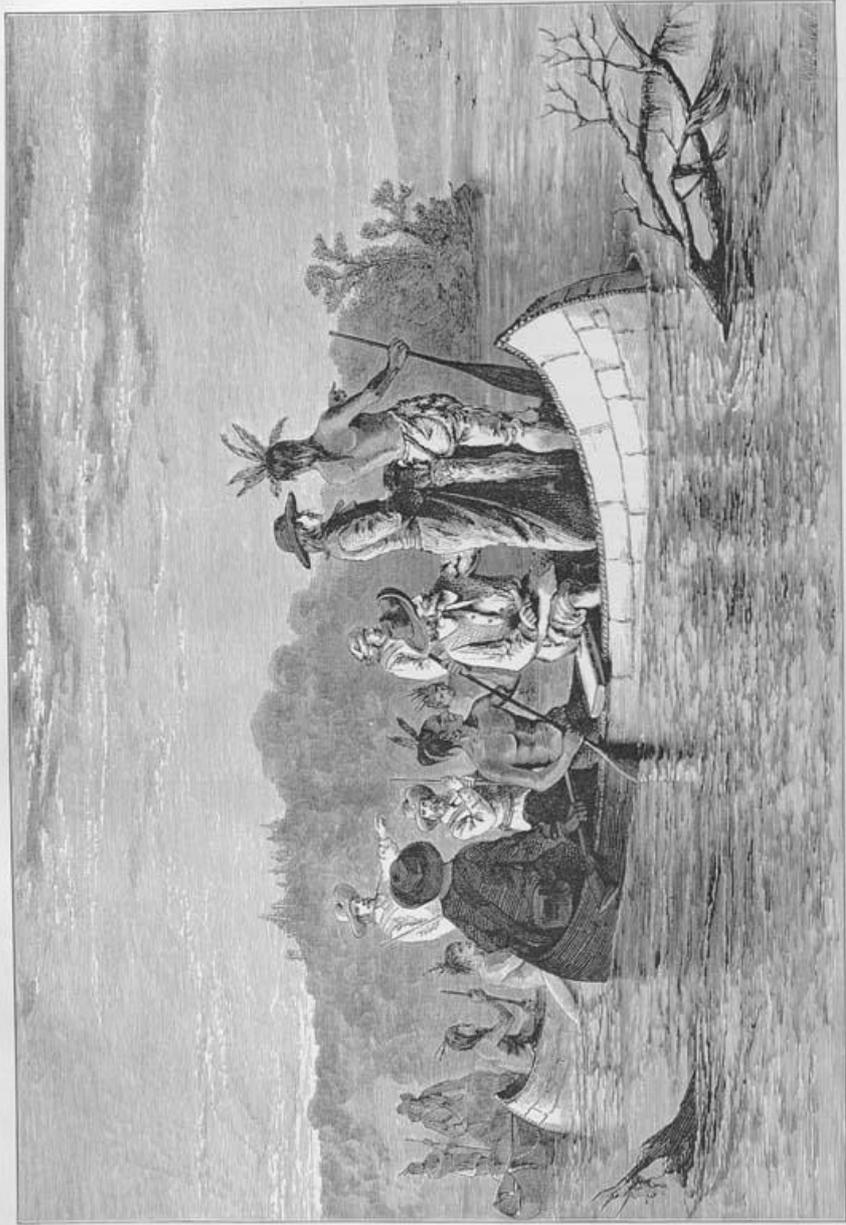
The Jesuit missionaries, who combined with their zeal for the conversion of the Indians the energy and ambition of explorers, advanced along the shores of the great lakes, establishing missions at various places where they found the Indians friendly, and still looking westward for new fields of labor, and for some great river flowing into the South Sea, or other passage to the Indies, the discovery of which should redound to the glory and benefit of France. They endured the severest hardships, and encountered the greatest dangers; but nothing quenched their zeal, though wars between hostile tribes sometimes retarded their progress.

Following close in the path of the missionaries came the French traders, establishing posts at convenient points, and with boldness, enterprise, and tact, venturing in all directions where there was a prospect of profit. More successful than the English in adapting themselves to the ways of the Indians, they lived on friendly terms with them, and not infrequently identified themselves with the native tribes by marriage. They were therefore successful in their trading enterprise, though they were sometimes subjected to serious loss in transporting their goods to or from the far-distant Quebec. Not so well informed as the Jesuits, and moved by a lower ambition, they did not aim at any grand discovery or the exploration of the wilderness beyond the great lakes and their tributary rivers upon which they depended for their traffic; but wherever the waters flowed towards the St. Lawrence, they were ready to go.

The conquest of the Hurons by the Iroquois, and the complete desolation of the territory which the former had occupied, and in which there were a number of successful missions, drove the missionaries who had escaped massacre, with the remnant of the Hurons, to the shores of Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. Here they heard of large tribes or nations of Indians still farther west, to whom they were eager to carry the cross, and also heard of the great river flowing south, whose course they desired to explore. It is supposed that one of them, Father Allouez, reached this river, which was the Mississippi, by way of the Wisconsin; but it was reserved for others first to explore it. The report of Allouez to his superior induced the latter to ask the aid of the French government in an expedition to explore the river, which would open new fields for the missions, and enlarge the domains of France. The government in a moderate way assented, and the governor of Canada was instructed to encourage the undertaking. An enterprising trader, Jolliet, who had already explored some of the country about the lakes, was accordingly selected to discover, as it was hoped, a new way to the South Sea, and with him was associated, as the representative of the church, Father Marquette, who had been appointed to a new mission among the Illinois, and had long been anxious to make this exploration.

Leaving Mackinaw in the spring of 1673, in some Indian canoes,





MARQUETTE AND JOLLIET DISCOVER THE MISSISSIPPI.

with five Frenchmen, they paddled along the shores of Lake Michigan, and reached Green Bay, then the westernmost limit of the missions and trading-posts, early in June. Thence, with some Indian guides, they advanced into the unknown wilderness, paddling up the Fox River in their canoes, and then carrying them to waters flowing westward, and reaching the Wisconsin River, they again launched their barks, and floating down its current through a country then clothed in its early summer verdure, they marvelled that they saw no signs of human beings upon the shores; the startled deer looked out upon them from the thickets, and water-fowl congregated in the reedy creeks; but there were no cabins on the shore, and no canoes on the water. The Indian guides, however, cheered the heart of Marquette by assuring him that beyond the great river, towards which they were surely moving, there were great tribes, who spoke a different language, and had not yet heard of the white man's God.

On the 17th of June, to the great joy of the explorers, the Indians shouted, "The great river!" and Marquette looked eagerly forward to catch the first sight of the mighty river which he had so long desired to explore. The canoes soon glided from the Wisconsin into the Mississippi, and floating down on the current, the first exploration of the "Father-of-Waters" was commenced.

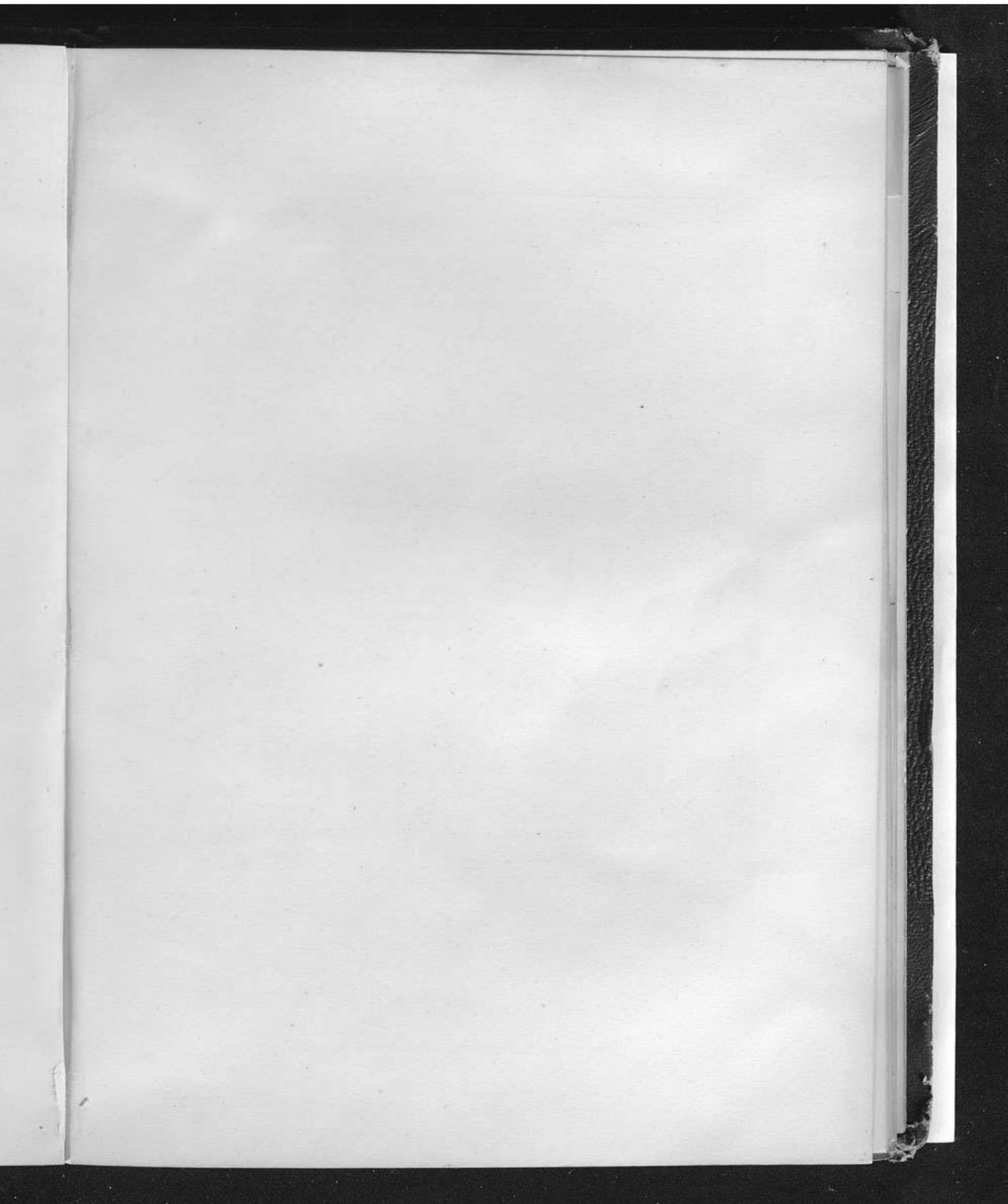
Marquette, in his *Relation*, described with some minuteness the country through which the river flowed, the strange animals seen on its banks, and the enormous fish that swam in its waters; but as the voyagers proceeded day after day for many leagues, they saw no sign of human beings. The character of the country changed from wooded hills to bare bluffs and open prairie, and occasionally reedy shores, and the species of northern game gave place at last to the bison and the wild turkey; but still there were no indications of the presence of man. But at last, to their great joy, the explorers saw footprints on the shore, and leaving their companions with the canoes, Marquette and Jolliet followed a pathway which they discovered, and after travelling a long distance came to an Indian village. In answer to their shout, the natives came out to meet them, and knowing that the "black-gowns," as the Jesuits were called, came on errands of peace, they gave the strangers a friendly welcome. They proved to belong to the Illinois tribe, to a mission among whom Marquette had previously been

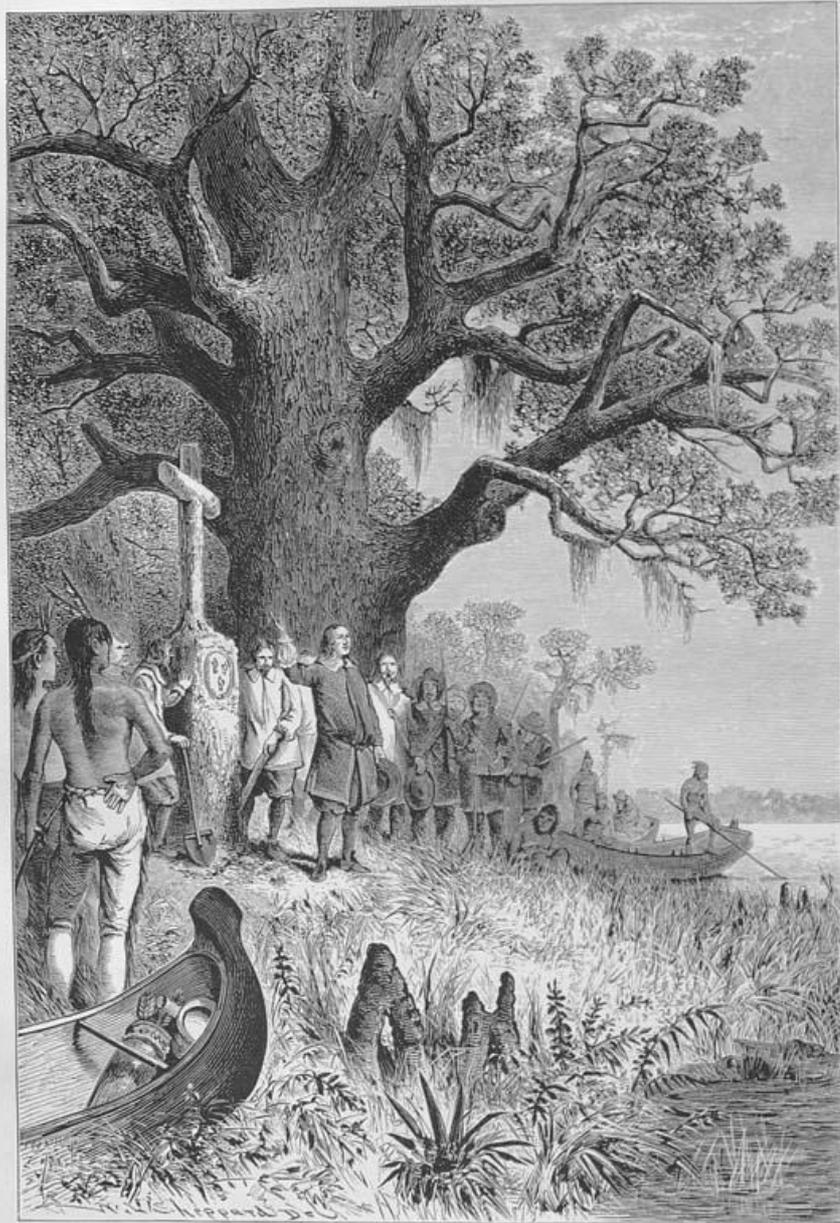
assigned by his superior, and whose language he had already mastered. After a friendly talk with the chiefs, and a promise to visit them again, the Frenchmen returned to their canoes, and proceeded on their voyage, armed with a calumet as a passport to the good-will of other natives.

They continued their course down the river, now greatly increased in the volume of its waters by its mighty tributaries, visiting on the way several native tribes who spoke an unknown dialect, but who invariably respected the sacred calumet, till at last they reached the region of the Arkansas. Here they learned that ten days' sail would take them to the sea, on whose shores there were nations who traded with the whites; and they were satisfied that the Mississippi flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. To proceed farther was dangerous, on account of the more hostile character of the natives, and Marquette was anxious to enter upon his mission to the Illinois, who had given him such a friendly reception. The voyagers accordingly turned their canoes up the river, and laboriously paddled for many weary leagues against the current which had gently borne them southward. Reaching the Illinois River, they took a shorter way to Lake Michigan, finding a friendly tribe eager to assist them at the intervening portage, and arrived at the mission on Green Bay after an absence of four months.

Both the explorers made maps of the river, and wrote a journal of their voyage, and in the following spring Jolliet set out for Quebec to carry back a report of the exploration. His journey was nearly accomplished when, in shooting the rapids above Montreal, his canoe turned, and he lost all his papers and an Indian youth who had been given to him, and with difficulty escaped himself. He wrote an account of his exploration from recollection, which was sent to France; but the French government appears to have taken little interest at that time in a discovery so important, and Marquette's *Relation* was not published till many years afterwards. On his way to Quebec, however, Jolliet had met a gentleman to whom he gave an account of his voyage, and who subsequently availed himself of this accidental information.

Robert Cavelier de La Salle was a French gentleman of rank, who had come to the new world in search of wealth and distinction. After exploring Lake Ontario, and establishing various trading-posts, he obtained from the French government a patent of nobility and a monopoly





LA SALLE CLAIMS THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY FOR FRANCE.

of the fur trade on that lake, and established himself at Fort Frontenac. It was to this gentleman that Jolliet had related his discoveries. La Salle at that time was engrossed in his plans for securing the trade of the lake; but his success not equalling his ambition, he several years afterwards determined to extend the explorations of Marquette and Jolliet on the Mississippi, and enlarge the field for his enterprise. He obtained the aid and encouragement of the French government, and made extensive preparations for an expedition which he hoped would bring him wealth and renown. He built a vessel of sixty tons on the Niagara River, and embarking in it in 1679 with a small colony, which he proposed to plant on the Mississippi, he made a slow but successful voyage across the lakes to Green Bay, his bark being the first one larger than an Indian canoe to traverse those inland seas. In establishing his trading-posts and preparing his expedition he had incurred heavy debts, and while at Green Bay he learned that his creditors were selling his property. To satisfy them that he had not abandoned his business, he sent back his vessel loaded with valuable furs, and with his followers proceeded to the head of Lake Michigan to await its return, meanwhile exploring the Illinois region, and building on the shores of Lake Peoria a fort, which, in his solicitude about his affairs, he named Crève-cœur. Winter passed without any tidings from his vessel; and leaving Tonti, his lieutenant, in command, he returned with only two or three companions on foot to Fort Frontenac, to learn that the vessel was lost, and that he was ruined.

La Salle was not wholly disheartened, however, but determined to carry out his plans for exploring the Mississippi as the most promising means of retrieving his shattered fortunes. He went back to the Illinois, to be apprised of other misfortunes. His men had become discontented, and most of them had deserted Tonti, who had been obliged to take refuge from hostile Indians with a more friendly tribe. Under such circumstances he might well have abandoned his purpose in despair; but he possessed a remarkable energy, and after long delay he succeeded in gathering once more a part of his company, and in 1682, three years after his first start, he descended the Illinois in boats and canoes, and entered upon the Mississippi. His progress down the river was more deliberate than that of Marquette and Jolliet, as he

went commissioned by the French government to take nominal possession of the territory. He stopped near the mouth of the Ohio to build a fort, and at other points he planted the cross and built cabins. The natives whom he met were not unfriendly till he reached the vicinity of the Arkansas, the limit of Jolliet's exploration, where he met with the first hostile demonstration from the inhabitants of an Indian village. By prudent conduct, however, and the aid of Father Membre, who accompanied him, he succeeded in establishing friendly relations with this tribe, and remained with them several days, during which he again erected a cross, and set up the arms of France.

Thence he proceeded down the river, falling in with Indians belonging to more powerful tribes, and apparently more advanced in civilization, who fortunately manifested a friendly disposition. Father Membre thus describes a visit from the chief of one of these tribes, the Taensa: "The chief of this nation, not content with sending him (La Salle) provisions and other presents, wished to see him; and accordingly, two hours before the time, a master of ceremonies came, followed by six men. He made them clear the way he was to pass, prepare a place, and cover it with a delicately wrought cane mat. The chief, who came some time after, was dressed in a fine white cloth, or blanket. He was preceded by two men carrying fans of white feathers. A third carried a copper plate, and a round one of the same metal, both highly polished. He maintained a very grave demeanor during this visit, which was, however, full of confidence and marks of friendship."

At last the explorers arrived at the delta of the Mississippi, where La Salle divided his expedition into three parties, each to explore one of the three channels by which the river now sought the sea. The brackish water told them that the sea was not far away; and soon they reached the Gulf, where the three parties again united. The great river had been explored from the Illinois to its mouths, and indeed from the Falls of St. Anthony, since Father Hennepin had previously explored the upper Mississippi to that point. To celebrate this important discovery, and claim all its advantages for France, a place was selected on the banks of the river for "planting the cross and raising the arms of France." This ceremony was performed with

all the solemnity which the party could command. The *Te Deum* was chanted, and other religious rites were performed, and then La Salle, in the name of the king of France, "took possession of that river, of all rivers that enter it, and of all the country watered by them," giving to that vast territory the name of Louisiana. A volley of musketry responded to the declaration of the leader, and then an account of the proceedings was drawn up, and signed by all the Frenchmen, and a leaden plate, inscribed with the arms of France and the names of the discoverers, was buried in the earth.

Turning their canoes up the river, La Salle's company soon found themselves short of provisions, and lived for a time only on potatoes and alligators, as they experienced some difficulty in obtaining supplies from the Indians, who now manifested a hostile disposition. They made several attacks on parties who went ashore; but the discharge of a few muskets usually put them to flight,—on one occasion, however, not till several of them had been killed. La Salle showed much tact in dealing with the Indians, and while he exercised great caution, and impressed them with the power of France and the glory of the king, who "was greater and higher than the sun," his dignified and friendly manner succeeded in winning their confidence whenever he had an opportunity of meeting them.

When some distance above the Arkansas, La Salle was taken seriously ill, and being unable to proceed, he sent forward the greater part of his party, and was himself put ashore with Father Membré and a few attendants. His sickness nearly proved fatal, and for more than a month he remained there in a hastily built hut carefully attended by the priest, who, like all his order, had some knowledge of medicine. When able to proceed by easy stages, La Salle resumed his homeward journey, and late in the season he reached Green Bay and Mackinaw; but was unable to go to Quebec till the following spring. An account of his exploration of the Mississippi had already been sent to France, and he soon went thither himself to lay before the government the importance of his discoveries, and to obtain means to conduct a colony by sea to the great river.

LA SALLE'S UNFORTUNATE EXPEDITION.



LA SALLE was received with great favor by the king and his ministers, who were now more disposed to take an interest in the exploration of the Mississippi, and the colonization of the country through which it flowed, than they had been on the representations of Jolliet. With little difficulty he obtained a company of emigrants, and being honored with the office of commandant of the larger part of the vast territory which he had named Louisiana, in 1684 he sailed from Rochefort with four ships and two hundred and eighty colonists, to establish a settlement on the lower Mississippi.

A misunderstanding arose between La Salle and Beaujeu, the naval commander; and misinformation received at St. Domingo having caused the expedition to miss the mouths of the Mississippi and pass farther west, Beaujeu refused to retrace his course, or to cruise along the coast till the entrance to the river should be found, but proceeded to Matagorda Bay, in Texas. The smallest of the four vessels was captured by the Spaniards near St. Domingo; and, soon after their arrival in Texas, another misfortune befell the expedition in the loss of the store-ship, which was wrecked on the shoals in consequence of disobedience of orders. At the same time the natives manifested their hostility, and though La Salle by his tact succeeded in gaining their confidence and entering into amicable relations with them, the imprudent conduct of some of the men again excited their hostility, which was never wholly

quieted. Beaujeu, the naval commander, soon after sailed for France in his ship, leaving one vessel, which was under the control of La Salle.

Having landed his colonists, now about one hundred and fifty in number, La Salle selected a place for a camp, or temporary settlement, and built a fort, which he called St. Louis. He then set the men at work planting; but all their labor was lost, for the seed did not vegetate, as it was "not the right season" for such work. Meanwhile the savages continued hostile, and so annoyed the colonists that La Salle determined to make war upon them; and with sixty men, wearing wooden corselets as a protection against arrows, he marched into the country, and in several engagements inflicted such loss upon the Indians with fire-arms, that they became less bold and troublesome. Months passed, the colonists were comfortably housed, and with their stock of cattle, swine, and poultry, and the abundant game of the country, they did not want for food; while a second planting, in a more favorable season, gave promise of a harvest.

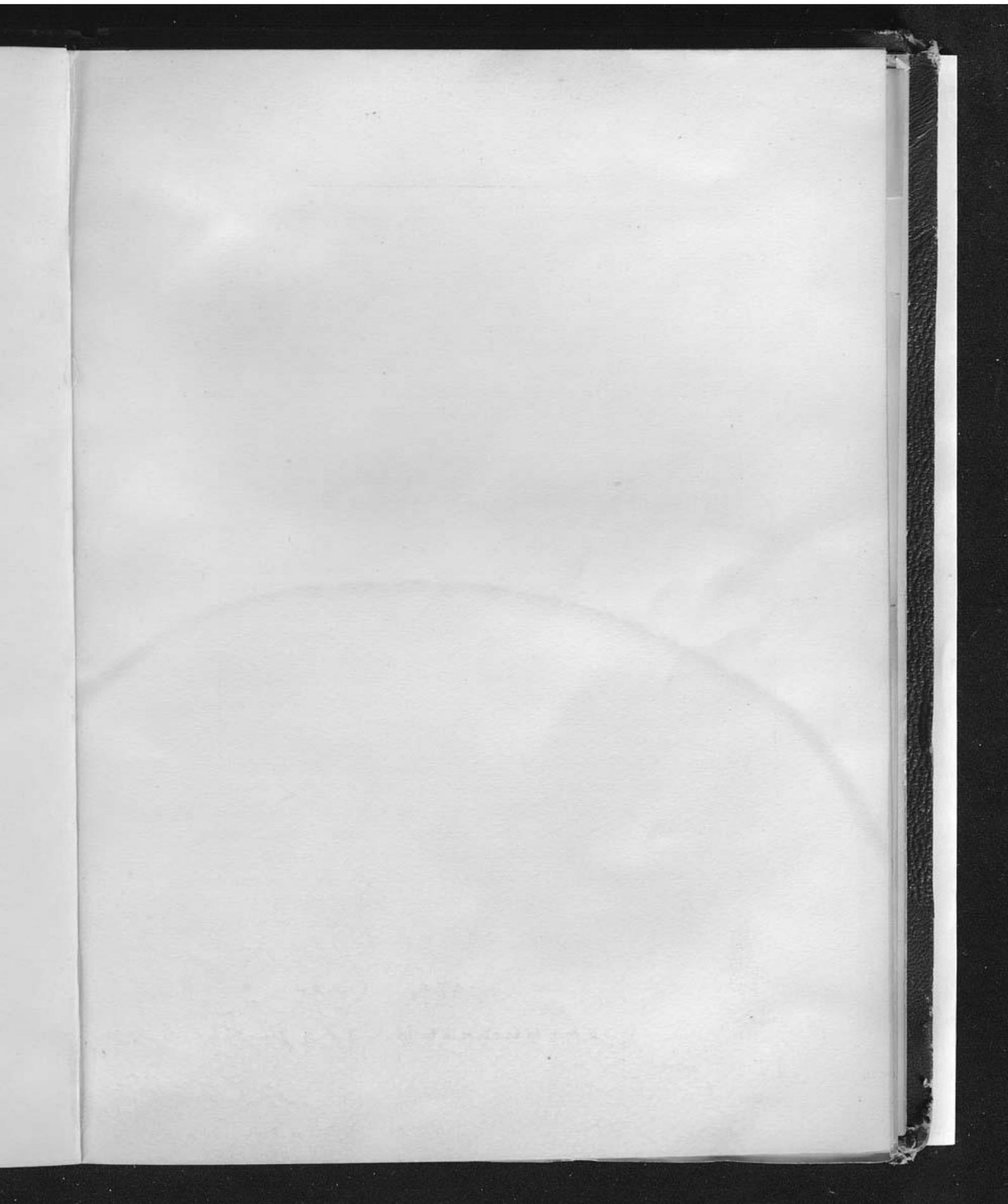
But this was not the region where La Salle had proposed to plant his colony, and he longed to find the great river which he had previously explored. Although he had a frigate in which he might have sailed along the coast in search of the mouths of the Mississippi, which he had so unfortunately passed, he set out with twenty men, hoping to reach the river by land. He was absent nearly six months, and traversed a large part of Texas, finding a beautiful country, and often encouraged with the belief that he was near the object of his search, and as often sadly disappointed. He returned at last with the purpose of taking his frigate and sailing along the coast in search of the undiscovered river. But he deferred this too long; for before he was ready to undertake the voyage, this vessel was also wrecked, and by this misfortune he lost the almost certain means of reaching the Mississippi, or, in case of necessity, of returning to St. Domingo, and obtaining further aid from France.

Reduced to such extremity, La Salle resolved to go overland to the Illinois country, whence he could send to Quebec and to France for succor. With twenty men he started on this proposed difficult journey, and for months toiled through the forests, and across bayous

and rivers, encountering many Indian tribes, most of whom were very friendly. Then La Salle and his nephew were seized with fever, and for two months the company lay still, awaiting their recovery. Meanwhile the party were obliged to live on the game they shot, and their powder was nearly exhausted. To proceed without a better supply would be dangerous; it was accordingly determined to return to Fort St. Louis again; and retracing their steps, they reached the fort after an absence of six months.

During a stay of nearly three months at Fort St. Louis, La Salle exerted himself to place his colony in a condition of greater comfort and security. He cleared more land, built additional houses, surrounded the little village with palisades, and endeavored to secure more friendly relations with the neighboring Indians. Having accomplished this work, he determined to again undertake the long journey to the lakes. Giving the colonists who remained his final instructions, and bidding them a kindly farewell, with his brother, two nephews, Father Douay, a Shawnee Indian who had accompanied him to France, and twenty men, he set out on the long and perilous journey, experiencing much the same difficulties as on his previous attempt.

Disappointed at the result of his expedition, and perhaps dismayed by the weary labor before him, La Salle became greatly depressed in spirits, and seemed to have a presentiment of impending evil. In this mood, he probably ceased to treat his men with the kindness which he had previously shown, and for this, or some other unknown reason, they became discontented, and some of them entered into a plot to murder their leader and his relatives. While at one of their halting-places, La Salle sent his nephew, his body-servant, and the Shawnee Indian hunter, with a number of men, to get some buffalo-meat, which the hunter had left some miles away to dry. On this expedition the conspirators determined to commence their bloody work, and in a dastardly manner killed the nephew, servant, and the Indian hunter whose skill had long supplied the company with food. As two or three days passed and the party did not return, La Salle, fearing they might have fallen into the hands of the Indians, set out with two or three companions in search of them. He reached the neighborhood of the place where the murders had been committed, and meet-





MURDER OF LA SALLE IN TEXAS.

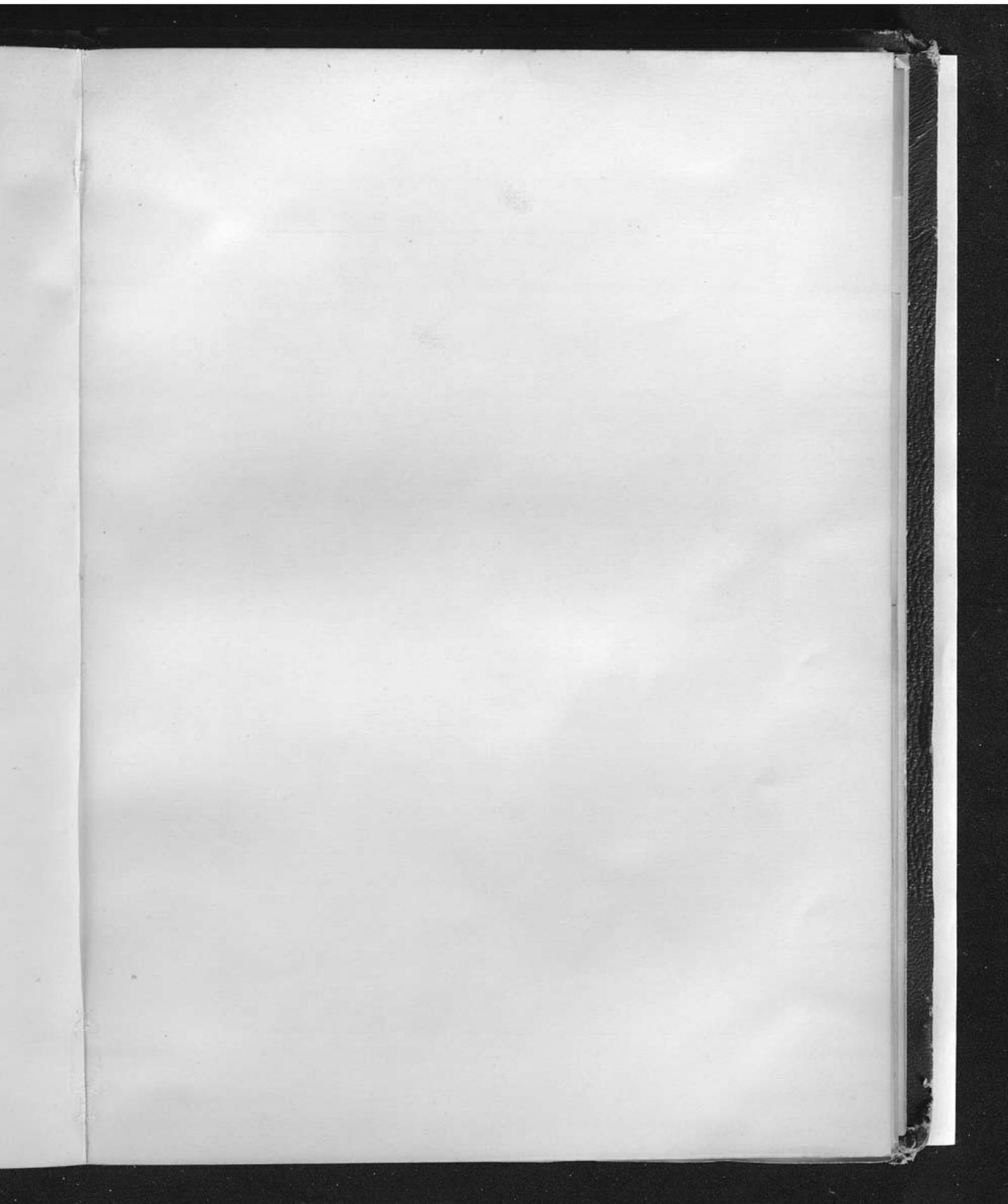
ing two or three of the men, he inquired for his nephew. With faltering tongues these men told the sad story, and directed him to the place where the body was concealed. Shocked and overcome with grief, La Salle passed on with one companion towards the fatal spot. But the work of the murderers was not yet done, and two of them, concealed by the grass and bushes, awaited an opportunity to assassinate the leader also. After he had passed, one of them, rising from his lair, discharged his musket, and La Salle fell mortally wounded. He lived but an hour, consoled in his last moments by the presence of Father Douay, who gave him absolution, and who wrote: "Thus died our wise commander; constant in adversity, generous, engaging, skilful, capable of everything. He who for twenty years had softened the fierce temper of countless savage tribes, was massacred by the hands of his own people, whom he had loaded with kindness. He died in the prime of life, in the midst of his course and his labors, without having seen their success."

The conspirators brought destruction upon themselves; for, quarrelling about the leadership, they divided into two parties, one of which killed all those belonging to the other, among whom were the actual murderers. Not daring to return to Canada or France, they remained among the Indians, while the few faithful men, with La Salle's brother and surviving nephew, and Father Douay, made their way, by the aid of friendly natives, to the Mississippi, and thence to Canada.

The fate of the colonists at Fort St. Louis was involved in mystery. The Spaniards asserted that one of their expeditions into Texas had discovered the fort, inside and outside of which they found many dead bodies of "foreigners," who had been killed by arrows or clubs, while the houses were not destroyed, and eighteen cannon remained mounted. They further intimated that the entire colony, with the exception of three or four men who were living with a distant tribe, was massacred by the Indians. Some of the French, however, believed that the massacre was the work of the Spaniards themselves, who regarded the French as invaders of their territory, and who falsely attributed their inexcusable atrocity to the Indians. The Frenchmen who were reported to be living with a distant tribe, two of whom were taken by the Spaniards to Mexico, were undoubtedly of

the party of conspirators who had murdered La Salle, and were afraid to return either to France or to Fort St. Louis.

It was not till nearly fifteen years after La Salle's unfortunate failure that a French expedition, under Iberville, entered the Mississippi from the Gulf. Iberville, who was a distinguished French naval officer, was commissioned to plant a colony on or near the Mississippi, and sailed from France in 1698 with two hundred settlers. Leaving his ships and emigrants in Mobile Bay, he proceeded with about fifty men in barges, and, entering one of the Mississippi passes, ascended the stream as far as the Red River. Finding no suitable site for a fort and settlement, he returned, and established his colony at the Bay of Biloxi, on the coast of what is now the State of Mississippi. This place proved unhealthy; and two or three years afterwards, the colony, greatly reduced in numbers by a fatal sickness, was removed to the Mobile River, where it established the first European settlement in Alabama. After Iberville's discovery of the mouths of the Mississippi, near which the Spaniards had sailed for two hundred years without suspecting the existence of the great river, emigrants from France soon began to seek homes in this new territory of the French monarch. Settlements were made at various points on the shores of the Gulf, and some of the emigrants ascended the river. The settlements, however, were of slow growth until the territory was granted to the famous John Law, and became a factor in his financial schemes, when it attracted universal attention and a large number of emigrants. It was at this time, 1717, that the first settlement was made at New Orleans; at first, and for some years, a small collection of huts only; but subsequently growing in importance, as trade with the upper settlements increased, until, with a mixed population of French and Spaniards, it became a small provincial capital, exhibiting the characteristics of each of these nations.





SUMMER EVENING IN A FRENCH VILLAGE AT THE WEST

FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE WEST.



IN the geography of the Northwest, as well as of Louisiana, there are still found many French or Gallicized Indian names of places and rivers. While emigrants from France settled about the Gulf and on the lower Mississippi, missions and trading-posts, connected with the older settlements of Canada, were multiplied on the lakes and rivers of the Northwest. The missionaries labored with great earnestness and tact to secure the good-will of the Indians; they learned their language, conformed to some of their customs, administered to the sick, and instructed them in some of the simple arts of life. All this they did with a view to the conversion of the natives; and by the imposing ritual of their church, and adroit appeals to the superstitious element of the Indian mind, they inspired the savages generally with reverence for their religion and themselves, and made many proselytes. The French traders, also, were generally successful in securing the good-will of the natives, and explored the wilderness in all directions where furs could be obtained at the cost of a few hatchets, knives, or trinkets.

About the trading-posts and near the missions small villages of permanent settlers gradually grew up. The glowing descriptions—sent by the priests to their brethren or Superior at Quebec, or given by the traders when they carried their furs across the lakes and down the St. Lawrence—of the fertile lands and abundant game of those far-off regions, attracted adventurers from Canada, who naturally settled

where a trading-post afforded companionship and employment, or where a mission-chapel seemed to promise the protection of heaven. Subsequently, when the lower Mississippi was opened to emigration from France, some extensive grants were made for trading and mining purposes, and companies of settlers found their way up the river, and established themselves at various points on its banks and those of its tributaries, while the French government erected a few forts and maintained garrisons to hold the vast domain which the explorations of Jolliet and La Salle had opened to it.

Kaskaskia was the earliest of these settlements, and became the most flourishing of the French villages in the Northwest. At first a mere trading-post, advantageously situated on the Kaskaskia River where it flows but two miles away from the Mississippi, it early received an accession of agriculturists, who found that the fertile soil yielded an abundant return for their light labors. In the course of time it assumed something of the appearance of a village of Old France transplanted to the Western wilderness. About its substantially built cottages, more attractive and comfortable than the log-cabins of English pioneers, grew various fruit-trees and vines with a luxuriance unknown in the old homes of the settlers, and, under the lattice-windows, with the wild flowers of the prairies the French damsels nurtured the rose of Provence. In the midst of the village was the little chapel, on which a silver-toned bell called the faithful villagers to mass said by a devoted *père*, who divided his labors between his countrymen and a neighboring tribe of Indians. With numerous cattle pasturing in the luxuriant meadows, and fertile fields yielding ample crops of corn, with plenty of game to be had for the hunting, and with waters abounding in fish, the villagers had no lack of food, and lived contented and happy, devout Catholics, rather indolent and very ignorant, a people by themselves, knowing little and caring less about the conflicts of the outside world or the wars in which their own nation was engaged.

Many other French settlements at later dates were established in the Illinois country and on both banks of the Mississippi, as well as on the shores of the great lakes. A few were considerable villages, but most of them were mere hamlets, occupied by a people of little enterprise, the descendants of the early settlers of Canada, or peasants

from Old France. Scattered over a vast territory, at wide distances from each other, they were of no mutual benefit, and were under no general civil government, and very little restraint of any sort, except such as the missionaries and the more intelligent of the settlers chose to exercise. Unlike the English, the French settlers were not accustomed to self-government, and did not as one of their first proceedings set up a local government in every settlement. The military commandants were the only real representatives of authority; but as there were no laws to enforce, and the settlers never quarrelled with the Indians, and seldom disputed among themselves, those officers rarely interfered in their affairs. The missionaries exercised the most powerful, though a gentle, influence over these people, holding them to a faithful observance of the rites of the church, pardoning their peccadilloes, and smiling on their holidays and feasts.

As an instance of the authority asserted by the more intelligent settlers, we are told of a man in the little village of Carondolet who, by somewhat superior knowledge and a strong will, became the autocrat of the village.* He fortunately had the respect of the villagers, and their disputes were voluntarily submitted to him for settlement, while he also assumed jurisdiction over offences, which were seldom very serious, and condemned or acquitted as seemed proper to his sense of justice. One of the villagers acted as constable, and was duly respected as such; but as written process was of no use in that community, since no one could read, this officer, when sent to summon some party to appear at court, carried the self-appointed magistrate's jack-knife as his warrant, and a sight of that jack-knife always secured obedience. This sort of government continued for many years, and the mildness and justice with which it was administered gave no cause for revolution.

Exposed to no serious dangers or hardships, compelled only to moderate labor in order to obtain an ample sustenance, and having little ambition or enterprise, the common French settlers led an easy and contented life. They brought with them the pastimes of their native country, and when, long before the sun went down, the light labors of the day were over, they would assemble in the midst of the vil-

* Hall's Romance of Western History.

lage, and to the music of a violin, on which there was always some performer more or less skilled, indulge in the merry dance through the long summer twilight. The scarcity of French women for partners was not infrequently supplied by the women of some neighboring Indian village, who entered into the sport with more of vigor than grace, while the sedate warriors and hunters looked gravely on.

Few of the early French settlers brought their wives with them, and many, with the sanction of the church, married Indian damsels, who had learned at the missions to say an *Ave*, and to obey the instructions of the priest; while others, domiciled with the natives, took wives after the Indian fashion. From these marriages sprang a race of half-breeds who proved of great service to the whites, both French and English. They combined the vivacity of the French with the cunning, endurance, and sometimes the vindictiveness of the Indian, and proved successful hunters, skilful boatmen, shrewd guides, and swift-footed messengers, though often capricious friends, and occasionally dangerous enemies. Always fond of pleasure, they would indulge in games and dancing whenever an opportunity offered, though miles intervened; and while they assumed to be good Catholics, the looseness of their morals was seldom expiated by any protracted penance. But with all their failings, the half-breeds have proved exceedingly useful to the whites in the trade and settlement of the Northwest, as servants, guides, messengers, and interpreters.

After the "French and Indian war," when the English had gained possession of Canada and the territory east of the Mississippi, many of the French settlers in the Illinois country abandoned their homes and followed the French garrisons to the west side of the Mississippi. Some of the villages were wholly abandoned, and soon went to ruin, to be long afterwards discovered, overgrown with trees and bushes, by some of the more enterprising emigrants from the eastern colonies; others were nearly depopulated, and there was scarcely one that did not lose some of its inhabitants, and become more insignificant as a new order of things opened the country to a strong tide of immigration, and established laws and customs ill suited to the character of the French. An English officer, who was stationed at, or visited, Fort Chartres after the change of rulers, speaks of St. Philippe, a small village a few miles

from the fort, in which there were "about sixteen houses and a small church standing; all the inhabitants except the captain of militia deserted it in 1765, and went to the French side. The captain of militia has about twenty slaves, a good stock of cattle, and a water-mill." This "captain of militia" was probably the principal inhabitant, and a sort of military commandant, who alone exercised authority in the village. More wealthy than his neighbors, he could not migrate without more serious loss. In contrast with this, all the inhabitants of the village of Fort Chartres abandoned that place except three or four of the poorer families, whose poverty induced them to remain.

West of the Mississippi the French settlements continued in much the same manner as before, under the easy rule of the military commandants, and the more direct influence of the mission priests. Under extensive grants from the French government the settlements gradually though slowly increased by emigration from France and Canada; but they were small and scattered, and were established for the purpose of trade with the Indians rather than for agriculture.

St. Louis was founded in 1764 by a company of merchants who had obtained a grant of the exclusive trade of the Missouri River, and who sent a small number of settlers to establish their chief trading-post near the mouth of the river. When, the next year, the French surrendered the territory east of the Mississippi to the English, St. Louis was made the head-quarters of the chief military commandant, and consequently the capital of upper Louisiana. From this circumstance, as well as its situation, it grew in importance, and commanded much of the trade of the Northwest. Under St. Ange, the military commander, the settlement was laid out with more care than was shown in most of the French villages, the land was apportioned among the settlers, and substantial houses were built. The government, though a military one, was exceedingly mild, rather than oppressive, and the soldiers became identified with the settlers, instead of a distinct organization claiming superiority and exacting submission. So attached were the settlers of St. Louis to M. St. Ange, that the Spaniards, who took possession of the upper country in 1768, under the cession by France, from policy continued him in authority for two or three years. But it would seem that these settlers were an exceedingly conservative peo-

ple, who were averse to any change so long as they could live by moderate labor, attend mass, and enjoy their holidays; for they were equally unwilling to accept new rulers, even of their own nationality, when Louisiana was receded to France in 1800.

While Louisiana was under the dominion of Spain, from 1763 to 1800, many Spaniards came to settle there, some of whom went up the river to St. Louis and other points, but the greater part remained on the lower Mississippi. At New Orleans there were numbers of reckless adventurers and sailors who were ready for any lawless enterprise, and some of these, finding their way up the river, turned pirates, and, establishing themselves at a point remote from the settlements, indulged in systematic robbery of the boats or barges that once or twice a year went up the river with supplies from New Orleans, or went down laden with furs from the Northwest. Sometimes the cargoes of these barges were of great value, and proved rich prizes for the robbers, while their loss entailed ruin on their owners. The small crews of the barges made it easy for the robbers to accomplish their purpose; but at last a remarkable instance of shrewdness and daring on the part of a negro is reported to have secured the escape of a richly laden boat, and to have led to the dispersion of the piratical band.

This barge belonged to M. Beausoliel, who having loaded it with a variety of merchandise, sailed up the river for St. Louis. A fortunate breeze carried it safely by the place where the pirates watched for their prey; but they hurried up the banks of the river to head it off under less favorable circumstances. Two days afterwards they found the barge "tied up" to the shore, and immediately boarded it, well armed, and in irresistible numbers. Placing a guard in different parts of the boat, they obliged the crew to turn it down the river towards their camp. The negro cook, however, at once conceived a plan to recapture the boat. He expressed the greatest joy at the capture and his consequent escape from slavery, and speedily won the confidence of the robbers by his friendly demonstrations, so that they neglected to watch him. He then unfolded his purpose to two or three other negroes of the crew, and secured the promise of their aid in his daring plan, which was to suddenly take the robbers unawares and force them overboard. The time appointed for carrying out this bold scheme was

the dinner hour; and the cook having prepared that meal gave the dinner signal, which was the signal for his associates to be prepared. While the attention of the pirates, who were disposed along the sides of the barge, was distracted from their prisoners to the expected dinner, the cook went to the bow of the barge and suddenly threw one of the robbers overboard, and then with marvellous speed another and another, until he alone had cast fourteen of the pirates into the river, while his allies had dispatched others! With an oar he prevented them from getting on board again, or with the muskets they had dropped on deck drove them to the shore. With how many grains of salt this remarkable story is to be received, the reader may imagine when it is stated that these watchful robbers were fully armed. They must have been in a singular state of stupor not to have shown some resistance before the fourteenth man found himself struggling in the water. Such is the story, however, which M. Beausoliel carried back to New Orleans; and in consequence thereof, the governor, the following spring, directed that all boats bound up the river should proceed together, that the crews might assist each other in repelling an attack. A fleet of ten boats accordingly started for the upper settlements, and when it arrived near the point of danger, men were landed from each boat, and the combined force advanced toward the place where some men had been seen watching the approach of the foremost barge. The rendezvous of the pirates was discovered, and in it was found a large quantity of goods plundered from captured boats; but the robbers themselves had taken to the woods. The goods were loaded on board the boats, the huts were destroyed, and the nest of pirates effectually broken up.

Though the French had always cultivated friendly relations with the neighboring tribes of Indians, St. Louis once experienced an attack from the savages. During the Revolutionary War a large force from various northern tribes, under the lead of some English Canadians, came down the river for the purpose of attacking and plundering this settlement. Rumors of such an expedition had reached St. Louis some time before, and the settlement was surrounded by a palisade, and such other defences were prepared as the small number of able-bodied men could accomplish with their limited means. As time passed and no hostile force appeared, the inhabitants were lulled into a sense of security which

might have proved fatal had not the Indians unaccountably delayed their attack after having arrived opposite the town.

It was in May, and on one of the great festivals of the Catholic church, when the inhabitants, having faithfully attended mass, gave themselves up to the enjoyment of a holiday. Young and old went outside the palisades to gather wild strawberries, which were then ripening on the prairie. Scattered far and wide, with no thought of danger, and wholly incapable of defence, the Indians could have massacred nearly all these happy villagers had they then crossed the river; but while they might have seen their opportunity, they fortunately did not avail themselves of it, and the entire company returned unharmed to vespers. The next day, however, they crossed in a body, and commenced an attack by firing some shots at a few men who were at work in the fields outside the palisades. These fled to the gates, which were speedily opened to them; and all the inhabitants who were able were summoned to defend the settlement. The Spanish garrison, however, from cowardice or treachery, took no part in the defence, and the villagers were left to resist the enemy as best they might. They exhibited a bravery equal to the necessity, and with their muskets, and a cannon loaded with grape, they compelled the Indians to retire, though not till some of their own number had been killed or wounded. This was almost the only display of Indian hostility against the French settlements at the West, and St. Louis was never again attacked.

When, in 1803, Louisiana was purchased by the United States, some of the wealthier French settlers left the small villages and removed to St. Louis and New Orleans, while many of the poorer class also abandoned their homes and sought employment with the fur-traders. Those who remained continued to plod on in the old way, not over-industrious, fond of holidays, and dutiful to the church, till at a later period a more enterprising population began to settle the fertile lands about them. Unaccustomed to local self-government, or participation in public affairs, they did not readily adapt themselves to the new order of things, and it was a long time before they became reconciled to their rights and duties as free citizens.

ADVANCE OF THE ENGLISH FRONTIERS
WESTWARD.

THOUGH the pioneers of the great army of emigrants which moved from the Atlantic colonies to the richer fields of the West differed in character as they went from New England, or Pennsylvania, or Virginia, they were in some respects alike. They were natives of a new country, the greater part of which was still a wilderness occupied only by tribes of Indians, and they grew up, under the influences of such a situation, hardy, active, daring, and with a sense of personal freedom arising from the vastness of the unexplored regions about them. Often they were those born on the frontiers of the older colonies, accustomed to adventure, skilled in woodcraft, familiar with the habits and even the warfare of the Indians, to whom the unexplored continent was not the strange land on the shores of which their fathers had disembarked. Even those who went from the older settlements were better fitted, by a general knowledge of the country and the oft-told experience of others, to encounter the perils and surmount the difficulties of pioneer life than the first settlers, coming from the cities or villages of the old world, had been to brave the terrors of an unknown wilderness and its barbarous inhabitants.

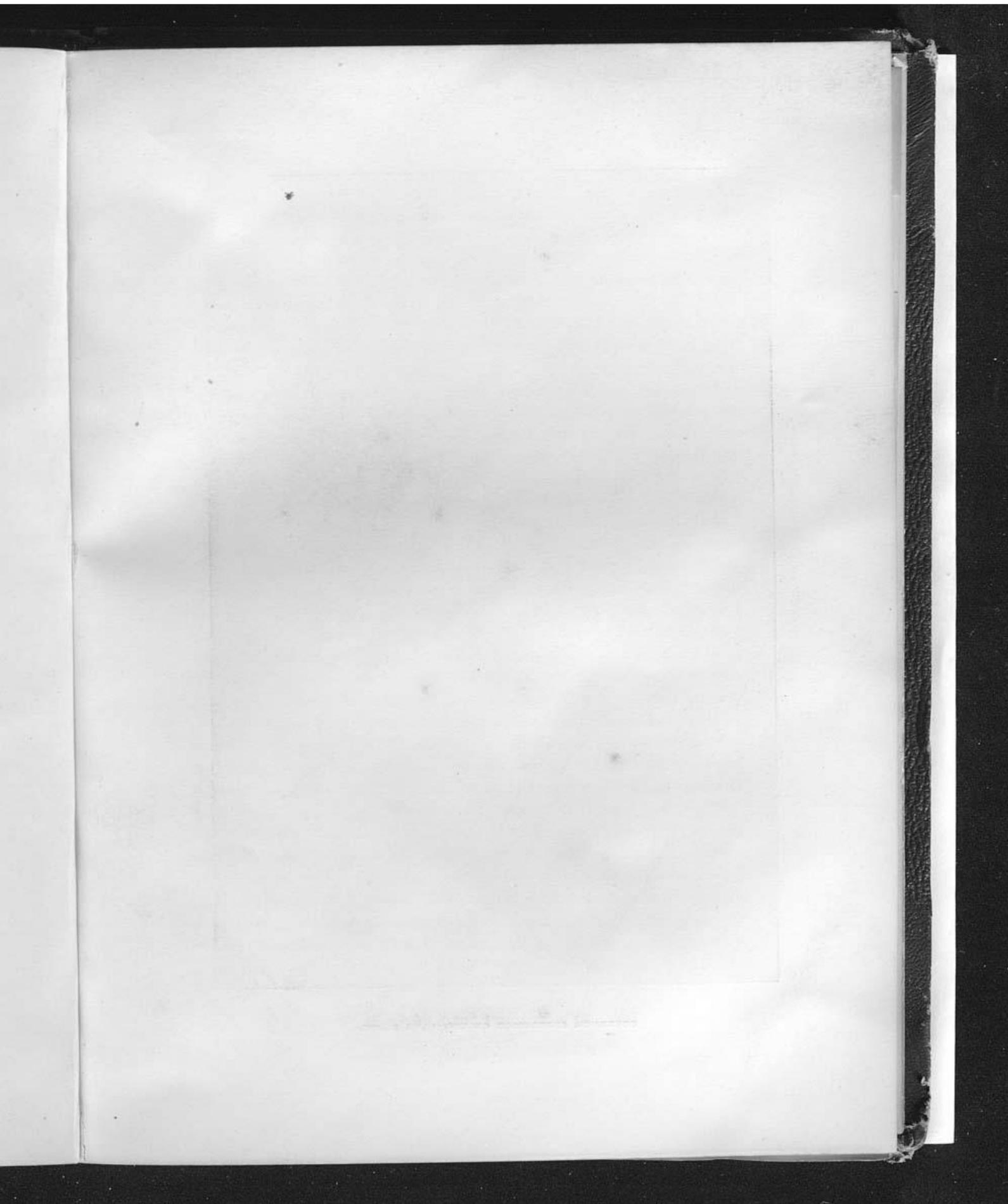
It is not possible within the limits of our remaining pages to mention in detail, or give more than an historical outline of, the early settlements in each of the states of the West. The characteristics of

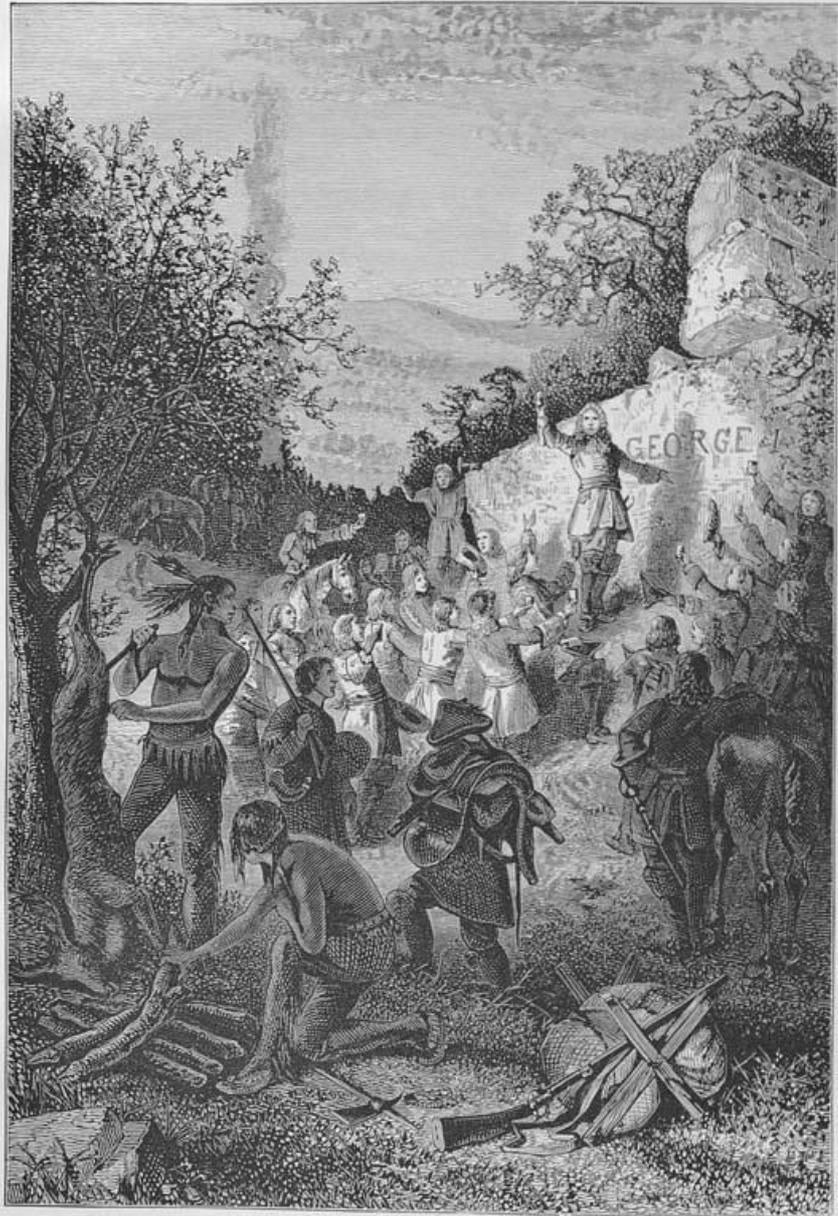
the pioneers were so similar, and their adventures and experiences were so like in their general character, that it will be sufficient to speak of this emigration as a whole, and to relate some of the events and incidents which illustrate it in divers places and at different periods.

When the colonies were firmly established on the Atlantic coast, the settlements were gradually extended inland, each successive generation, as it were, seeking new lands farther in the wilderness. In New England, bounded on the east and south by the sea, the sterile soil induced some of the colonists at the very earliest period to seek the more fertile lands of the valley of the Connecticut, and between that river and Massachusetts Bay a few scattered settlements were established. Afterwards emigrants from Massachusetts and New Hampshire advanced into Vermont, which was then chiefly known as the route by which the French and Indians made their hostile incursions into the frontier towns of the Bay colony, at first to build forts, and then to establish settlements. In New York, while the Dutch for the most part remained near the Hudson, the English slowly extended their settlements into the interior. In Pennsylvania a mixed population of English and Germans advanced to the mountains in which lay the unknown treasures of "black diamonds." The gentry of Virginia extended their possessions to the foot of the Blue Ridge, and in North Carolina a few adventurous pioneers had established themselves within sight of the mountain ranges that formed a natural boundary of their territory.

The mountains extending from New York to Georgia seemed a barrier against the further advance of settlements; but there was a vague knowledge, derived from the French or Indians, of a vast extent of fertile territory lying beyond the mountains, and among the frontier settlers there were bold spirits who were desirous of passing the barrier and exploring the unknown region beyond. Most of the colonial charters had granted the territory indefinitely west, and when the colonies became royal provinces, the claims of the Crown extended in like manner towards the Pacific. When Law's famous "Mississippi Bubble," attracting universal attention in Europe, became known in America, the royal governors thought of the claims of their provinces to these fertile regions, on which the French were likely to trespass.

Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, desirous of encouraging the explo-





GOVERNOR SPOTSWOOD ON THE BLUE RIDGE.

ration and settlement of the country beyond the mountains, undertook to effect a passage over the Blue Ridge himself, and about 1720, with a retinue of gentlemen and soldiers befitting his rank and the importance of the expedition, and a supply of provisions on pack-horses, he started on the somewhat formidable journey. Though requiring some hard labor to toil up the steep ascent and through the pathless woods, it was apparently a pleasure excursion to the governor and his friends, who were eager for this kind of joint adventure. The Blue Ridge was surmounted, and the king's name was cut in a rock on the highest of the mountains, the event being duly celebrated by drinking to his Majesty's health. But there were ranges of mountains more formidable beyond the limit to which the governor's excursion extended. To celebrate the achievement of his party, and to encourage others to extend the explorations, he determined to institute a new order of merit; and as the rough and rocky surface of the mountains had made it necessary to have the horses shod, a thing not general in the softer soil of the lower country, he selected the horseshoe as the badge of the order. To each of the gentlemen who accompanied him he presented a miniature golden horseshoe bearing an appropriate motto, and also offered it as a prize to those who should extend the exploration further, no one being entitled to it who should not at least have drunk the king's health on the mountain he had named Mount George. This inducement, however, probably did not add much to the extent of the explorations, and the Virginia gentlemen who were desirous of wearing the badge were doubtless content to drink the king's health on Mount George. Nearly twenty years afterwards preparations were made to send a military force across the mountains under Spotswood, who was no longer governor; but his death put an end to the undertaking.

A few adventurous pioneers, however, crossed the Blue Ridge, and took up their abode in the wilderness; and the hardy backwoodsmen and hunters of North Carolina also penetrated the forests towards Kentucky. The first white man who travelled far into western Virginia is said to have been one who was subject to temporary fits of insanity, and who, having taken to the woods during one of these attacks, found himself, when he recovered, on the Greenbrier River. His report of a river flowing to the west, and a country abounding in game,

induced some of the daring hunters to seek this region, though no permanent settlement was made there for a long time afterwards. Among these were two men who built a cabin on the banks of the Greenbrier, in which they both lived for a time, and then, having quarrelled, one of them voluntarily left the cabin or was forced out of it, and took up his abode in a hollow tree, while his late companion continued to occupy the scarcely more commodious dwelling. Their quarrel did not result in any more serious acts, and when they met they treated each other with distant courtesy. They probably did not care to be left utterly alone in the wilderness, and the sight of an estranged comrade was more agreeable than absolute solitude, which might be at any time broken by the appearance of a hostile savage.

Between 1750 and 1760 several explorations were made by enterprising parties as far as the Big Sandy River, and into Kentucky; but they did not reach the Ohio River, and none of them resulted in any immediate settlement of importance. Following the advance of the hunters, however, a few hardy pioneers gradually established themselves on the banks of the streams that flowed to the west. But the hostility of the Indians, who were under the influence of the French, was an obstacle to any considerable emigration; and in 1761 the English government issued orders for all the colonists who had settled on the western waters to remove from those regions which were claimed by the Indians. With the independence which characterized the frontier adventurers, the settlers paid little regard to these orders till some of them were killed or compelled to fly by the savages, who considered them trespassers on their hunting-grounds.

Previous to 1750 traders from the English colonies ventured into the Ohio country, trading with the Indians at their villages, but establishing no permanent posts. The government of Virginia, which colony laid claim to all this northwest territory, about this time, also, granted to the "Ohio Company" half a million acres to be taken principally on the south side of the Ohio, between the Monongahela and Kenawha rivers. Surveyors were sent to survey this grant, who also explored the region north and west of the Ohio, and thither a few adventurers followed. The French were apprised of these movements, and as France, by virtue of the exploration of the Mississippi and the early establish-

ment of missions and trading-posts in the West, claimed all the territory drained by the great river, the French commander in Canada was ordered to build forts at various points on the lakes and western rivers to assert the sovereignty of the French monarch, and to maintain it against the encroachments of the English colonies. One of these forts was at Presque Isle (Erie), and two or three small stockades were erected at other points in northwestern Pennsylvania. The French soldiers moving about in the Ohio country captured some of the English traders and sent them as prisoners to Canada; and the French commandant declared that he would maintain the right of France to all this region alike against the English and the Indians, who, though then friendly to the English, said that they alone were the rightful possessors of the country.

Meanwhile the Ohio Company sent a small party to take possession of their lands, and a trading-house was erected at an Indian village, a short distance below the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers. This establishment was destroyed by the French in 1753, and all but two of the traders were killed. It was in consequence of these acts, and the evident purpose of the French to possess the Ohio country, that Washington made his memorable journey through the wilderness on a mission from the governor of Virginia to the French commandant wherever he might be found. On this journey, Washington observed the point at the confluence of the above-named rivers as a favorable position for a fort; and soon after his return to Virginia a company was sent to erect a stockade at that place. While this work was in progress a formidable force of French and Indians came down the Alleghany, and the Virginians had no choice but to surrender. They were permitted to march away with their arms and tools, and retired to join a stronger force that was on the way from Virginia. The French then proceeded to erect a fort of their own on nearly the same site, which they called Fort du Quesne, and which became a post of great importance in the history of that period.

It is not within the province of this work to recount the story of Braddock's defeat on his unfortunate expedition against Fort du Quesne, nor the events of the French and Indian war which followed; for though the possession of the territory west of the Alleghanies was involved,

the war was not waged by the pioneer settlers of that region. In 1758 a better conducted expedition, under Washington, captured the fort, and subsequently a more substantial one was built on the same site by the English, and named Fort Pitt. Under the protection of this fort and its garrison a considerable number of emigrants from eastern Pennsylvania and Virginia settled in the neighborhood and built a little village, which was the beginning of Pittsburgh. Outside the fort the English officers cultivated some well-kept gardens, and the villagers cleared and planted some small fields. But a few years afterwards, when the Indians waged a fearful war against the frontier settlements, the settlers were obliged to take refuge within the fort; and the little village went to decay. After this war was over, in 1765, Pittsburgh was laid out as a town, and settled by emigrants from eastern Pennsylvania. At the time of the revolutionary war it was the only important English settlement west of the mountains.

PONTIAC'S WAR AND OTHER INDIAN HOSTILITIES.



THE result of the French and Indian war was to secure to the English the possession of Canada, and nominally of all the territory east of the Mississippi as far south as the thirty-first parallel. In 1763 the French abandoned their forts in this territory, and the English took possession of them or built others, chiefly along the lake frontier, while emigrants from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania began to move towards the Ohio, and numerous English traders visited the newly ceded country. The Indians who inhabited the region north of the Ohio had lived on friendly terms with the French, but they had been taught to hate the English; and the occupation of the forts by the latter, and the advance of the settlers from the east, led them to fear encroachments on their hunting-grounds. All the tribes, therefore, of this region combined for a war of extermination on the invaders. This confederacy of the savages was brought about by Pontiac, an Ottawa chief of remarkable ability as well as bravery, who exerted a wonderful influence over his followers, and conducted the war with a skill equal to the ferocity and vindictiveness of the common warriors.

The first victims of this war were the English traders, nearly two hundred of whom were scattered among the Indian villages, and all but two or three were murdered. The Indians then in formidable numbers swept down upon the pioneer settlements south-east of the

Ohio, from Pennsylvania even to North Carolina, and massacred all the settlers who had not seasonably sought safety within forts, or fled to the older settlements. But even to the older settlements the savages followed, and in Pennsylvania they advanced nearly to Carlisle and Shippensburg, murdering or capturing all the unfortunate whites whom they surprised, burning houses and destroying property, and desolating the homes of the pioneers scattered over a territory three hundred miles long and thirty wide. Fort Pitt was surrounded by a large force of the Indians, who attacked it with great spirit, and attempted to set it on fire by a discharge of arrows to which lighted combustibles were attached. But the fort was bravely defended, and the assailants were kept at bay. At the first appearance of the Indians, messengers had been sent to the settlements announcing the danger to which the garrison was exposed; and Colonel Bouquet was sent with five hundred men to its relief. When within four days' march of the fort, this force was attacked by the Indians in great numbers; but after two days' severe fighting the savages were repulsed, the fort was reached, and the enemy soon retired from that vicinity.

The war was carried on in a manner altogether unusual with the Indians, and which indicated a skill and power of combination that would have done credit to a civilized general. While the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia were desolated, a more regular warfare was carried on at the Northwest, and a simultaneous attack was made on many of the English posts. Several of these posts were surprised or overrun by great numbers of the savages, who got possession of the forts of Presque Isle, Venango, St. Josephs, Mackinaw, and other small stockades, and slaughtered the garrisons. Fort Pitt, as already stated, was successfully defended, and Fort Niagara narrowly escaped capture, while Detroit was closely and persistently besieged by a swarm of Indians under Pontiac himself.

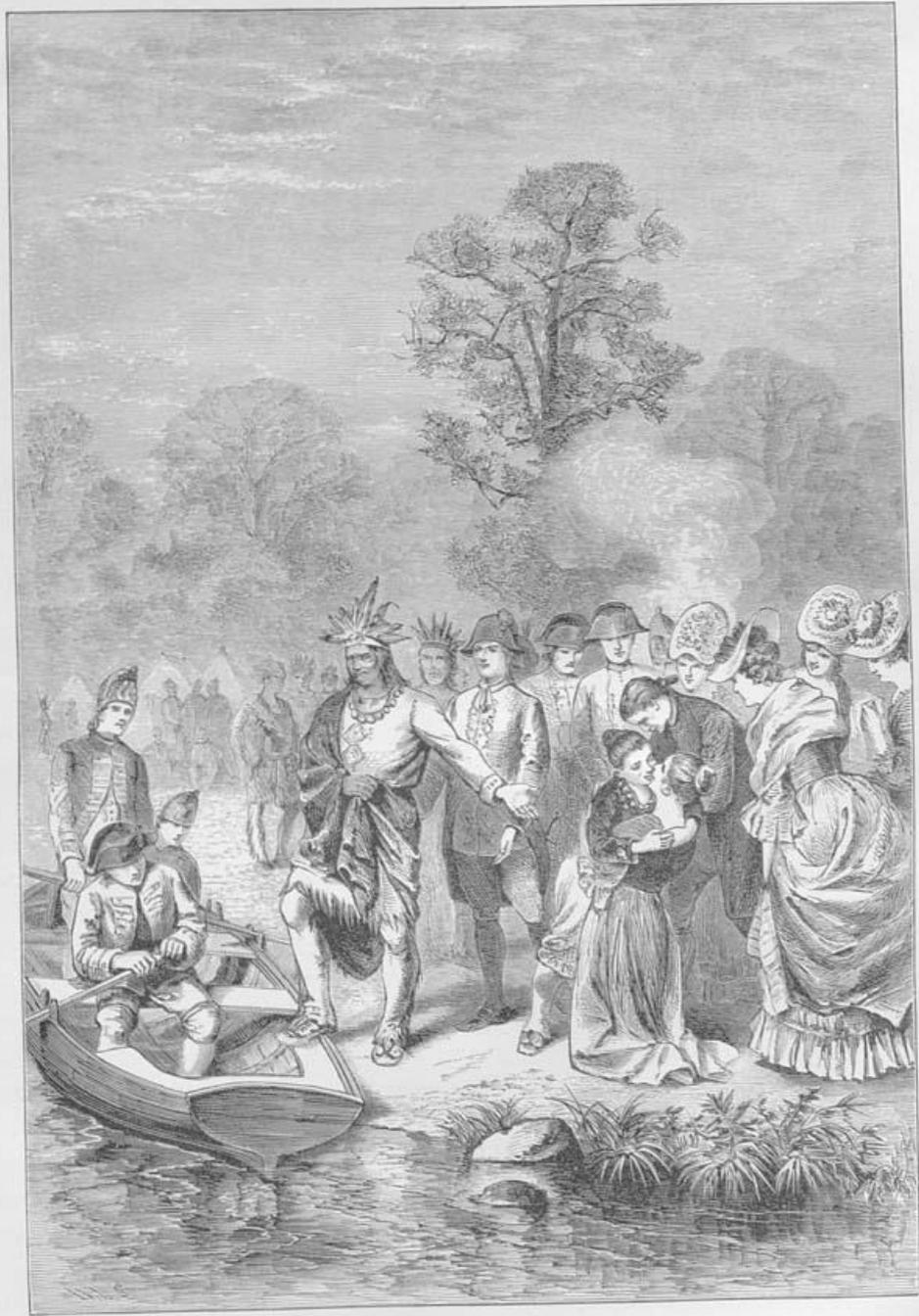
Detroit at that time was a considerable French village; but there were few English there besides the garrison in the fort, which was a work of some strength, capable of withstanding the attack of an Indian force which had no artillery. With the French the Indians were on friendly terms, and while they mingled freely with the villagers,

Pontiac attempted to gain possession of the fort by stratagem, as most of the other forts had been captured. A large number of the combined tribes had assembled at Detroit, and the wily chief proposed that a council should be held in the fort to "brighten the chain of friendship;" his purpose being, that at a given signal the savages should attack the unprepared garrison and massacre them. Not suspecting the treachery, the commandant of the fort agreed to the proposal. He was entirely ignorant of the combination which Pontiac had long been secretly preparing, and the appearance of the Indians in such numbers did not necessarily augur an unfriendly disposition. Fortunately the night previous to the holding of the council, an Indian woman who had received favors at his hands, informed him of the hostile purpose of the savages; and accordingly the garrison was under arms, and the officers were on the watch for the least sign of unfriendliness. Pontiac made his professions of friendship; but finding the English on their guard, he did not venture to give the preconcerted signal. The commander rebuked him for his contemplated treachery, but unwisely suffered him with his attendant chiefs to depart.

Finding that his cunning did not avail, Pontiac laid siege to the fort, determined to worry the garrison by constant attacks, and to compel a surrender by starvation. For months the siege continued with a persistency unusual with the Indians, who were untiring in their artifices to put the garrison off its guard, and in their watchfulness to pick off the sentinels. The garrison was also constantly on the alert to kill the Indians whenever they exposed themselves, and a fierce vindictiveness was displayed on both sides. But as the siege continued, the provisions of the beleaguered force began to fail, and notwithstanding their constant labors, they were reduced to a short allowance. The prospect was gloomy enough, for there was no chance of succor: if the siege continued, starvation was sure; and to surrender was to be cruelly tortured and wantonly massacred. But officers and men determined to hold out to the last. At length the Indians became tired of the long delay and the fruitless labors of the siege, and the bold and persistent Pontiac saw the various tribes of his confederacy, one after another, retire from the contest. Left at last with only his own immediate followers, he was compelled to abandon his purpose.

The year after the attack on Fort Pitt a force of fifteen hundred troops from Pennsylvania and Virginia was sent under Colonel Bouquet to invade the Indian territory north-west of the Ohio. The Indians endeavored to dissuade the colonel from the invasion, and manifested a desire to establish a permanent peace; but it was considered best to impress the natives by a display of power, and the expedition advanced to the plains of Sandusky without encountering any hostile force. There a conference was held with the chiefs of various tribes, and Colonel Bouquet, by his firmness, secured the restoration of upwards of two hundred captives, mostly women and children, who had been carried off in the late and previous incursions of the Indians from the settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and detained among the different tribes. A contemporary writer, who probably derived his information from those who were present, thus describes the scenes at the delivery of these prisoners, many of whose relatives and friends were in the expedition:

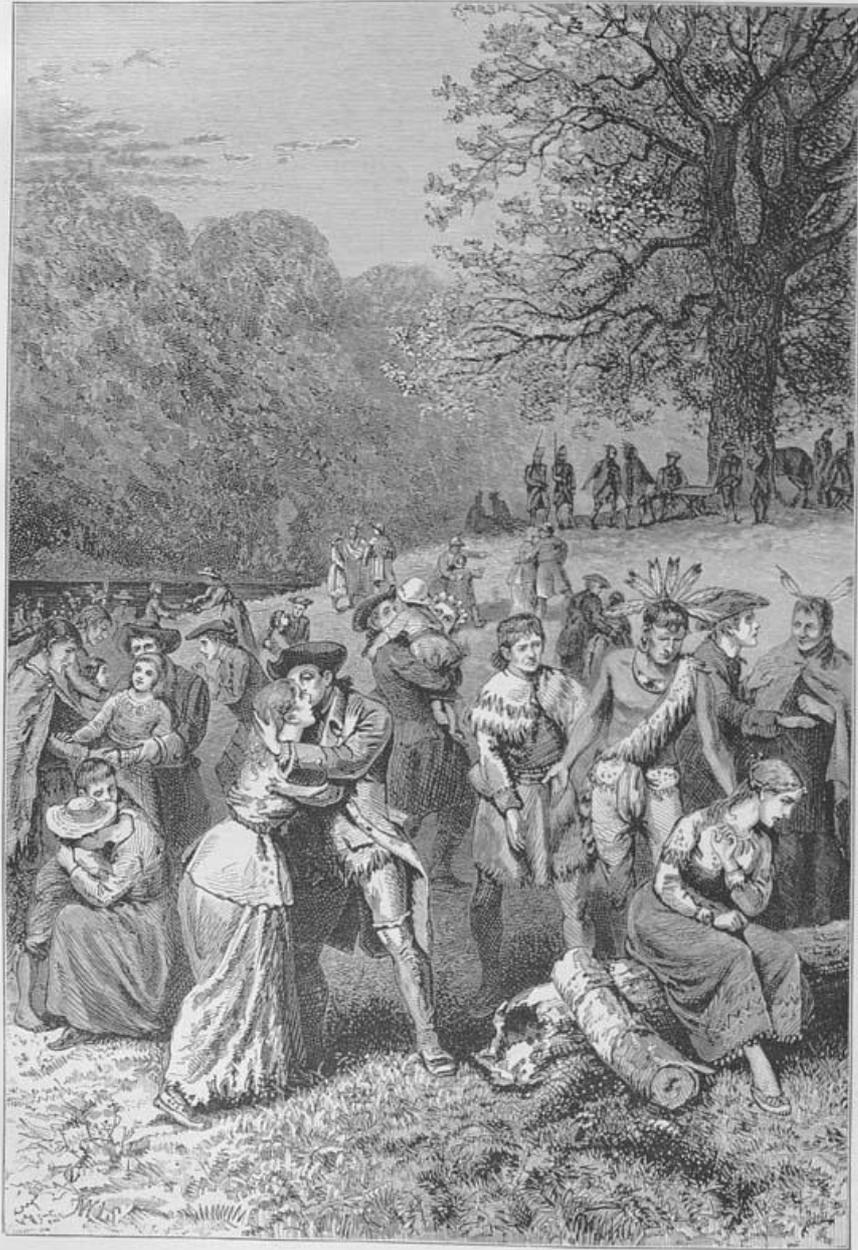
"It is impossible to paint the various scenes of joy and sorrow, horror and disappointment, and all the most tender passions, which appeared on this occasion. Fathers and mothers recognizing their once lost infants; husbands hanging round the necks of their newly found wives; sisters and brothers unexpectedly meeting together, after a long separation, scarce able to speak the same language, or for some time to be sure that they were children of the same parents; others flying from place to place, in eager inquiries after relations not found, distracted with doubts, hopes, and fears, on obtaining no account of those they sought, or stiffened with horror on learning their unhappy fate. The Indians, too, as if wholly forgetting their usual savageness, bore a capital part in heightening these most affecting scenes. They delivered up their beloved captives with the utmost reluctance, . . . visited them from day to day, brought them what corn, skins, horses, and other matters they had bestowed on them while in their families,—accompanied with other presents and all the marks of the most sincere and tender affection. Nay, they did not stop here; but when the army marched, some of the Indians solicited and obtained leave to accompany their former captives all the way to Fort Pitt, and employed themselves in hunting and bringing provisions for them on the road. A



RETURN OF THE LITTLE CAPTIVE







RESTORATION OF CAPTIVES IN OHIO.

young Mingo went still further, and gave an instance of love which would make a figure even in romance. He had taken so great a liking to a Virginia young woman, who was among the captives, as to call her his wife. Against all remonstrances of the imminent danger to which he exposed himself by approaching the frontiers, he persisted in following her at the risk of being killed. . . . Among the children who had been carried off young, and had long lived with the Indians, it is not to be expected that any marks of joy would appear on being restored to their parents or relations. . . . But it must not be denied that there were even some grown persons who showed an unwillingness to return. The Shawanese were obliged to bind several of their prisoners and force them along to the camp; and some women who had been delivered up, afterwards found means to escape and run back to the Indian towns."

Peace was soon after established by a treaty made by Sir William Johnson, and continued undisturbed for ten years; but Pontiac did not abandon his hostile designs, and was engaged in an attempt to unite the western tribes in another general war against the whites, when he was assassinated by one of his own race. During this peace, the pioneers who had escaped the fury of the Indians, and the rescued prisoners, returned to their frontier homes, and were followed by many emigrants from the older settlements, who settled along the banks of the Monongahela and at various points in western Pennsylvania and western Virginia. As fear of the Indians diminished, the fertile lands north-west of the Ohio and in Kentucky invited the adventurous backwoodsmen to a farther advance into the wilderness; but few besides the hardest explorers had ventured into those regions before another Indian war raged on the frontiers.

While the emigrants from eastern Pennsylvania at Pittsburgh and other settlements were busy clearing fields, erecting houses and barns, with here and there a mill, and those from Virginia were scattering more widely, and establishing their homesteads on more extensive possessions, they were suddenly, in 1774, startled from their peaceful pursuits by an Indian war which was precipitated, if not wholly provoked, by the foolish and wicked conduct of some of the white adventurers who were exploring lands for speculative purposes. Having lost some

horses in the woods, these men assumed that they had been stolen by Indians, and that the savages were again on the war-path. These men with others engaged in similar pursuits hurried to the nearest settlement with their unfounded rumors, exciting alarm among the settlers, and arousing in some the vindictive feelings engendered by the losses of friends or property in the former war. Two or three Indians were seen descending the river in a canoe, and the rumors appeared to most of the excited whites to be certainties. A party went out to intercept the Indians, and on their return reported that the objects of their pursuit had fallen overboard, the truth being that they were wantonly shot. Soon after this unprovoked outrage a company of whites, under the lead of one Daniel Greathouse, attacked a party of Indians who were encamped at the mouth of Captina Creek, and killed most of them, following up this wanton massacre by another at Yellow Creek. Among the victims in these two unjustifiable massacres were nearly all the relatives of the famous Cayuga chief, Logan, who had hitherto always been friendly to the English, but who was aroused by these losses to implacable hatred towards them. The mournful eloquence of his celebrated speech, made at the conclusion of peace some time afterwards, shows how deeply his wrongs had affected him.*

The news of the unprovoked slaughter sped swiftly through the forest, and the tribes of the Ohio were soon on the war-path, fierce with the vindictive passions of the savage. Well might the frontier settlers be filled with alarm when they learned what had been done, and dread a sudden and fearful retaliation. Those who realized the danger hurried their families towards the older settlements, where they could be left in safety, and expresses were sent to Williamsburgh, the seat of government of Virginia, to ask for aid to repel the savage foe. Those who unwisely delayed their departure, or who were too remote to learn the danger, were surprised by bands of stealthy Indians and massacred, or with great difficulty effected a narrow escape. The hardy pioneers, however, were not the men to seek their own safety in flight; and having placed their wives and children beyond the reach of the

* This speech, as it appears in English, is said to be really a translation of Logan's message to Lord Dunmore, commander of the Virginia force sent against the Indians, though sometimes supposed to be the offspring of Jefferson's imagination.

savages, they returned to defend their homes and property. But they found, too often, their houses burned, their cattle gone, their fields laid waste; and in turn their vindictiveness was aroused. They hurriedly built log forts for protection, and a desultory warfare followed between small parties of the settlers and the Indians, each bent on annihilating the other.

The Virginia government, with little delay, raised forces for a campaign against the Indians. One army of eleven hundred men, under General Lewis, assembled in Greenbrier County, and marched thence to Point Pleasant, at the confluence of the Kenawha and the Ohio, where Lord Dunmore with another force coming down from Fort Pitt was to join it. It was a long and difficult march through the unbroken wilderness, and it was necessary to carry the provisions and munitions on pack-horses. Before General Lewis arrived at Point Pleasant, however, Lord Dunmore, who was the superior officer, changed his plans, and had already gone down the Ohio in boats and canoes to attack the Indian town of Chillicothe, which was supposed to be the most important permanent residence of the savages. He sent orders to General Lewis to join him at the mouth of the Hocking; but the orders did not reach that officer till he had been some days awaiting the arrival of the force from Fort Pitt, and before he could obey, his camp was attacked by a large body of Indians.

A detachment sent forward to meet the enemy was driven back by the fierce attack of the Indians upon the main body of the little army, which advancing, drove the savages in turn till they took shelter in thickets and behind lines of fallen trees extending from the Ohio to the Kenawha. From these defences they kept up a steady fire upon the Virginia troops, who found it impossible to dislodge them. The battle continued through the day; but at nightfall the Indians retreated across the Ohio. The loss of the whites in this conflict was seventy-five killed, among whom were many officers, and about one hundred and fifty wounded. The Indians, indeed, were no mean foe even in the open field and against organized white forces, for most of them were then well supplied with fire-arms, and were expert in the use of them. They lacked, however, the persistent courage of the whites, and were often discouraged by their losses and their failure of speedy

and certain success. This proved to be the case after the battle of Point Pleasant; they had suffered severely, and saw a larger force of the whites than they had ever before met advancing towards their villages and hunting-grounds, and having in one fierce effort failed to defeat and destroy it, they were ready to sue for peace.

As soon as the dead were buried and the wounded cared for, General Lewis proceeded with his force to join Lord Dunmore in Ohio. Meanwhile the latter had advanced to the Scioto, where he constructed a strong breastwork of fallen trees and earth, more to guard against treachery than as a protection against any open attack; for he had already received messages from the Indian chiefs that they desired peace. When General Lewis arrived, his force not being required, he was ordered to return, much to his own disappointment and that of his men, who were only too anxious to avenge the loss of their fallen comrades by destroying the Indian towns and plantations. Lord Dunmore remained to hold a council with the Indians, to whom he had promised a cessation of hostilities. He cautiously admitted to the fort only a limited number of the chiefs, the great body of their followers remaining outside, carefully watched. But the chiefs were in earnest in their desire for peace, and after a display of native eloquence in which the whites were rightly charged with having provoked the war, tokens of amity were exchanged, and the hunting-grounds and villages of the Indians were left undisturbed. Once more the frontiers were relieved from fears of hostile incursions, and emigrants from the older settlements found their way to the banks of the Kenawha and the Ohio.

It was believed by General Lewis and others that Lord Dunmore had been too ready to make peace with the Indians. Those who were best acquainted with the savage character knew that the most effectual way of punishing them and deterring them from hostile raids, was to destroy their villages and cornfields; and General Lewis's force had gone to Ohio for that purpose. It was charged upon Lord Dunmore, who subsequently took part against the patriot cause, that he had made this premature peace from a dislike of the Virginians.

BRITISH AND INDIAN ENEMIES OF THE
PIONEERS.

PEACE on the frontiers was of short duration, whether those frontiers were on the banks of the Ohio or advanced further west. At the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, the region northwest of the Ohio was a wilderness, tenanted only by Indian tribes, except that a few of the old French settlements, as at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, still remained in the western part, and perhaps a few bold hunters had established themselves in the eastern part. The British government, at an early stage of the war, barbarously enlisted the Indians in their cause, and the frontiers from Vermont to Kentucky were subjected to the terrors and alarms of savage warfare. Among those who acted as agents of the British, either as hirelings or volunteers, in exciting the Indians against the settlers, was one Simon Girty, who attained an infamous distinction in the work. A native of one of the colonies, he had long been familiar with the Indians, and had acted as interpreter at Fort Pitt in conferences with the chiefs; but for some unknown reason he turned renegade, and suddenly fled from the settlements. Forswearing civilized society, and taking up his abode with the Indians in Ohio, he became a greater savage than the aborigines themselves. He cherished a bitter hatred against all the white settlers on the frontiers, and, as the ready tool of the British, was ever prompt to instigate, and sometimes to lead, hostile raids upon the settlements, exulting with the fiercest savage in the

massacre of women and children of his own race, or the torture of unfortunate captives. Not only during the Revolutionary war was he active in this evil work, but long afterwards—in conjunction with Colonel McKee, an officer in the British service who disgraced his military character by descending to the work of an incendiary—he continued his nefarious practices, and excited the Indians against the border settlers of the United States.

The hardy pioneers west of the Alleghanies had experienced little of the oppression which caused the people in the older parts of the colonies to rise with the determination to throw off the yoke; but their situation, their associations and their habits, made them lovers of freedom, and they sympathized with their brethren of the east. But they were soon called upon to defend their own homes against the same foe and his savage allies.

While the British government sought to enlist the Indians in the war against the revolted colonies, the Continental Congress adopted the policy of securing the neutrality of the savages. For this purpose they appointed Indian agents, who, by a conciliatory course and the distribution of presents, should endeavor to obtain the good-will of the natives. But the Americans were comparatively poor in those articles prized by the Indians, while the British were abundantly supplied, and were especially liberal in the distribution of arms and ammunition, which were at once the most acceptable gifts to the savages, and most likely to lead them to a successful war against the colonists. The Indians were thus led to entertain a poor opinion of the Americans with their meagre and more pacific gifts, and were easily estranged from them, and became their secret or open enemies.

Colonel Morgan, a man admirably qualified for the position on account of his knowledge of the Indian character and the high estimation in which he was held by the savages, was appointed Indian agent at Fort Pitt. He endeavored to assemble the chiefs of the Ohio tribes at that post to meet commissioners and enter into a treaty of neutrality. But the Indians seemed unwilling to come; and while the frontier settlers were alarmed lest this unwillingness foreboded hostilities, a Mr. Wilson, who had been sent on a message to invite the chiefs to a council, returned, and reported that finding the chiefs, while professing

friendship, were unwilling to act except in concert with the tribes on the lakes, he had at their request proceeded to Detroit. There, in a council representing many tribes, he met the British commander, Hamilton, who bade the Indians spurn the message of the Americans, and used all his influence to excite their hatred towards the colonies. There was evidence afterwards that this officer offered a bounty to the savages for the scalps of Americans, and results showed that the greater part of the western Indians were secured by liberal gifts or infamous bounties to the interests of the British. Colonel Morgan, however, subsequently succeeded in making a treaty with some of the more southern and less powerful tribes, by which they engaged to remain at peace with the whites; and this, for a time, was an obstacle to any formidable movement on the part of the more northern tribes.

Meanwhile small bodies of Indians, a sort of banditti composed of the members of several tribes, but generally called Mingoës, prowled along the frontier, attacking exposed farm-houses, killing or carrying off the inmates, and destroying property. Many families had already sought places of greater safety, or the murders would have been more numerous; but their abandoned cabins were destroyed, and they suffered what were to them heavy losses. These murderous raids exasperated the frontier settlers, especially the Virginians, who, under the name of "Long Knives," were the objects of hatred on the part of the Indians, and they combined to fight the savages to the bitter end. They saw an enemy in every red-skin, and on several occasions pursued friendly Indians and messengers with fierce vindictiveness. Their indiscriminate hostility was liable at any time to precipitate a general war, and the agents found as much difficulty in restraining some of the whites as in securing the good-will of the Indians. They even found it prudent to discourage a military expedition proposed by Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia, against the Indian banditti who had harassed the frontier, and who domiciled themselves with the friendly or neutral tribes.

But at last such was the success of the British agents in alienating the Indians from the Americans, and inciting them to hostilities, that the Continental Congress, in 1778, deemed it necessary to raise a large force for the invasion of the Indian country. This force was to be composed of twenty-seven hundred men, mostly from Virginia east of

the mountains, and three hundred from the western frontiers. Considering the critical condition of the patriot cause, and the difficulty of moving the troops and transporting supplies (which could only be done on pack-horses) through the wilderness and over the mountains, this was a serious undertaking; but by dint of great effort supplies were collected, and a part of the proposed army was assembled at Fort Pitt under General McIntosh. Another force was to muster at the mouth of the Kenawha, but it was never collected.

With about a thousand men General McIntosh advanced into the Ohio country as far as the Tuscarawas River, where he built a stockade fort, before the hostile Indians were aware of his movements. Leaving a garrison of a hundred and fifty men to hold this fort, with the remainder of the force he returned to Fort Pitt, the season being too far advanced for further operations.

The imprudence of building a fort and leaving a small garrison so far away from the frontier settlements was shown when, in the following January, a large party of Shawanees and Wyandots made their appearance. They first came stealthily at night and caught the horses, which were outside the stockade; and having taken the bells from the animals, a number of the savages lying in ambush jingled them in the morning to indicate to the garrison the position of the horses. A party of sixteen men was detailed as usual to collect the animals, and falling into the snare, fourteen of them were killed, and the other two taken prisoners. The entire body of the Indians then made their appearance, and encamping about the fort, besieged it for six weeks. They made no serious attack, but apparently waited for the garrison to make a sally or to surrender for want of food. Failing in this, at the end of six weeks they disappeared.

Meanwhile the garrison became greatly straitened for food. For some time they had only sour flour and damaged wheat, and after the Indians left, were reduced to the necessity of devouring raw hides and such roots as they could find in the woods, before they were relieved. At length General McIntosh arrived with a force of several hundred men and a train of pack-horses laden with provisions. But the joy of the famishing garrison at the sight of this succor came near depriving them of the food they so much needed; for when they saluted the

unexpected arrival by a discharge of their guns, the noise caused a stampede among the pack-horses, and rushing madly through the woods, they scattered the provisions in all directions, and a large quantity was totally lost. In the following summer the fort was again besieged by a smaller number of Indians, but the friendly Delawares induced them to withdraw; and soon after the post was abandoned.

The people on the frontier, whose animosity against the Indians was aroused to excess, were not content with the defensive measures adopted by the Continental Congress or the government of Virginia, and organized several expeditions against their savage enemies. One, undertaken by a large party of frontiersmen from Kentucky in 1778, under Colonel Bowman, was badly managed, and proved a failure. Another, in 1780, under Colonel Clarke, who had previously shown himself an able and skilful officer in an expedition to the French towns of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, was more successful. It was directed against the Shawanees on the Great Miami River, and was conducted with such celerity and secrecy that one of the largest of the Indian towns was completely surprised. These warriors, however, were among the bravest of the native tribes; and hurrying away their women and children, they resisted the invaders with great determination. But the whites, led by such a commander, proved too powerful for the Indians, and after a sharp conflict the latter were driven to the woods, and the village was burnt and the neighboring cornfields destroyed.

Some time after the relinquishment of the Ohio country by the French to the English, some Moravian missionaries established themselves on the banks of the Muskingum for the purpose of converting the Indians. They appear to have met with no less success than the Catholic missions, and perhaps accomplished something more in the way of inducing their converts to adopt the habits of civilized life, and to prefer peace to war. At the period of the Revolutionary war they had collected several hundred of the Christian Indians into two or three villages, where, forsaking the war-path, they peacefully cultivated their fields. Unfortunately they were situated between the hostile Indians on the one side and the lawless frontiersmen, excited by their losses, on the other. They were friendly to the whites, and often treated them with hospitality, or secretly informed them of the hostile movements of

their enemies; but on the other hand, the warlike Indians, who looked upon them in consequence of their peaceful character as no better than women, as often took shelter in their villages, and were entertained with like hospitality.

Their peaceful policy, however, soon brought them into disfavor with both parties, each regarding them as treacherous to their cause and partial to their enemies, and the failure of an expedition on either side was attributed to them. The consequence was that a large party of hostile Indians destroyed the villages of the Moravian converts, laid waste their fields, and drove them out upon the plains of Sandusky, where many of them perished. A portion of the survivors found their way back to their desolated villages in search of food, when they were attacked by a party of settlers from the Virginia frontier, and nearly a hundred of them were killed. The missionaries themselves were taken by their Indian captors to Detroit, but after a short detention they were suffered to return, and collecting the remnant of their scattered followers, they built a new village on the Sandusky.

The border settlers still regarded them as enemies equally with the Wyandot Indians, who had villages on the same river, and in 1782 they organized an expedition to destroy all alike. This force was composed of four hundred frontiersmen, under Colonel Crawford, an officer of some experience, but not qualified to command such troops on such an expedition. The campaign was a disastrous one. The volunteer backwoodsmen were unaccustomed to discipline, and meeting a few Indians, pursued them with vindictive ferocity, contrary to orders; and though the act of insubordination resulted in no immediate misfortune, it weighed upon the spirits of Colonel Crawford, and made him less capable of command. When approaching the Indian villages on the plains of Sandusky, the force was suddenly attacked by a large number of Indians, and from noon till night a sharp conflict was kept up. The next morning the Indians appeared in still larger numbers, and the whites found themselves surrounded on all sides. The battle was renewed, but the savage host was too numerous to be defeated or even repulsed, and it was determined to retreat.

A thoroughly disciplined body of men of even such inferior numbers might, under a prudent commander, have effected a retreat, notwith-

standing the obstacles; but here there was no discipline, and personal bravery without union and combined action was of little avail under such circumstances. Each man conducted himself as he chose, and while some were in favor of retreating in a compact body, others desired to divide into small parties, and make the best of their way to the settlements. There was no one who could enforce order, and both plans were attempted according to the preferences of the men. The enemy pressed them closely, and rapidly cut off the smaller parties, while they harassed the main body, and killed or captured all stragglers. The more compact body of the unfortunate expedition, however, after a long pursuit and serious loss, succeeded in making good their retreat; but their commander met a terrible fate. During the flight, Colonel Crawford, missing his son and son-in-law, and fearing they might be cut off, sought them in the rear of his disorganized column, and was himself taken prisoner. With a number of other captives he was carried to an Indian village, where he was compelled to run the gauntlet between lines of savages, who inflicted upon him the indignities and cruelties in which they delighted; and then, suffering the most terrible tortures, he was burned at the stake. And all the while the renegade Girty stood by and witnessed the sufferings of the victim with the satisfaction of the most malignant savage.

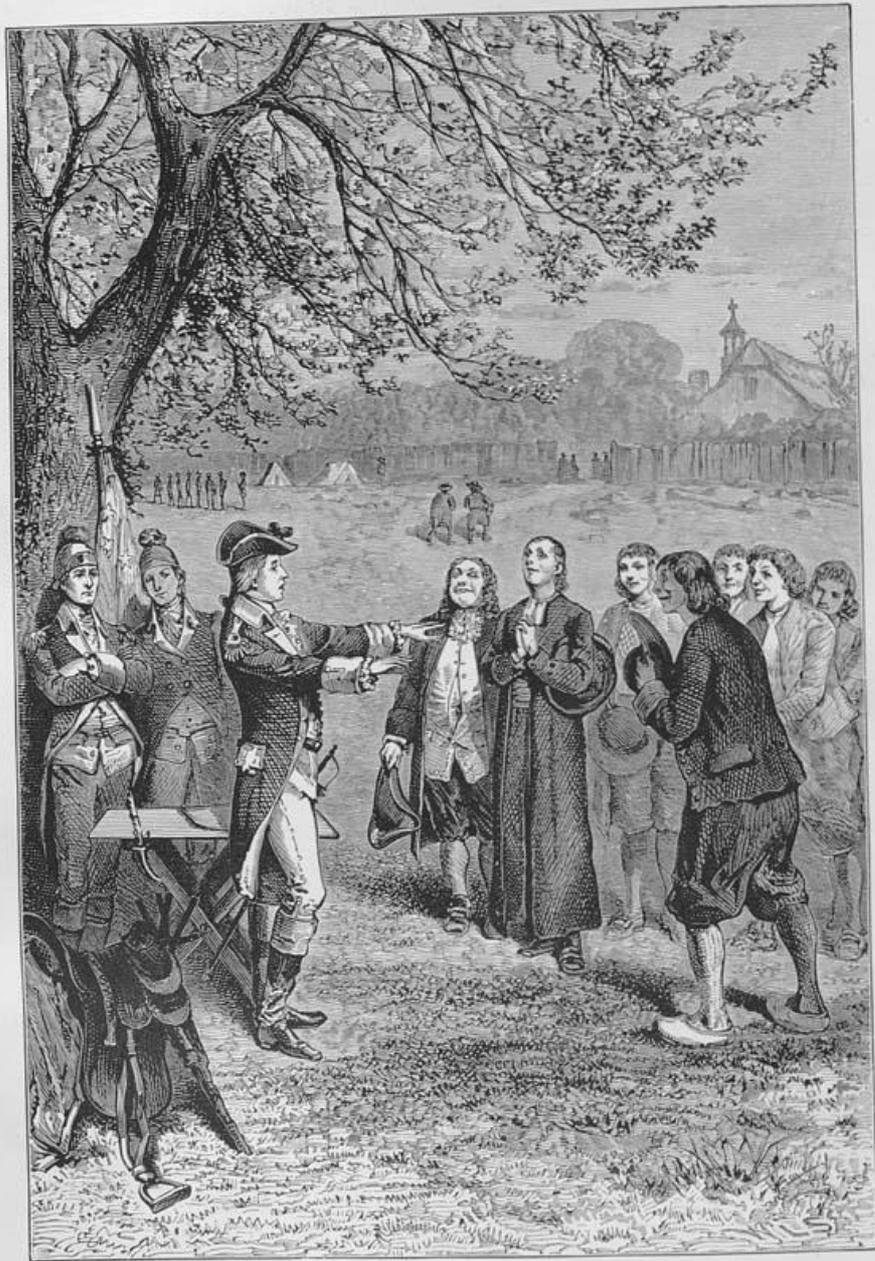
A SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN.



THE Indians were not the only enemies who threatened the border settlements. The English, who employed the savages as auxiliaries, and instigated their attacks on the western frontiers, established garrisons at some of the old French forts, and contemplated a formidable movement against the infant settlements which had already been commenced in Kentucky. A party of Indians who attacked Boonesboro, were accompanied by British officers, and a considerable force of British soldiers was stationed at Vincennes, on the Wabash River, whence they were to advance with Indian allies against the unsupported pioneers of Kentucky. But a brilliant movement under Colonel George Rogers Clarke, who has been already mentioned, put an end to such a project.

Colonel Clarke was a Virginian, and a man of superior ability, who, on a visit to Kentucky, in 1777, conceived the idea of striking a blow against the English, who were inciting the Indians to their hostile raids on the pioneer settlements. Having acquainted himself with the positions of the British garrisons, and obtained some general knowledge of the country northwest of the Ohio, he proposed to the government of Virginia to raise a regiment for the defence of the western frontier, showing such good reasons for his proposal that it was readily acceded to, and a force of two or three hundred men was raised and equipped with such dispatch as the resources of the colony, already burdened with the requirements of the Revolutionary war, allowed. The real

ATTACHED AIRMAIL UNIT ONE DOLLAR AIRMAIL



GENERAL CLARK AND THE KASKASKIA DELEGATES

object of the expedition was kept a secret; but Colonel Clarke had planned a campaign more brilliant than the defence of a few log forts against the Indians.

Crossing the mountains with his little army, he descended the Ohio in boats to the rapids near Louisville, where he rested his troops a while, and was joined by a few of the hardy backwoodsmen who were to be his pioneers and scouts in the contemplated movement. He then proceeded down the river some distance below the confluence of the Wabash, to the old French Fort Massac, where he landed and hid his boats. His objective point now was the French town of Kaskaskia, which, though not occupied by any considerable British force, was one of the points from which the Indians were supplied with arms and ammunition, and incited to hostility against the Americans. The peaceful French villagers had also been taught by the English to fear and hate the Americans, and especially the Virginians, whom they had learned from the Indians to call the "Long Knives," and they, perhaps involuntarily, aided the British in keeping the savages in a state of ferment. Colonel Clarke proposed to destroy the authority of the English, and secure the good-will of the French, who might thus exert an influence with the Indians in favor of peace.

It was in June when Colonel Clarke left Fort Massac with his little army, and commenced his march through the wilderness towards Kaskaskia, more than a hundred miles distant. The only baggage was what the men could carry, and they depended for their rations chiefly on the game they might find in the forest. Through cypress swamps and meadows of luxuriant grass traversed by sluggish streams, the little band, led by the hardy pioneers, toiled on, making a trail where even the Indians seldom trod, resting in the shade of the giant trees, and sleeping on the ground without tent or blanket. In ten days they reached the neighborhood of Kaskaskia without meeting an Indian or being observed by any wandering villager. Colonel Clarke then concealed his men in the woods, within sight of the village, till night, when he advanced, and, before the astonished people were aware of his approach, took possession of the town and the fort, which was held by no garrison capable of defence. Some of the men, who could speak French, were sent through the village ordering all the people to remain

in their houses under the penalty of being shot for disobedience; and soon after the body of the troops paraded the street yelling like savages to terrify the villagers. The poor defenceless French were indeed terrified, and believing the worst which the English and Indians had told them of the Virginians, they screamed "*Les long Couteaux*," and expected to be speedily massacred by the "Long Knives." But signifying their surrender, and remaining in their houses, they were not disturbed.

For five days Colonel Clarke held possession of the town, keeping the people in their houses, and forbidding all intercourse among themselves or between them and his soldiers except to furnish supplies, and completely overawing them by his stern commands. He then withdrew his troops from the town in preparation for another act in the drama. While his men bivouacked outside the village, the French, supposing they were to be carried away as prisoners after the manner of the Indians, sent a deputation of their principal men with the parish priest, to ask that they might be permitted to assemble once more in their church to offer up prayers before leaving their homes. With apparent haughtiness Colonel Clarke granted the request, and the villagers flocked to their little church, where with deep emotion they said their prayers, and, in the belief that it was the last time they would meet together, bade each other farewell. Grateful for this favor, the deputation again waited on Colonel Clarke to thank him and to explain that they had taken no part in the war between England and her colonies, and what they had done had been in obedience to the British commander. Pleading the entire submission of the villagers, the deputation declared that they were willing to surrender all their property, but begged that their families might not be separated, and that clothes and provisions sufficient for their present necessities might be allowed them.

Finding how thoroughly alarmed and submissive the poor French villagers were, Colonel Clarke changed his tone. He told the deputation that his force was not a band of savages, and did not propose to massacre them, carry them off as prisoners, or rob them of their food and property; that they came to protect their own wives and children from the merciless savage by destroying the British authority, which

was furnishing the Indians with arms and ammunition to attack their homes; that they were the friends of the French, whom they had come to deliver from British rule. He then bade the astonished priest and his associates go and tell their countrymen to retain their property, dismiss all fears, and enjoy their religion and their customs to the fullest extent, under the free government of Virginia.

The despondent villagers awaited with anxious hearts the return of their messengers, and when the unexpected intelligence was announced, the joy which succeeded and found expression in tears and embraces, as well as shouts and wild gesticulations, may be imagined. There was no longer a dread of separation, or captivity, or privation; they were to remain all together in their own homes, in the old way, near by the village church, and under the gentle sway of their beloved *père*. Once more the soft-toned bell called them to the church to offer up thanksgivings for this happy deliverance from their fears, and thither they flocked, young and old, with hearts more grateful and devout than they had ever before carried into the humble but, to them, sacred edifice.

The inhabitants of Kaskaskia readily transferred their allegiance from the English, whom they had always disliked, and freely acknowledged Colonel Clarke as the commandant of the country. Other small French villages, to which detachments of mounted men were sent, soon followed the example of the larger one, and British authority in that part of the country, which, indeed, was scarcely more than nominal, was completely subverted. This expedition was a brilliant success; but Colonel Clarke had a still more important object in view, and a more decisive victory to gain.

More than a hundred and fifty miles east of Kaskaskia was the French settlement of Vincennes, where there was a fort garrisoned by a considerable English force, under the command of General Hamilton, who, with the aid of his Indian allies, was contemplating a general attack on the frontier settlements. The British commander received information of Colonel Clarke's successful expedition to Kaskaskia, and postponing operations against the border settlements, he proposed to march against the daring Virginian, and with a combined force of regulars and Indians to defeat him. At this time, however, heavy rains

had swollen all the rivers and streams, and large tracts of alluvial lands were completely submerged, so that to march before the waters subsided seemed impracticable; and believing that Colonel Clarke would also be unable, for the same reason, to move, the British commander was content to wait. But Colonel Clarke and his hardy Americans were not to be deterred by such obstacles, and, notwithstanding the difficulty of traversing a country filled with swollen streams and flooded prairie, he determined to surprise Vincennes, a purpose which the English had no idea he would undertake, even had the march been more practicable.

Striking through the forest without even an Indian trail to guide them, toiling over the soft and sometimes treacherous soil of the wet prairies, crossing the larger rivers on rafts, and wading the smaller streams, the little army advanced with indomitable perseverance, and after a laborious march of twelve days came in sight of the Wabash, on the eastern bank of which stood the village of Vincennes and the British fort. Between them, however, and the river was a vast expanse of water, covering the low lands of its western shore, presenting a more formidable obstacle than any they had yet encountered. But Colonel Clarke and his experienced pioneers were not dismayed. This low land in many places was clothed with a luxuriant growth of timber, and keeping under cover of this, lest they should be discovered by the enemy, the men threaded their way, wading the shallow waters and crossing the deeper on rafts of logs, so cautiously and slowly that they were five days in advancing six miles. But at last the difficult passage was accomplished, and, crossing the river at night, the brave little army appeared suddenly in the early morning marching towards the village over the open prairie. The undulating surface of a portion of the prairie, and one mound-like elevation especially, prevented the astonished people of the village and the fort from seeing the whole of the advancing force at once; and Colonel Clarke taking note of this, adopted a shrewd artifice to magnify the apparent numbers of his men. He caused them to countermarch in such a way that his whole army passed several times over the same ground, where it could be seen from the fort, while appearing to be one continuous column of advancing troops.

Disposing of his force in such a manner that a part of it was apparently concealed by the rising ground, though it was all in plain view, Colonel Clarke summoned the British commander to surrender; and the latter, deceived by Clarke's artifice, after a brief parley capitulated, although his men outnumbered the Virginians, and were protected by a fort. Without firing a gun the garrison laid down their arms, and the weary but triumphant Virginians marched in and took possession, then for the first time displaying their meagre force. The mortification of the English officers when, too late, they learned that they had surrendered to inferior numbers of undisciplined troops worn down by excessive toil, may be imagined. But among the Americans this important achievement, when it became known, added to the joy and encouragement awakened by the battle of Monmouth and the arrival of their French allies. By Colonel Clarke's success, the pioneer settlements of Kentucky and the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania were saved from an attack by a combined force of English and savages, which would have carried death and desolation into those border homes, as a like combination the same year did into the valley of Wyoming.

PIONEERS OF KENTUCKY.—DANIEL BOONE.



KENTUCKY, "the dark and bloody ground," where hostile bands of northern and southern Indians had, for a long period before the white man trod its soil, contended in many a fierce battle, was not permanently occupied by any of the natives. They roamed the woods for game, which then abounded there, or more often in search of their enemies, but mutual hostility rendered it an unsafe place of abode, and they established their towns and planted their fields of corn at a long distance north, or still farther south of the Ohio. At the period when the emigrants from the older settlements had crossed the Alleghanies and were looking towards the fertile lands which vague rumor or imagination told them were to be found farther west, Kentucky, except that it was exposed to the frequent incursions of Indians, was open to the pioneer; and not long after the hardy backwoodsmen of Virginia and North Carolina had carried the frontier beyond the mountains, adventurous explorers plunged still deeper into the forest to discover this western Paradise.

Though French and Spanish traders undoubtedly visited the western part of Kentucky, they established no permanent posts or settlements there, and it was not till 1750 that white men from the English colonies first visited the region south of the Ohio. In that year Dr. Walker with a small party crossed the Cumberland Mountains and traversed the extreme eastern part of what is now Kentucky; but as his journey was through a mountainous region, and accomplished with great labor, his

report did not encourage further explorations. Seventeen years later, John Finley, with a few adventurous companions from North Carolina, penetrated the wilderness to the heart of Kentucky, and reached the Ohio. The account which he gave of the wonderful fertility of the soil, the luxuriant growth of the forest, and the abundance of game, were considered extravagant. His story, however, interested Daniel Boone, a hardy backwoodsman and hunter of North Carolina, and he determined to explore this wonderful region.

Daniel Boone was one of the best examples of the hardy pioneers who led the procession of emigrants into the western wilderness, and his adventures illustrate the experience of the whole class not only of those who first penetrated into the Mississippi basin, but those who, always in advance of the permanent settlers for whom they prepared the way, have moved on through the vast territory of the West even to the Rocky Mountains. The story of his life is familiar; but a brief account of it should find a place in these pages as an illustration of Western pioneer life.

Born in Pennsylvania, Boone's boyhood was passed in a frontier settlement of that colony, where he imbibed a taste for hunting, and became a proficient in woodcraft. During that time, too, he learned something of the character and habits of the Indians, both when they came in friendly guise and when they were on the war-path. When about eighteen years of age, his father removed with his family to the mountain region of North Carolina, and settled on the Yadkin, where young Boone, while farming a little, had ample opportunity to indulge in his favorite pursuits of hunting and trapping, and acquired a love of adventure and a self-reliance and readiness of resource essential alike to success in the hunt and in encounters with the Indians. He married young, and though engaged in the rough and bold pursuits of the hunter, he was of a gentle and generous disposition, and was strongly attached to his family. A thorough backwoodsman in his habits and tastes, he loved Nature in her wildest aspects, and preferred the companionship of the woods to the associations of the settlement, and he disliked the customs and the few luxuries which found their way from the older settlements even to that remote region, as well as the laws which began to be enforced there. When, therefore, he heard Finley's

account of the fertile country, the magnificent forests, and the abounding game of Kentucky, he was anxious to leave a settlement which was growing too old, and enjoy a freer life in the unoccupied wilderness.

In the spring of 1769, Boone, with Finley and four others, set out upon a long and laborious journey over mountains and through an unbroken forest for the new field of adventure. They depended upon the game which they found on their way for food, and being unerring marksmen, they seldom lacked a hunter's meal, while a temporary hut of green boughs was all the shelter they required from the occasional storms. After travelling steadily for five weeks, they reached the valley of the Red River, a branch of the Kentucky, and in a secluded nook on one of the hills overlooking the valley, they built a hunter's lodge,—a mere open shed constructed of a few logs, with a roof of saplings thatched with bark. Here they passed the summer and autumn exploring the neighboring region, and rejoicing in the abundance of game which equalled the promises of Finley. During all this time they met with no Indian to question their right to these hunting-grounds; but late in December, while Boone and one of his companions, named Stewart, were hunting together, they were captured by a band of Indians, who rushed upon them suddenly from a dense cane-brake. Boone understood the character of the natives, and knew that to manifest fear, or a desire to escape, would only bring upon himself and his companion a close watch, and possibly torture and death. He therefore appeared to be undisturbed by his ill-luck, and advised his companion to do likewise, knowing that thus only would the Indians relax their watchfulness and afford a possibility of escape. For such an opportunity Boone anxiously but warily watched; and after moving about with them six days, and sleeping quietly six nights, on the seventh the opportunity came. All the Indians slept; and Boone, having assured himself of the fact, gently awaked Stewart, and both cautiously securing their guns, stole away without arousing their captors. Boone and his companion knew well the risk they ran, should the Indians be awakened by their movements, and they exercised the greatest caution till they were well away from the camp, and then they hastened on towards their lodge. When they arrived there, they found

no trace of their three associates, who were never seen again, and had probably been killed by the same or another band of Indians.

Boone and Stewart continued their hunters' life alone for several weeks, when they were joined by a brother of the former, known as Squire Boone, and another man from North Carolina. For a short time this little company of four continued to share the hunter's cabin; but even that small number was destined to be reduced. While out hunting, Boone and Stewart were again attacked by a small party of Indians. Stewart was killed; but Boone, by his coolness and skill, succeeded in eluding the savages. Not long afterwards, the man who had come with Squire Boone mysteriously disappeared, and was supposed to have been murdered by the Indians, or to have been lost in the woods and perished. The brothers were thus left alone; but finding their stock of ammunition getting low, on the first of May Squire Boone started for North Carolina to obtain supplies.

The characteristics of the early pioneers in the West were well illustrated by the courage and cool self-reliance of these men,—the one undertaking alone a journey of hundreds of miles through the pathless woods and over mountain-ridges, and the other remaining alone in the wilderness, where there was no other white man within hundreds of miles, but where hostile savages were known to be not infrequent visitors. For three months Daniel Boone remained alone, quietly engaged in his hunting pursuits, but always prepared for danger, and practising more than the savage's skill in woodcraft. During this time, however, the Indians did not make their appearance. Meanwhile Squire Boone twice accomplished alone the long and difficult journey between the settlement on the Yadkin and the hunter's lodge in Kentucky, and returning on horseback brought the necessary supplies.

It was the purpose of the Boones to bring their families to this fertile region, and settle; and they now extended their explorations over a wide tract of country with a view to obtaining a better knowledge of its character and selecting a suitable site for their future home. During the months they were thus engaged they fortunately encountered no Indians; and in the following March (1771), with a goodly store of furs, they returned to their homes in Carolina. Daniel

had been absent nearly two years, during the greater part of which time his brother's was the only human face he had seen, and though he was not a man of strong emotions, it may well be believed that it was a happy day for him when he once more met his wife and children.

It was not an easy thing to dispose of a farm on the frontiers of civilization, and it was two years before the Boones were able to set out with their families for a new home in Kentucky. Meanwhile more wealthy and influential men were looking towards this country of which rumor gave such glowing reports, and were obtaining grants of extensive tracts,—some from the government of Virginia, others from that of North Carolina, and still others from the Cherokees, who were supposed to have some claim to a portion of it. In Powell's Valley the Boones joined a company of five families and forty armed men who were on the way to settle on one of these grants, and Daniel Boone was gladly received as a guide. At Cumberland Gap the company was attacked by a large party of Indians, who killed six of the emigrants, among whom was Boone's eldest son; this so discouraged the others that they retreated forty or fifty miles to Clinch River, and there remained for nearly two years. Meanwhile surveyors had been sent to Kentucky by some of the parties who had received grants of land, and the Ohio Indians having become hostile, Governor Dunmore requested Boone to conduct these surveyors home. This he successfully accomplished in the space of two months, having travelled in that time a distance of seven or eight hundred miles on foot.

The Transylvania Company was the principal grantee of Kentucky lands from the government of Virginia, and the company of emigrants with which Boone had set out from Powell's Valley, and which had been forced to retire to Clinch River, was fitted out under the auspices of that Company. In 1775 another and more successful attempt was made to reach their destination, Boone acting as the pioneer of the party, and going early in the spring with a small company to select a site and commence the erection of a fort. On the way he encountered a band of Indians, and several of his men were killed. He continued his journey, however, as he would have done on the previous occasion if he had had his own way, and having reached the Kentucky River

he selected a site, which he had probably observed during his long stay in that region, and the party erected a stockade fort to which was given the name of Boonesborough. To this place Boone soon after brought his family, his wife and daughters "being the first white women that ever stood on the banks of Kentucky River." Thither Colonel Henderson followed with a larger party of emigrants, and the settlement of Kentucky was commenced. The fort at Boonesborough was enlarged, and became an important post in the early history of Kentucky. The rich lands of the valley were apportioned among some of the settlers, and clearings were made for planting. At first, however, the settlers did not establish themselves on their farms, but for greater safety lived within the fort, and formed a part of its garrison, seldom venturing into the woods or fields without their arms. The necessity of these precautions was early made manifest by the killing and scalping of a lad, and the firing upon a man, by a band of prowling Indians not far away from the fort. The same year that Boonesborough was founded, two or three other parties established settlements in the shape of log and stockade forts at other points, but within supporting distance in case of Indian hostilities.

DANIEL BOONE.—INCIDENTS OF PIONEER
LIFE.

THE Indians for a year or more made no direct attack on the forts of the settlers, but occasionally prowling bands of the savages manifested a hostile feeling towards these trespassers on their hunting-grounds, as the English were already teaching them to regard the Americans. Those who imprudently ventured too far away from the fort, or went into the woods unarmed, were on several occasions killed or captured, or narrowly escaped such a fate. But these misfortunes were not very frequent, and as their imprudence was not always followed by bad results, the hardy pioneers were apt to forget the dangers to which they were exposed.

It was in such a careless mood that, one summer afternoon in 1776, a daughter of Boone and two sisters named Callaway wandered along the banks of the river, and finding there a canoe, entered it and paddled out upon the stream. Highly enjoying their novel excursion, and splashing each other with the water in girlish sport, they suffered the canoe to drift with the lazy current without observing that it approached the opposite shore. While thus occupied with their pastime, the brawny arm of an Indian emerged from the dense reeds that lined the shore, and seizing the thong with which the canoe was usually moored to the shore, dragged it around a point which concealed it from the fort. The girls screamed with fright; but though their cries were heard at the fort, they could not be seen, and there was no means

of crossing the river to their assistance, as they had the only canoe that was available. Drawn out of sight and hearing from the fort, whence alone they could hope for succor, the terrified girls found themselves in the hands of five stalwart Indians, who had been lying concealed in the bushes watching their girlish sport. The Indians by threats silenced their outcries, and hurried them away through the woods till darkness obliged them to stop. Having prepared their evening meal, which they shared with their captives, the savages disposed themselves for the night in such a manner that any attempt to escape would prove fruitless. The next morning the march was resumed, and the unfortunate girls were hurried along, often goaded with sharp sticks, while their feet were blistered, their clothes torn, and their limbs lacerated by the thick bushes through which they were sometimes forced to make their way. With each weary mile, too, their spirits sank, as they were going farther from home and friends, and saw before them only a hopeless captivity and perhaps a miserable death.

At the time of the capture, Boone, and Callaway the father of Miss Boone's companions, were both absent from the fort, and did not return till night. Meanwhile there was no one who dared to lead in a pursuit, as it was supposed a large body of Indians might be concealed in the woods. When Boone returned it was too late to attempt it that night; but early the next morning, with Callaway and a small party, he crossed the river, and striking the trail of the savages, and ascertaining they were but few in number, he followed it with a determination to overtake them and rescue the prisoners. The pursuers had travelled about forty miles, and the day was well spent, when Boone's well-trained eye saw by the freshness of the trail that they were close upon the heels of the fugitives. He accordingly directed his companions to proceed silently and with the utmost caution, that they might surprise the Indians and shoot them, or at least compel them to defend themselves before they could kill their captives, as he knew they would be likely to do if forewarned of the pursuit. Leading his men with the stealthy tread of a moccasined savage, he soon discovered the Indians just making a fire to cook their meat, while the three weary and disconsolate captives sat together under their watchful eyes. Bringing his unerring rifle to bear upon one of the savages, he fired and wounded

him, when the others seized their arms to repel this sudden attack. But some of Boone's companions immediately fired, and two more of the Indians were wounded, when the whole party fled as best they could into a thicket, leaving their captives, whose joy may be imagined as they threw themselves into the arms of their fathers.

Another version of what is probably the same real incident, states that one of the young women captured by the Indians in the manner above related, was the intended bride of a young man who, in the absence of Boone, had command of the fort. As soon as the enforced absence of the girls was known, this young man started with a party in pursuit, his energy and courage redoubled by his love for one of the unfortunate captives. The Indians, who by this version were but three in number, were surprised in much the same manner as in the account given above, and were all slain, while the lover was the fortunate deliverer of his affianced and her companions.

In the year 1777, the Indians, incited by the British, were exceedingly troublesome to all the frontier settlements; and Boone, with the rank of captain, at the head of a small force, was frequently engaged in repelling their attacks, or counteracting their contemplated movements. In cool courage he was the superior of the savage, while in cunning and skill in their peculiar warfare he was at least an equal. An un-failing marksman, the Indian upon whom he brought his rifle to bear was sure to fall; and such was his success in either fighting or eluding the savages, that while he was feared, he was also greatly admired by them.

An incident is related of him during this period, which may be somewhat apocryphal, but which, if true, not only illustrates his courage and presence of mind, but shows him in a character unusual among the backwoodsmen. Boone with some of his men were seated quietly in the woods eating their dinner, when a band of Indians suddenly made their appearance, both parties being equally surprised at the unexpected encounter. Seeing the whites engaged in eating, the Indians, instead of attacking them, with characteristic composure seated themselves, and taking their provisions from their pouches, began to eat also. Bidding his men have their rifles in readiness while they continued their meal, Boone coolly arose and advanced towards the Indians



DANIEL BOONE RESCUES HIS DAUGHTER.



unarmed, and still picking a bone on which he had previously been engaged. With a courtesy common among the savages the leader of the party advanced to meet him. Boone saluted the chief with great composure, and then asked to borrow the knife with which the latter was cutting his meat, as if to use it for a similar purpose. The Indian loaned it without hesitation; but instead of using it in the manner expected, he astonished the Indians by the performance of a trick which was beyond the skill of any native conjurer. Deliberately opening his mouth, he pretended to swallow the knife, while by a skilful sleight-of-hand he concealed it in his sleeve. With contortions as if the indigestible steel refused to descend, he rubbed his throat till it was apparently disposed of, and declared to the amazed Indian that it was "very good." The savages looked at each other, uttering their guttural expression of astonishment at this fearful performance; and their wonder was increased when Boone, after some violent retchings, apparently drew forth the knife from his mouth, and, wiping it on his sleeve, returned it to the owner. The latter, taking it cautiously, as if afraid to touch it, threw it quickly into the bushes, while Boone deliberately walked back to his men. This performance was too much for the Indians, and they immediately hastened away, as if glad to get beyond the reach of a man who could swallow cold steel with impunity. Where Boone, the backwoods hunter, the lover of Nature, most of whose life had been passed in the wilderness, could have acquired the skill of a *prestidigitateur*, is not related.

In 1778, Boone took charge of a body of men to make salt, at the salt-licks on Licking River, and while they were engaged in this work he provided for their table by hunting. While on one of his hunting excursions, and at some distance from the camp, he was surprised by a large party of Indians, and knowing that resistance would be useless, he quietly surrendered, and by his cool self-possession and unruffled bearing soon won the respect of his captors. Fearing that his men might attempt a fruitless resistance, which would only result in their massacre, and to be followed, probably, by an attack on Boonesborough, he arranged for their surrender, and induced them to comply with the terms. The whole party was taken to Detroit, where the men were delivered to the British commander; but though a liberal reward was

offered for the surrender of Boone also, the Indians were not willing to part with a captive who was so skilled as a hunter and so brave as a warrior. They determined to adopt him into their tribe, and he was accordingly delivered to an old chief to take the place of a son who had been killed in battle. He was soon converted into an Indian in appearance, his hair being pulled out, with the exception of a scalplock, his "white blood washed out" by immersion in the river, and his face painted in the approved native style.

While Boone conducted himself as if well contented with his new relations, the Indians were watchful lest he should escape before he was thoroughly identified with them. He was allowed to hunt, but they carefully measured the powder and counted the balls dealt out to him, and, knowing his skill as a marksman, required him to bring back a piece of game, large or small, for every ball that was used. Boone, however, was more than a match for this Indian cunning, and skilfully divided the balls and used light charges of powder for killing the smaller game, so that in a little time he had saved and concealed a small store of ammunition for use when an opportunity offered for escape, meanwhile conducting himself in a manner to lull any suspicions the savages might entertain.

He had been four months with the Indians, and the tribe was at Old Chillicothe, in Ohio, when he learned that an attack on the Kentucky settlements was contemplated, and he determined at once to make his escape and warn his friends of the danger. One morning in June he went out early, as usual, to hunt, but he determined that this time the hunt should be for Boonesborough, and as soon as he was clear of the Indian town he started for that place, a hundred and sixty miles distant. The equal of the fleetest Indian runner in speed and endurance, before his flight was discovered he was many miles on his way. Cautiously shaping his course so as to throw the savages off his trail, and pausing only for the briefest possible rest, he at last reached the Ohio River. Here he anticipated the greatest risk of being overtaken by his pursuers, if they had followed his trail, for not being an expert swimmer, he was in the double danger of offering a fair mark for their guns and of being carried down by the current. Fortunately, however, he found an old canoe, and crossed safely to the Kentucky

shore, and then he ventured to shoot a turkey for food, having had thus far only a few bits of dried venison. In five days from his start he reached Boonesborough.

Scarcely recognized in his Indian paint and scalp-lock, his appearance at the fort created great astonishment. He had long been supposed dead, and his wife and some of her children had gone back to her kindred in North Carolina. But Boone soon turned the attention of the people of the settlement from himself to preparations for defence against the attack which he expected would speedily follow. It was more than a month, however, before the Indians appeared, and then nearly five hundred of them, under the lead of a dozen Canadians, who were in the British service, besieged the fort. The garrison consisted of less than sixty men, who were called upon to defend not themselves alone, but a considerable number of women and children.

Summoned to surrender, Boone asked for two days to consider the proposal, hoping in the mean time to receive aid from another settlement. At the end of that time the garrison all joined Boone in refusing to surrender. Duquesne, the French Canadian who was in command of the besiegers, seemed indisposed to commence an attack, and again urging a capitulation, proposed that nine men should be sent out to negotiate the terms. This proposal, which might at least promise safety to the women and children, was assented to, though not without misgivings on the part of Boone, who well knew the treacherous character of the savages, and had little faith in their white leaders. With eight others he went out and met a larger delegation of the enemy on the open ground about sixty yards from the fort; but for fear of treachery he placed a part of the garrison with their arms where they could overlook the scene, and be prepared for any emergency.

The terms of surrender were without much difficulty agreed upon, for the Indians cared little for their promises; and the negotiations having closed, they proposed that Boone and his companions should each shake hands with two of their own number. The proposition sounded treacherous, and the whites were on their guard, though to refuse would certainly precipitate a rupture. The Indians advanced, and two of them grasping the hands and arms of each white man, attempted to drag them away; but the latter as quickly broke from the grasp of the

treacherous savages and ran towards the fort, the pursuers being greeted with a volley from the watchful garrison, which speedily drove them back.

Foiled in their attempted treachery, the besiegers commenced an attack on the fort, and continued their assaults for nine days. But the pioneers who defended it were brave men, and every assault was repulsed, till at last the besiegers, having had nearly forty of their number killed, and many more wounded, withdrew, as unsuccessful in battle as they had been in treachery. For taking his men outside the fort to treat with the Indians for a capitulation, and for his previous surrender of the salt-makers, Boone was tried by court-martial; but after simply telling his story, and stating his reasons for his conduct, which were based on a thorough knowledge of the savage character, he was triumphantly acquitted, and was promoted to the rank of major. Subsequently, in 1782, as lieutenant-colonel, he was with a force of militia which had been raised to repel an Indian invasion, when, contrary to his advice, the troops were suffered to be drawn into an ambushade, and were defeated with terrible loss, another of Boone's sons being among the killed, and a brother severely wounded.

Boone had several other personal encounters with the Indians while he remained in Kentucky, but his presence of mind and bravery, as well as his knowledge of the Indian character and habits, secured his escape. Once, while he and his brother were hunting, at a distance from the settlement, the latter was killed and scalped by a prowling band of Indians, and but for his wariness he would have shared the same fate. He succeeded in eluding the savages and reaching the fort in safety. At a later date he cultivated a farm near Boonesborough, to which he had brought his family. After the close of the Revolutionary war, the hostile incursions of the Indians subsided; but they were by no means friendly, and small bands continued to annoy the settlers. One day, while Boone was engaged in the upper part of a shed used for drying tobacco, he was surprised by four Indians, who, pointing their guns at him, bade him come down and go with them as a prisoner. With his usual coolness he assented to their demand, but asked for a few minutes to finish his work. The savages, sure of their captive, did not demur; and Boone, while still talking with them,

busied himself in collecting a quantity of tobacco dust and broken leaves. Then, watching his opportunity, with his arms full of this material, he suddenly jumped down among them, at the same time throwing the fine tobacco in their faces. Startled by his unexpected leap, and their eyes and nostrils smarting with the pungent dust, the Indians were thrown off their guard, and Boone fled to his cabin before they realized how they had been duped. Once more with his trusty rifle in hand, he bade defiance to the savages, who, however, made no further attempt to capture the cunning pioneer.

When, after the Revolutionary war, immigrants poured into Kentucky, and its rich lands were taken up by parties who had secured grants from the government of Virginia, Boone became discontented with his situation. During the war, while visiting North Carolina, after the attack on Boonesborough, he went to Richmond to secure grants or warrants for himself and others of lands in Kentucky, and on the way he was robbed of all the money he carried for that purpose. Unable to obtain the warrants, and wholly unused to the forms of law, he became disgusted with rules which could compel him to buy the land he had discovered, occupied, and defended. He found, however, too late, that he had no title to his farm which could be recognized in the courts of civilized society, and he accordingly resolved, like many another pioneer hunter, to plunge farther into the western wilderness, where game abounded and land could be held without title-deeds or warrants. After a short stay in western Virginia, in 1795 he went to Missouri, and settled some fifty miles west of St. Louis. Louisiana at that time was under the dominion of Spain, and Boone, the fame of whose exploits had gone before him, received a liberal grant of land from the Spanish governor, and was appointed commandant of the district, an office the honor and duties of which, in that sparsely settled country, were scarcely more than nominal. Boone followed his favorite occupation of hunting, in which he was much more expert than in farming, and indulged in this pursuit till he was quite advanced in years. When Louisiana was ceded to the United States, in order to establish his title to the tract granted him, Boone should have gone to New Orleans; but disgusted with the forms of law, he neglected to do so, and consequently he came near losing his land. Congress, however,

as a recompense for his eminent and unrequited services, confirmed his title to about a thousand acres.

As already observed, Boone was a type of the hardy hunter-pioneers of the West. Exploits such as his have been performed by many others, as the tide of emigration rolled westward, and the life of the hunter alone in the wilderness, which he enjoyed, has been led by many another daring backwoodsman. Though not a man of remarkable intelligence, in some respects he was the superior of most of his class; he was naturally of a mild and equable temper, of an unblemished moral character, abstemious in his habits, and, notwithstanding his love of a hunter's life, strongly attached to his family. He fought the Indians only in defence of himself or the settlements, and never pursued them with vindictiveness. His distinguishing traits were his self-possession and readiness of resource under all circumstances; these, coupled with his knowledge of woodcraft and of the Indian character, were the causes of his successful achievements, and have made him so prominent among the pioneers of the West.

OTHER PIONEERS.—SIMON KENTON.
COLONEL LINN.

ABOUT the time that the Transylvania Company sent the party under the command of Colonel Henderson and the guidance of Boone, to establish the settlement at Boonesborough, a larger number of independent adventurers settled some fifty miles east of that point, at a place they called Harrodsburg, in honor of the principal men of the party. Others, also, went singly, or in small parties, and settled at such points as suited them, without regard to the proprietorship of the company which claimed the greater part of Kentucky. The company undertook to establish a proprietary government; but such a policy was contrary to the spirit of the people, and its pretensions were soon swept away, while its claim to the soil was also contested. The pioneers of Kentucky were thoroughly imbued with the spirit of liberty, and were not disposed to tolerate either prerogative or monopoly, and in the disputes that followed the Transylvania Company was compelled to yield to popular rights.

Among the earliest settlers, especially those who emigrated independently, were many frontiersmen from Virginia and North Carolina, and a few who, like Boone, were distinguished for their daring exploits and adventures; men who, as explorers and hunters, led the vanguard of civilization in the wilderness, and were followed by the more permanent settlers, who cleared the fields and planted the fertile soil. Boone was a most notable and worthy example of the backwoodsman

and hunter, bold but cautious, honest and simple-minded, but shrewd in everything pertaining to frontier life and woodcraft, brave to defend himself or kindred, but never vindictive. There were others of his class who were his equal as hunters, and perhaps more daring in conflict with the savages, and no less remarkable in adventures, but who lacked the more quiet and sober elements of his character.

Simon Kenton was one of these pioneers whose adventures, as recorded or handed down by tradition, are worthy of note. At an early age he had an encounter with another young man on account of a love affair, and supposing that he had killed his rival, he fled across the Alleghanies and found a home among the hunters of the frontier. Feeling that he was an outlaw, he was inclined to be reckless in his daring, but he became an expert in woodcraft, and, during the Indian war preceding the Revolution, acted as a scout for Governor Dunmore, showing great courage, skill, and endurance. He afterwards went to Kentucky with the earliest pioneers, and rendered important service to the new settlements during the long-continued Indian hostilities. Ever ready to match his skill and cunning against those of the savages, he boldly ventured into the forests of Ohio to ascertain their movements, and be able to warn the settlements of the approach of a war-party. In some of his daring excursions he incurred the greatest peril, but by boldness and extraordinary energy he succeeded in escaping.

Kenton had become famous on the frontier as a scout or spy at the time of Colonel Clarke's expedition to Kaskaskia, and he was employed as one of the guides of the little army. After the capture of Kaskaskia, Colonel Clarke selected him to carry despatches back to Kentucky. With a small party he set out on the long and difficult journey, and when but a few days on his way he one night discovered an Indian camp, near which were tied a number of horses. The savages were not aware that there were any white men in that region besides the French at Kaskaskia, and they slept soundly, without fear of danger. With great caution Kenton secured the horses, and sent them back to the army in charge of one of the men, while with the others he proceeded on his mission. By order of Colonel Clarke, or of his own motion, Kenton proposed to visit Vincennes on his way to Kentucky, and entering that place at night, the little party traversed the village

street without creating any alarm among the slumbering inhabitants, or attracting the notice of a sentinel at the fort. In the adjoining fields they found some horses, and taking two for each man they hurried on, leaving the sleepers to their dreams.

The good luck of the party, however, soon met with a reverse. When they came to White River, the depth of water made it necessary to drive the horses into the stream to swim across, while the men, with their guns and luggage, crossed on a raft. While they were constructing the raft, a party of Indians, concealed by the bushes, was watching them from the opposite side of the river, ready to kill or capture them as soon as they crossed. The preparations being completed, the horses were driven into the river, and the raft was pushed off; but before the latter was midway across, Kenton saw the animals, as they reached the opposite bank, quietly caught by the ambushed Indians, and, realizing the danger, he directed his men to return to the shore they had left, but without manifesting any alarm. Thus robbed of their stolen horses, the party concealed themselves till night, and then, proceeding on foot, reached Kentucky in safety.

Daring in his excursions, and frequently exposed to danger, Kenton at length found that these risks could not always be incurred with impunity. Some horses having been stolen by a party of Indians, Kenton with a few companions started in pursuit, determined to recover them. They followed the raiders across the Ohio, and for several days kept upon their trail, watching for an opportunity to surprise them; but before such a chance occurred, the Indians reached their village. Here Kenton repeated his exploit at Vincennes. Entering the village with his comrades in the night, while its dusky inhabitants, unsuspecting that they had been followed, were all asleep, the little party not only recovered the stolen horses, but took several belonging to the Indians, and started back for Kentucky. They made all haste to the Ohio; but when they reached that river, the waters were high, and a gale made them so rough that there was danger of losing the horses if they attempted to cross, and this was a risk of bringing their bold enterprise to an inglorious end not to be thought of. They accordingly waited for the wind to subside; but this delay was as fatal as they feared the attempt to cross the river would be; for the Indians, who had discov-

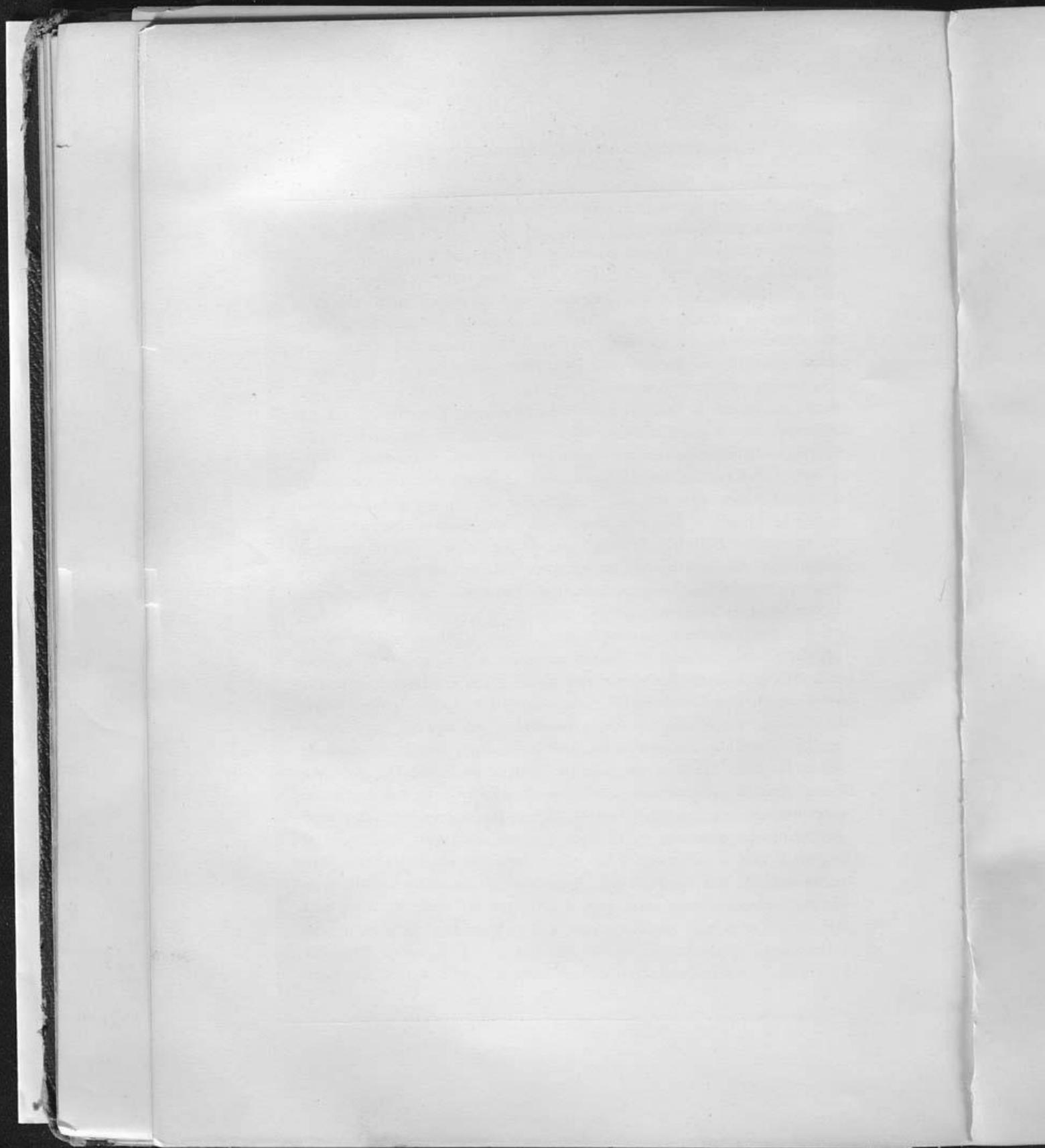
ered their loss with the earliest dawn, had followed, and now overtook them. Kenton, less cunning or less fortunate than he had hitherto been, was captured, while his companions succeeded in making their escape.

When Boone was captured, he had never done anything while fighting the savages which specially excited their vindictiveness, and his dignified bearing, as well as his fame as a skilful hunter, which had spread even among the Indians, secured their respect and good-will. But Kenton was known to them either personally or as one of a class of daring scouts and raiders who were their most active enemies, while he was now caught in the act of running off their horses, and they were disposed to show him neither respect nor mercy. Telling him that since he was so fond of horses he should ride one of their best animals, they bound him upon a half-broken, unbridled colt, which was then turned loose to follow the party as it chose. Unused to such a burden, the animal reared and dashed about in the wildest manner, to the great delight of the Indians and the fearful suffering of Kenton. Rushing unguided through thickets and under the low-hanging branches, the horse seemed to manifest the vicious spirit of his masters, and the unfortunate prisoner was terribly lacerated and bruised.

In this manner he was carried by degrees to the famous Indian town of old Chillicothe, where different methods of torture common among most of the savage tribes were resorted to. He was painted black, and bound to a stake for twenty-four hours, subjected to insults and indignities from women and children and expecting a slow and cruel death at the hands of the men; then compelled to run the gauntlet between two lines of savages,—men, women, and children, to the number of several hundred,—who, with switches, clubs, and even knives, struck at him as he passed. As usual, he was told that if he reached the council-house at the farther end of the lines, he would be spared further punishment; but when, with desperate effort, he had almost reached this goal of safety, he was struck down by a club in the hands of a warrior, and then beaten by all who could reach him till nearly senseless. This torture was repeated, with slight variation, as he was carried from town to town and exhibited, previous to his ultimate doom of being burned at the stake.



A WESTERN MAZEPPA. SIMON KENTON A PRISONER.



The final punishment was to take place at Sandusky, and Kenton arrived there just as the renegade Girty returned from an unsuccessful expedition against the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania. Equal to the most malignant savage, Girty struck the weak and suffering prisoner to the ground, and was about committing further violence, when Kenton called him by name, and demanded his protection. For once this infamous wretch, who never before or after was known to show mercy, listened to this appeal. Kenton, indeed, had a claim upon him, which, with all his hatred of his own race, he could not but recognize, for in their youth he had saved Girty's life. Remembering this, the white savage interceded for the captive, and saved him from the stake, and, taking him to his cabin, cared for him till he recovered his strength. Then, however, the Indians seemed to repent of their leniency, and holding another council, they again condemned Kenton to be burned. But fortunately a British agent was present, and succeeded in having him transferred to himself as a prisoner of war, when he was carried to Detroit. With two other Americans he escaped from Detroit, and running the risk of recapture and certain death, he again traversed the Indian country, and after a month's travel through the wilderness he reached Kentucky.

After his experience while in their hands, Kenton was not much disposed to love the Indians, and so long as they were hostile he continued to fight them, but fortunately never again fell into their hands. He was ready, too, remembering the work of English agents among the savages, to fight the British in the war of 1812, when he marched with the Kentucky troops to the northern frontier, and participated in several battles. He had early taken up land in Kentucky; but, like Boone, through ignorance or dislike of legal forms, he had neglected to secure his title, and he saw his lands, for which he had fought through many years and had endured so much, taken from him by later settlers, and, in poverty, he retired to a tract of mountain land which had not yet tempted the farmer or the speculator. But even this was claimed by the state, and in 1824 the old pioneer, in tattered garments of a former fashion, appeared in Frankfort to petition the legislature to release the state's claim. He seemed like a Rip Van Winkle just waked from sleep on his mountain, and at first met only

with ridicule; but when he proved himself to be the Simon Kenton, the story of whose exploits in the early days of Kentucky had long been familiar among old and new settlers, he was treated with due respect, his lands were released, and a pension was obtained for him from Congress.

Another of the famous pioneers of Kentucky was Colonel William Linn, who was one of the early settlers of Louisville. His early life was passed on the frontier of Virginia, where as a hunter he roamed far and wide through the forest, learned something of Indian habits, and became an expert in woodcraft. His daring and familiarity with a wide extent of the wilderness led to his being employed as a scout and guide for General Braddock on his unfortunate expedition, and he is said to have reconnoitred Fort du Quesne, and to have furnished information to the English general which, if reliable, should have led to a different result. During the subsequent Indian attacks on the frontier settlements he was engaged with the other backwoodsmen in fighting the savages, and early in the Revolutionary war he went as lieutenant of Captain George Gibson's company of mountaineers to eastern Virginia, where he was engaged in several skirmishes with the British. While there, the character and experience of Gibson and Linn on the frontiers led to their being commissioned to perform a secret, delicate, and dangerous service in the West, which was no less than an expedition to New Orleans to procure powder from the Spaniards for the use of the patriot army.

In 1776, Gibson and Linn, with a number of men from their company, embarked in barges at Fort Pitt for their long journey down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans. They went ostensibly as traders, and carried in their boats a quantity of goods, with the proceeds of which they were to purchase powder, though the purpose of their expedition was a secret with themselves. It was a perilous voyage, because of the unknown navigation of the Ohio and the danger of being attacked by hostile Indians on its banks. They were not, however, the first to float down the "fair river," for several military expeditions against the Indians, and some emigrants, had gone down part way, and in 1769, two adventurous explorers, named Taylor, with a few companions had descended to its mouth, and continued their voyage down the Mississippi

to New Orleans, whence they returned to Virginia by sea. It is possible that other traders had also gone down the former river even to the Mississippi; but so far as any knowledge of its shores or its rapids was concerned, for much of its course it was to these voyagers an unexplored river.

After a long and tedious voyage, Gibson and Linn arrived at New Orleans, where they met with a friendly reception from the Spanish authorities; Spain being naturally and traditionally opposed to England, if not altogether in favor of the Americans. But in order to allay the suspicions which British agents there might entertain, or for some other reason, Gibson was imprisoned, while Linn disposed of the goods and negotiated for the powder. In due time the errand was successfully accomplished; a part of the powder was put on board a vessel bound for one of the northern seaports, and Gibson being released, sailed with it, while the remainder was taken by Linn in the barges, to be carried up the river to Fort Pitt. With slow and oftentimes laborious progress against the stream, the long voyage was at last accomplished, and the powder, which was of the greatest value to the Americans, was safely delivered.

After Colonel Clarke had set out upon his famous expedition to Kaskaskia, the news of the French alliance was received at Fort Pitt, and Linn, who was then a captain, volunteered to carry the cheering intelligence to Clarke, who was already far on his way. He overtook the little army before it commenced its march into the Illinois country, and he, as well as the joyful intelligence he brought, was received with no little satisfaction by Clarke, for his ability as a scout and his experience in border warfare were well known. A command was given him, and he went through the successful campaign, rendering his services as a volunteer.

Soon after this expedition, Linn removed with his family to Kentucky, and settled near Louisville, of which place he was practically one of the founders, and directed the construction of the first fort there. His own residence he surrounded with palisades, so that it could be easily defended against the small bands of Indians which frequently crossed the Ohio on predatory excursions. It does not appear that any attack was made on Linn's Station, as it was called; but Indian

stratagem was tried to decoy the inmates into the woods, where they might fall into an ambush. This came to be the favorite mode of warfare with the savages when they found that they could not successfully attack the forts, and in this way they succeeded in murdering or capturing many an unwary settler.

For several mornings in succession, at daybreak, the gobbling of a wild turkey was heard in the woods near Linn's Station, and, though game was abundant, that sound was tempting to a hunter. One of the inmates, anxious to secure the noble bird before breakfast, went out to hunt for it; but he was never again seen, and there could be no doubt that he had been captured and probably murdered by the Indians. Colonel Linn at once suspected that the gobbling of the turkey was but an imitation by a prowling savage, and noting with the accuracy of a veteran hunter the spot from which it appeared to come, he determined to test his suspicions. At night he went cautiously into the woods, and, concealing himself near the place, waited for the dawn to call forth the customary gobble. Day was just breaking when he heard a stealthy step, and soon after an Indian made his appearance, and stepping upon the trunk of a fallen tree, in full view of the watchful hunter, he commenced imitating the cry of the wild turkey. It was his last attempt to decoy the unsuspecting whites, for before he could repeat the sound, a ball from Linn's trusty rifle ended his career.

It was by such a treacherous mode of petty warfare and by small predatory expeditions that the Indians annoyed the settlements which were growing numerous on their old hunting-grounds. After the establishment of Boonesborough and Harrodsburg, there was a steady stream of emigration from the East to the rich lands of which such glowing descriptions had been given, and many small settlements were scattered over a wide extent of country. The number of settlers had become so large in 1780, that a force of a thousand mounted volunteers was raised among them for the purpose of punishing the Indians for their predatory incursions by carrying the war into their own country. This expedition, which was alluded to in a former chapter, was under the command of General George Rogers Clarke, the hero of Kaskaskia and Vincennes; and the several regiments or battalions composing it were officered by the foremost men of different settlements,—Linn,

Logan, Boone, Harrod, Floyd, Slaughter, and others,—who took a prominent part not only in the defence of the territory against the Indians, but in its early civil affairs. The expedition crossed the Ohio, and advancing to Chillicothe and other Indian towns, destroyed them, with a great quantity of growing corn, this kind of warfare proving the most effectual against the savages. The latter, however, did not suffer these losses without resistance, and several battles of more or less magnitude occurred, in which the Kentuckians were successful, and returned to their settlements assured that the Indians would not soon resume their hostile incursions. But they had by no means "conquered a peace," for it was not long before the savages were again prowling around the exposed cabins of the settlers, and within a year Colonel Linn fell a victim to one of their ambuscades.

The forms of civil government had at this time been established, and several counties created under the authority of Virginia. One morning, a number of the settlers who, though living miles apart, were considered neighbors, assembled at Linn's Station on their way to attend a county court at Louisville. Colonel Linn, having occasion to transact some business before the holding of the court, started in advance of his friends, and he had been gone but a short time when the reports of several guns were heard. The others, seizing their arms, quickly mounted, and hastened in the direction which Linn had taken, suspecting that some prowling band of Indians had fired upon him. His horse was soon found lying mortally wounded by the side of the bridle-path, and after a long and careful search the body of Linn himself was discovered, about a mile away from the station. He had been fired upon by a party of Indians lying in ambush, and apparently, after being wounded, had fought his assailants with characteristic bravery until finally overcome.

ISOLATED SETTLERS AND LAWLESS
ADVENTURERS.

THE real pioneers of Kentucky and Tennessee, and indeed of the great West, were hunters like Boone and Kenton; men who were reared on the frontiers, and had a desire always to live on the frontiers, and who, therefore, moved on farther into the wilderness when more permanent settlers came to clear the lands. They established themselves so long as it suited their taste, sometimes two or three together and sometimes singly, at places remote from the settlements; and the latter they seldom visited except to obtain a supply of powder and lead, or a few other necessaries, in exchange for skins. They lived almost wholly by hunting, and seldom troubled themselves to plant corn, varying their diet of animal food only by the wild fruits of the country. They clothed themselves chiefly in garments made from the skins of their game,—deer-skin hunting-shirts and leggings, with caps trimmed with some trophy of the hunt, being the common fashion among them.

Now and then a hunter carried his family into the wilderness with him, though the hostility of the Indians did not encourage them in such cases to seek homes very remote from the settlements. There were cases, however, where they established themselves in places so remote and difficult of access among the mountains that even the Indians were not likely to find them. An instance is related by Mr. Hall in his *Romance of Western History*. While riding over a range of precip-

itous hills in the central part of Kentucky, he saw in a sheltered nook some dilapidated log cabins, which he learned was once the home of a Mr. Muldrow, the earliest settler of this region. He had evidently selected this spot because it was so inaccessible and was not likely to be disturbed by the Indians, who were wont to seek their game in the woods on the more fertile lands. Moreover, he was a hunter who cared little for agriculture, or he would scarcely have chosen so rough and barren a place for his home. Concerning this pioneer the following incident was related:—

Muldrow had come hither from North Carolina with his wife and all his worldly goods on a pack-horse; and with scarcely any other tool than his axe he had built his cabin and made a home in this rugged wilderness. Here he had resided for a year, living exclusively on the game which he killed, varied, in the season, by some wild fruits which he found in the valleys, when one day, as he was hunting in the forest, he observed a small dog scenting his tracks, and finally pausing near the spot where he stood, and giving a low whine, as if in doubt whether to proceed. Suspecting that a human being must be near, the hunter watched sharply for his appearance, and soon saw the dog's master coming cautiously through the woods, looking for game, and speaking in low tones to the dog. The stranger wore a hunting-shirt and leggings of dressed deer-skin, moccasins, and the remnant of a high-crowned hat. Besides his gun, which he held ready for immediate use, he wore in his girdle a hatchet, or tomahawk, and a knife; and from this outfit, as well as from his swarthy complexion, Muldrow had no doubt that at last the Indians had penetrated to his secluded region, and he grasped his rifle in readiness to dispatch the intruder before he should be shot himself. The stranger had not yet perceived him, as he was concealed behind a tree; but when satisfied that this was an Indian enemy, he cocked his rifle; the click reached the acute ears of the intruder and directed his attention to the spot where Muldrow stood. Springing behind a tree, the stranger also cocked his rifle, and then each watched for an opportunity to shoot his adversary. A series of manœuvres followed, in which each sought to draw the fire of the other, but without success, till at last the stranger, tired of this play, called out, "Why don't you shoot, you tarnal cowardly varmint!"

"Shoot yourself, you bloody red-skin!" replied Muldrow. "No more a red-skin than you are," retorted the other. There was nothing "Indian" in this language, and the two instantly stepped out from their shelter, and gazing a moment as if to be assured each that the other was a white man, they laid down their guns and rushed to embrace each other. Should this be thought a demonstration unsuited to the character of backwoodsmen, it must be remembered that for a year Muldrow had not seen a human being except his wife, and that the stranger had for many months lived in the wilderness some ten miles away, and had seen no one but his own family.

Following close upon the pioneer hunters, a class of settlers went to Kentucky and Tennessee to take up the richer lands for agricultural purposes. Some of them secured extensive tracts, and others were content with a few hundred acres, but a very small part of which they cleared and cultivated. They brought with them horses, cattle, and swine, and such household goods as could be carried on pack-horses. Some of these were small farmers from the frontiers of the older settlements, who were accustomed to the toil necessary in a new country; and others belonged to the gentry of Virginia and Carolina, who brought with them slaves or servants, and who, though not trained to labor, were not wanting in endurance, being accustomed to the saddle, brave, and fond of adventure. From the first there were many horses taken to Kentucky, and it was much more common to travel on horseback than on foot.

After the close of the Revolutionary war, Virginia granted lands in Kentucky to many officers and men for their service in the army, and numbers of them emigrated to the country whose attractions were so loudly proclaimed. These men added an important and generally advantageous element to the people of the West, though among the large numbers who at this period went "to seek their fortunes" were some of the more lawless adventurers, who disturbed the peace of the worthy settlers.

The homes of these early settlers were small clusters of log cabins, more or less in number according to the size of their families and the necessities of their establishment. The fertile soil yielded more than an abundance for their wants, with no market for the surplus; their stock

increased, and though they lacked the luxuries to be obtained only in older communities, they lived in plenty. They were hospitable, and were always ready to entertain a stranger from their abundance, and to welcome their neighbors, a term which included all settlers within a distance of many miles. They engaged earnestly in public affairs, and before Kentucky and Tennessee were admitted as states of the Union they were agitated by some serious questions affecting their welfare. The most important of these was the free navigation of the Mississippi, the strong desire for which on the part of the people of the Western settlements led the Spaniards, and afterwards the French, into certain schemes to alienate them from the United States. To these schemes a small number of the people lent a willing ear, and a few were compromised by their efforts to secure commercial advantages from the Spaniards, though they contemplated no political alliance. Most of the people, however, were faithful to their allegiance, and the admission of the states and the purchase of Louisiana happily settled questions which for a time seriously affected the peace and prospects of the West.

But not all those who sought this new country were adventurous and honest hunters, industrious farmers, or hospitable and chivalrous gentry; and not all were ready to fight the Indians in order to secure peace and safety to the young settlements. Outlaws fled from the older communities, as they always do, to the frontiers of civilization, some of them content, perhaps, to escape punishment, and others ready to continue their evil ways. There was another class, not very numerous, however, to be found on the frontiers; men who, though not criminals, were of an unthrifty and lawless character, and so long as they obtained subsistence were not ambitious to improve their condition, and did nothing to promote the common welfare.

Among those who fled from justice in the older settlements to continue their crimes where there was less danger of punishment, were several who obtained an infamous notoriety. About the year 1793 two brothers by the name of Harpe, with three women and several children, coming from the border settlements of Virginia, entered Kentucky. Nothing is known of their previous career; but as they journeyed westward, their route was marked by murder and arson. They hurried through the larger settlements, but coming upon some solitary cabin

far removed from any neighbors, from sheer bloodthirstiness they murdered the inmates and burned the house. In this way they advanced to the region of Green River, where, on the very frontier of that section of the country, they established themselves, and waged indiscriminate war upon the scattered settlers. The industrious pioneer, clearing his land for crops with which to support his family, would be shot down while at his work, or his wife and children, left alone in their cabin, would be wantonly butchered. Solitary travellers riding through the forest never reached the end of their intended journey. Boys going to mill with a sack of corn, or looking for cattle in the woods, never returned from their errands. Mounted on fine horses, these fiends rode far and wide, committing these atrocities; the shedding of blood and the destruction of homes seeming to be their only object, for though they robbed the murdered traveller, they seldom took more than food for themselves and fodder for their horses from the settlers. They became a terror through a wide extent of country, more dreaded than the Indians; men scarcely dared to go abroad unarmed, or to leave their families unprotected even for an hour, lest they should return to find them murdered. Having committed some atrocity in one locality, the villains were next heard of at some distant point, and they without difficulty evaded pursuit in the wide, unsettled forest. Meanwhile their women and children remained unharmed in their secluded cabin, notwithstanding the terrible provocation for the settlers to retaliate. When at last the settlers combined to hunt these enemies of mankind, they disappeared as mysteriously as they had come.

As the settlements at the West increased, and the necessities of the people led them to seek trade with New Orleans, lawless adventurers of a different character appeared; men who were bent on robbery, but seldom committed murder. Some were simply horse-thieves, while others, establishing themselves at some point remote from the settlements, on the banks of the Ohio or Mississippi, would sometimes capture a barge as it was descending the river, laden with produce and furs destined for a market at New Orleans, or more frequently waylay the traders as they returned by land through the vast stretches of unsettled wilderness, and rob them of the hard-earned results of their long voyage.

The most noted of these depredators in the early days was a man named Meason, who with his subordinates committed many such robberies. He was a man of more than ordinary ability, and had the manners of a gentleman; but he was relentless in robbing all who fell in his way and possessed anything worth seizing. Watching the laden boats as they descended the river, he calculated the time when their owners would be likely to return, and watching for them, if they were not fortunate enough to take a different route, would plunder them of the proceeds of their goods, taking their lives only when their resistance provoked a conflict.

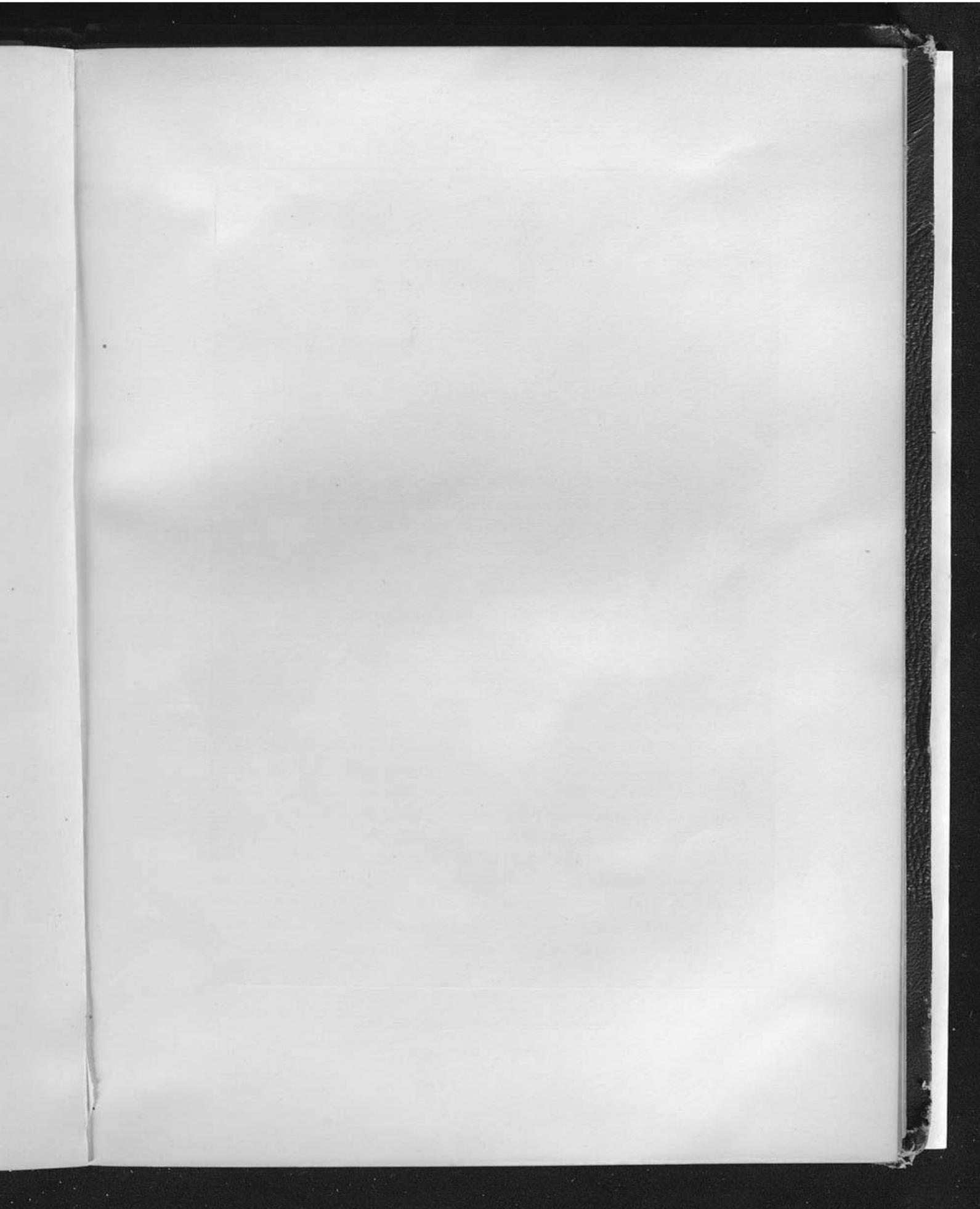
The presence of such offenders as these on the frontiers, where laws could not be enforced nor justice be administered in its ordinary forms, led to the organization of "Regulators" and the execution of "Lynch law," a system of self-protection adopted in all the sparse settlements of the West, sometimes absolutely necessary, but too often carried to excess, and resulting in violence and wrong as great as that it was intended to punish. As the population became more dense, and civil authority was more firmly established, these irregular proceedings for the most part gave place to a better administration of justice.

PLEASURES OF PIONEER LIFE.



NOTWITHSTANDING the exposure of the settlers west of the Alleghanies to frequent attacks by hostile Indians, they were not always in a state of alarm, and their life was not without its pleasures. Those here referred to were emigrants from Virginia and Carolina, who had gradually advanced across the mountains, and carried with them the habits and characteristics of the rural inhabitants of the Old Dominion. They were lovers of freedom, sometimes even to excess, hardy and active, but seldom thrifty, more disposed to enjoy what they got than to accumulate, and desirous of acquiring lands rather than more available wealth. With little education or refinement, they had certain chivalrous notions which modified their otherwise rude manners and habits of life. Their dwellings were, at first, usually log houses, or a cluster of log cabins, more or less in number according to their wealth and the size of their families. The interior arrangements were rude, but by no means destitute of comfort for those whose habits were not luxurious. Most of them had cattle, swine, and fowls; and of bacon, poultry, and often of game, they had an abundance, while a few small fields yielded them sufficient corn and vegetables. Given to hospitality, they were always ready to welcome their neighbors, and to give from their plenty to the stranger.

Horses were at once a necessity and a luxury on the frontiers; the usual mode of travelling, even for the shortest distance, was on horseback, while the pack-horse was the only means of transporting burdens.





A WEDDING PARTY IN WESTERN VIRGINIA.

Many of these backwoodsmen, like the gentry of eastern Virginia, took great pride in their animals, and were expert in horsemanship, though their horses were often caparisoned in an original and not very elegant style. Accustomed to ride long distances, it was mere pastime to visit a neighbor five or ten miles away; and if the wife, daughter, or sweetheart of the rider joined in the visit, she was sometimes mounted behind,—a folded blanket serving for a pillion,—and sometimes rode a more gentle horse, seated on an extemporized side-saddle. The young man thinking of marriage deemed it no hardship to ride a much greater distance along the bridle-paths through the woods to seek the favor of the damsel of his choice.

Marriageable young men and women were not very numerous in the backwoods, and a wedding was an important event, which was celebrated with the greatest ardor, and often in an extraordinary manner. Dr. Doddridge, who was reared on the frontier in Western Virginia during the period to which the preceding chapters relate, in a volume giving his reminiscences of the early days, describes a wedding of that time.

"In the morning of the wedding-day the groom and his attendants assembled at the house of his father for the purpose of reaching the mansion of his bride by noon, which was the usual time for celebrating the nuptials, which for certain must take place before dinner.

"Let the reader imagine an assemblage of people, without a store, tailor, or mantua-maker within a hundred miles, and an assemblage of horses, without a blacksmith or saddler within an equal distance. The gentlemen dressed in shoe-packs, moccasins, leather breeches, leggings, and linsey hunting-shirts, all home-made; the ladies in linsey petticoats, and linsey or linen short-gowns, coarse shoes and stockings, handkerchiefs, and buckskin gloves, if any. If there were any buckles, rings, buttons or ruffles, they were relics of old times,—family pieces from parents or grandparents.

"The horses were caparisoned with old saddles, old bridles or halters, and pack-saddles with a bag or blanket thrown over them; a rope or string as often constituted the girth as a piece of leather.

"The march in double file was often interrupted by the narrowness or obstructions of our horse-paths, as they were called, for we had no

roads; and these difficulties were often increased, sometimes by the good and sometimes by the ill will of neighbors, by falling trees and tying grape-vines across the way. Sometimes an ambuscade was formed by the wayside, and an unexpected discharge of several guns took place, so as to cover the wedding company with smoke. Let the reader imagine the scene which followed: the sudden spring of the horses, the shrieks of the girls, and the chivalric bustle of their partners to save them from falling. Sometimes, in spite of all that could be done to prevent it, some were thrown to the ground. If a wrist, an elbow, or an ankle happened to be sprained, it was tied up with a handkerchief and little more said or thought about it.

"Another ceremony commonly took place before the party reached the house of the bride, after the practice of making whiskey began, which was at an early period. When the party were about a mile from the place of destination, two young men would single out to run for the bottle; the worse the path, the more logs, brush, and deep hollows, the better, as these obstacles afforded an opportunity for the greater display of intrepidity and horsemanship. The start was announced by an Indian yell; logs, brush, muddy hollows, hill and glen were speedily passed by the rival ponies. The bottle was always filled for the occasion, so that there was no use for judges; for the first who reached the door was presented with the prize, with which he returned in triumph to the company. At the head of the troop he gave the bottle to the groom and his attendants, and then to each pair in succession to the rear of the line, giving each a dram."

This sequel to the race was in conformity with the custom of the times, rather than a special failing of the settlers of this region. The use of liquor was then universal, and it is not strange that these people of the backwoods, unrestrained in their manner of living, indulged more freely than those of the older and more orderly parts of the country, who were by no means abstemious.

The marriage ceremony preceded the dinner, but the chronicler quoted above does not say by whom it was performed, whether by a magistrate, as in New England, or by some itinerant clergyman, who at that early day occasionally held religious service in the temple of Nature for the benefit of the widely scattered settlers. The dinner

which followed was a plentiful feast of bacon, wild turkeys, venison, and vegetables, served in a primitive style, but enjoyed with the greatest hilarity, though the table might be a large slab of timber hewn out with a broadaxe, and supported by four sticks set in auger-holes, and the furniture some old pewter dishes and plates, supplemented by wooden bowls and trenchers, and a few battered pewter spoons; if knives were scarce, the deficiency was made up by scalping-knives carried in sheaths at the belts of the men. Now and then some more fortunate family would possess a silver tankard and a few spoons of the same metal, which were heirlooms come down from ancestors in Old England. The wit of the company was rather rude, and their conduct far from refined, while an indulgence in liquor often rendered the occasion exceedingly boisterous. Dancing followed, and was kept up till the whole company was tired out, though often not till the dawn of the following day, their strength being sustained by a resort to the remnants of the bountiful feast.

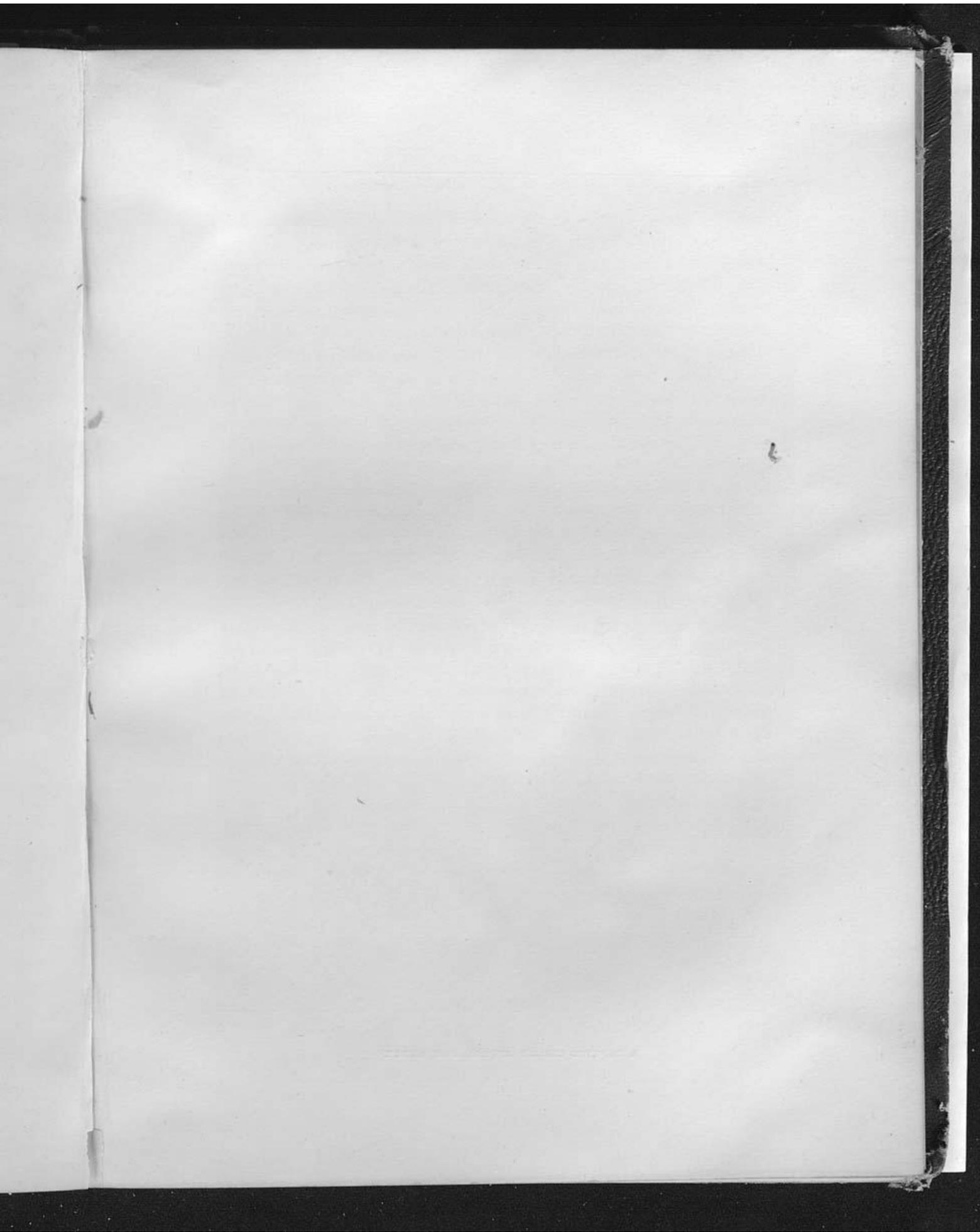
May-day was observed by the pioneers from Virginia and Carolina with something of the traditions of Merry England. A May-pole would be erected and adorned with the early wild-flowers, and around it the young people for miles about would assemble for a dance and games. An officer from Connecticut, in the service of the United States at a post on the Ohio, in his journal of 1786, says: "This being May-day, is kept by all the western and southern people with great glee. A pole is erected and decorated with flowers, around which they dance in a circle, with many curious antics, drinking and carousing, and firing guns in honor of St. Tammany, the patron of this festival." And in his diary for the two succeeding years he mentions the same festivities on the part of the people across the river, who hospitably entertained some of the officers and soldiers from the fort.

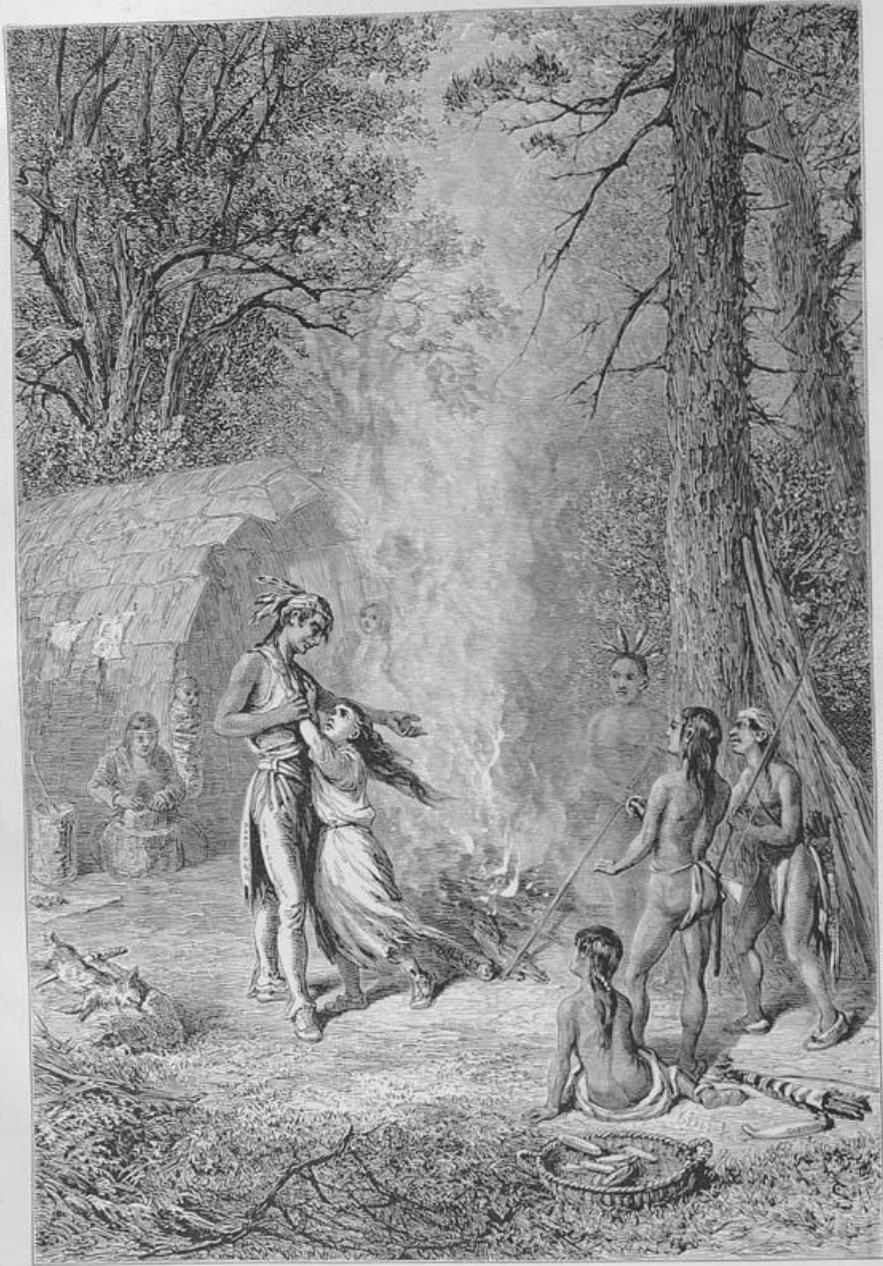
Harvest-time seems also to have been a season for indulgence in the use of whiskey. John Mathews, a Massachusetts man, who went west to seek employment as a surveyor for the United States, writes in his journal in 1786:

"Being disappointed in my expectation of teaching a school this winter, I went to Harman Greathouse, the father of my friend William.

Here I found a number of the neighbors seated in social glee around a heap of corn. The inspiring juice of rye had enlivened their imaginations, and given their tongues such an exact balance, that they moved with the greatest alacrity while relating scenes of boxing, wrestling, hunting, &c. At dusk of evening the corn was finished, and the company retired to the house, where many of them took such hearty draughts of the generous liquor as quite deprived them of the use of their limbs. Some quarrelled, some sang, and others laughed; while the whole displayed a scene more diverting than edifying. At ten o'clock all that could walk went home, but left three or four round the fire, hugging the whiskey-bottle, and arguing very obstinately on *religion*; at which I left them and went to bed."

Home amusements within doors of a more rational sort were exceedingly limited. Books were almost unknown, and there were but few who could read them; but when that knowledge was possessed it was imparted in a rude way to the children of the household. A family gathered around the winter fire would listen with wonder to the tales of the bold adventures and incredible exploits of hunters, or the more fearful story of Indian massacres and the cruelties of captivity among the savages. Too often the listeners were called to realize the dangers and sufferings told of at the fireside; and to those who dwell in safety in the midst of civilization it is a wonder, exposed as the frontiers were for many years to the sudden and stealthy visits of hostile Indians, that the children would dare to play abroad and venture into the woods, or their elders could think of aught but the safety of their families.





A CAPTIVE CHILD'S APPEAL FOR MERCY.

CAPTIVE CHILDREN.



EVERYWHERE on the frontiers where the whites came in contact with the Indians, from the earliest settlement of the country down to the most recent times in the far West, children have been carried into captivity by hostile or treacherous savages, who seemed to delight in such captures as much as in those of adults, while they seldom treated them with the same cruelty. To the infant of a tender age they seldom showed mercy, but dispatched it in the presence of its agonized parents; but those who were of an age to endure hardship and the fatigue of a journey through the wilderness, they compelled to accompany them, and dealt with them much as with their own children, and often adopted them into their tribe. Many were liberated by some treaty of peace, a few were ransomed, others were never heard of again, and probably sank under the hardships which they were called upon to endure; while still others, years afterwards, were found living with the Indians, having grown up in the habits of savage life, which no inducements could lead them to abandon. The first traders who penetrated the region northwest of the Ohio found on the banks of the Muskingum a white woman who had been carried off from New England when a child. She had an Indian husband and several children, and could not be induced to return to civilized life. At later periods and farther west there have been instances of the discovery of long-lost children who were the braves or squaws of some Indian tribe; but

even when relatives have found them and have proved their kinship by some peculiar mark or wound, or by recalling to their memories the incidents of childhood, the habits and freedom of savage life have been more attractive than the comforts of civilization.

Children on the frontiers were hardy and brave, early accustomed to the woods and to hunting in a small way, and thus capable of enduring fatigue and adapting themselves without much difficulty to the habits of the Indians. Familiar with stories of the exploits of the pioneers in fighting or eluding the savages, they were often remarkably bold and ready with resources in cases of emergency, which would never occur to mature men reared under different circumstances. A few incidents will serve to illustrate these characteristics as well as the nature of the captivity to which some of them were subjected.

In 1793 a Mr. Johnson, who had settled at Carpenter's Station, on the west side of the Ohio, sent his two sons, John and Henry, one thirteen and the other eleven years old, into the woods in search of his cattle. For some time there had been no Indians in that neighborhood except such as were friendly, and there were no fears that the boys would meet any. But when at some distance from the station, two stalwart savages, who, with bridles in their hands, were bent on stealing some of the settlers' horses, suddenly appeared and made them prisoners. John, the elder, doubtless remembering the familiar stories of Boone and others, pretended to be highly pleased at being captured, declaring that his father had abused him, and that he longed to escape and join the Indians, that he might lead the free life of a hunter. He apparently entered with zeal into the search for the horses, and by his conduct won the good will of the Indians, who consequently treated both boys with comparative kindness. Night came on before the horses were found, and when the savages lay down, they placed the boys, with their arms pinioned, between them, at the same time lying on the ends of a strap which passed over the captives. The Indians fell asleep; but the boys were too much disturbed to slumber, and John was, moreover, thinking how he could effect their escape. At last one of the Indians unconsciously helped to solve the problem, for, probably feeling cold, he lifted John from his position on the inside and placed him on the outside of the group. When the Indian was again in a profound

sleep, John succeeded in getting his hands loose, and whispering to his brother he unbound him also, and bade him get up cautiously. The younger boy, thus released, was for running off as quickly as possible; but the elder, knowing that if they fled, and were overtaken, their fate would be all the harder, stopped him, saying, "We must kill the Indians first." It was a terrible proposal to the little fellow, but after some hesitation he agreed to do as John bade him; and the latter, taking one of the guns of their captors, rested it on a log with the muzzle near the head of one of the Indians, and, cocking it, told his brother to pull the trigger the moment he should strike the other savage. He then took a tomahawk, and standing over the head of the sleeping Indian he struck a blow with all his strength. The blow was not fatal, but, as the Indian was springing up, a second stroke was more successful, and he fell dead. At the moment of the first blow the younger boy pulled the trigger, and the other Indian was mortally wounded. The boys, having performed this bold and sanguinary deed, hastened away with all speed, and about daybreak reached the station, where they found the people all up and in great anxiety on their account. "Here we are," shouted John, at the gate; and great was the joy with which they were welcomed home. Their story was hardly believed till they conducted some of the men to the spot where they had performed their extraordinary exploit, and where the Indians were found, one dead and the other mortally wounded.

The pluck, presence of mind, and endurance of the frontier children are perhaps better illustrated by the adventures of some young Kentucky pioneers, as related by Mr. Hall. In 1785 a Colonel Pope, who lived near Louisville, employed a private teacher to instruct his own children and those of some of his neighbors, among whom were two sons of Colonel Linn, who has been mentioned in a previous chapter, and who had been killed several years before this date. One holiday in February the two Linns, with three other boys, went out on a hunting excursion; for though none of them were above the age of thirteen or fourteen, they were accustomed to the use of fire-arms, and were somewhat skilled in hunting the smaller game. Ambitious to enjoy all the delights and freedom of a hunter's life, they constructed a slight shelter, built a fire, and encamped for the night near some

ponds which were frequented by swans and ducks. A slight snow during the night did not disturb their slumbers, and in the morning they were awake early and eager to resume their sport; but, as they were setting out for the ponds, they found themselves surrounded by a party of Indians, who had been attracted by their camp-fire, and had lain near them all night. The elder Linn and one of his companions started to run; but they were overtaken, and Linn, who was rather stout and clumsy, was called by the Indians "the little fat bear," while the other, who was an agile and swift runner, was named "the buck-elk."

The Indians soon moved away with their young captives, and, crossing the Ohio in canoes, pursued their journey towards northern Indiana. The boys, knowing they must make the best of their ill-luck, and being not ill-treated by their captors, marched on without a murmur, and perhaps not altogether unpleasantly excited by their adventure. Their patient endurance and the interest they manifested in the incidents of the journey won the good-will of the Indians, who promised themselves the satisfaction of making braves of these young heroes. Arriving at the village of their captors, they received, as usual, the taunts and abuse of the women and children. These they bore as long as they could; but when the Indian boys resorted to blows, their Kentucky blood was aroused, and the younger Linn being assailed by a boy larger than himself, gave him a left-handed blow which knocked him down, to the great delight of the older savages. A general attack by the young Indians followed; but the white boys were braver than their adversaries, and, standing together, they displayed such pluck against great odds that their captors interfered and protected them from further annoyance.

The qualities thus displayed by the young captives were such as to commend them to the savages, and they at once became favorites, and were adopted into the families of their captors. One of them fell to the lot of an Indian belonging to a distant town, whither he went with his master, and was never seen again by his comrades. The others remained in the same village, and as there was nothing else to do, with the readiness of youth to adapt itself to circumstances, they entered with alacrity into the sports of the Indians, and became apparently so well pleased with their free life that their captors ceased to

be suspicious of their desire to escape, and they were allowed to go about at will.

Although the boys entered freely into the sports of the Indian youth, and apparently were not dissatisfied with their position, they were ever on the watch for an opportunity to escape. The spring and summer passed, however, without any chance to make the attempt; but in the autumn, the Indian braves set out in separate parties for their annual hunt, leaving only the old men and the women and children at home. With the increased possibility of escape, the boys became more anxious than ever to return to their home; but as the days passed, and the desired opportunity did not occur, they became more desperate, and at last took advantage of a chance which at an earlier period they would not have dared to try. They went out one day, accompanied by an aged Indian man and a squaw, and encamped at a distance from the village for the purpose of hunting and fishing. This seemed to them the last chance of escape, and they resolved to improve it. But a difficulty presented itself at the outset: should they attempt to run away and leave the old warrior and the squaw, they would be sure to be pursued by all the motley crew of the village, and probably captured. After consultation, therefore, they determined that in order to see their home and friends again it was necessary to kill their Indian companions; and watching their opportunity, they carried their resolution into effect. That young boys, like these and the Johnsons, could so deliberately resort to bloodshed may seem strange to those reared in the safety of civilized communities. But it must be remembered that they knew the Indians as deadly enemies of their race, who did not hesitate to massacre helpless women and children of the whites, and who were then wearing as trophies the scalps of their kindred. The two Linns had lost their father by the hand of savages, and the atrocities and vindictive cruelty practised by these enemies were familiar tales. When, reared amid such associations and influences, their only hope of ever seeing their home again lay in the death of these two beings of a race hated by all the pioneers, it is not strange that even their young hands should perform the deadly deed.

Taking their guns, they hastened away from their silenced foes and turned their steps eagerly towards their home, knowing that they must

travel southward, and being already accustomed to trace their course not only by the sun and moon but by the hunters' sylvan lore. For three weeks they travelled through the forest, often at night, lying concealed the greater part of the day when they suspected danger, living on nuts and berries, and occasionally some small game, and practising the cunning which they had learned from hunters' stories and their experience with the Indians. At last they reached the Ohio, and coming opposite Louisville they fired their guns to attract attention; but the people there supposing it might be a device of the Indians, did not venture to cross. The young fugitives, failing to obtain assistance, went several miles up the bank of the river in search of some canoe or other means of crossing. Finding none, with great labor they constructed a raft, on which three of them embarked, while the elder Linn, who was an expert swimmer, took to the water and pushed the unwieldy craft before him, the others assisting with poles as paddles. In this way they passed slowly across the river, at the same time borne more rapidly down the stream towards Louisville, and were discovered by the people there, who then hastened to their assistance. It was none too soon; for just then a band of Indians appeared on the opposite shore and commenced firing at them, and but for help they might again have been captured. Young Linn was nearly exhausted by his efforts and his long exposure in the chilly water, for it was then November, but the prompt care he received soon restored him to his usual robust health. It is needless to say with what joy the young fugitives were welcomed back by their friends, who had long supposed that they had been murdered by the Indians. Their comrade who had been separated from them never returned, and it was afterwards ascertained that he grew to manhood among the Indians, married the sister of a noted chief, and became so attached to the life of a savage that he had no desire to return to civilized society.

A more romantic story is told by Mrs. Kinzie, in "Wau Bun, The Early Day in the Northwest," of the captivity of her husband's mother, when a young girl living with her parents on the frontiers of Pennsylvania. Omitting many interesting details of Mrs. Kinzie's narrative, the following are the essential facts of the story:

In 1779 Mr. Lytle, an emigrant from eastern Pennsylvania, was living with his family, composed of his wife and five children, on the banks of Plum River, a tributary of the Alleghany, some miles from Fort Pitt. They were occasionally visited by some of the friendly Delawares; but for some time there had been no incursion of hostile Indians in that region, and the settlers had become less fearful of such attacks, and consequently less cautious. One afternoon, in the autumn of the year above named, while Mr. Lytle was assisting a neighbor at a house-raising some miles away, his two eldest children, a girl of nine and a boy two years younger, while playing in a little dell near their dwelling, were taken prisoners by some hostile savages who stealthily approached them from behind, and seized them as their attention was attracted in another direction. Terrified into silence by the threatening signs of the Indians, they were hurried away; but grief at being torn from their home and parents, and dread of the cruelties practised on their captives by the savages, with the tales of which their ears were familiar, exceeded their terror, and they could not restrain their tears and sobs. Their distress touched the heart of the chief of the party, a man of mild aspect for an Indian, who endeavored to soothe them, and, when the savages encamped for the night, prepared a couch of long grass, and gave them a portion of his own meat and parched corn.

Before the party lay down to sleep, another band of Indians arrived, bringing with them the children's mother with her infant three months old. What had become of the other two children, who had also been at play near the house, none of the captives knew, and the mother could only hope that they had escaped, while she suppressed her own grief to comfort the little prisoners.

In the morning the Indians resumed their march, and then was repeated the old story of savage atrocity towards helpless infants. One of the party offered to relieve the mother by carrying her infant, and, unsuspecting of treachery, she gratefully accepted the offer. The Indian lingered behind, and after a time reappeared without the child, whom the mother never saw again. She then knew too well what had been its probable fate; but she dared not question or murmur, but with a stricken heart and silent prayers travelled on with her surviving children. The chief continued to treat the captives with kindness, and

when, after a weary journey for many days, the party arrived at their village, he conducted them to the cabin of his mother, the widow of a great chief of the tribe, and commending them all to her care, presented to her the little girl whom he had from the first regarded with great tenderness, saying he had brought her to be his sister, and to supply the place of a brother who had been killed by the Delawares. Thus was the little girl adopted into the family of her captor, and while Mrs. Lytle and her boy were held for ransom, she was to remain as his sister, and be regarded as the daughter of a great chief.

When Mr. Lytle returned from the house-raising in the evening, he found his house silent and his family gone. It was but too evident that the Indians had been there, and whether his wife and children had been murdered or carried away, was a matter of agonizing doubt. With the aid of his neighbors—and none were very near—he commenced a search, but found no trace of his lost ones, and could only hope that they were still alive and held as captives. In the morning he started for Fort Pitt, to obtain aid from the commandant in pursuing the marauders. On the way, as he passed a vacant house, he descried his two youngest children on a bank by the wayside. Grateful for the safety of these little ones, he eagerly questioned them as to the fate of their mother and the other children; but they could give no information, except to confirm the supposition that their home had been visited by Indians. The story of their own escape was soon told.

They were playing in a field near the house, when they saw the Indians, who probably did not observe them, and in alarm they crept into an adjoining clearing which was overgrown with blackberry bushes, where they hid themselves for a long time. They then traversed this thicket of briers, with great suffering to their limbs and feet, away from the house where they knew the danger lay. Fearing that they would be taken, and impressed by the familiar tales of Indian cruelties, the elder of the two, a little boy of six years, proposed to his sister, two years younger, that he should kill her, as he could do it "so much easier" than the Indians; and, notwithstanding her sobs, for a time he persisted that he must do it to save her from suffering. This idea, however, passed away without an attempt to put it into action, and travelling on, not knowing where they were, they at last followed some cattle to the

house near which they were found. There was no one there to welcome them, and they crept under some rubbish at the back of the house, where, weary with their long toil, they slept. They had come forth from their hiding-place, but were uncertain which way to turn their steps, when they were fortunately discovered by their father.

With a detachment of soldiers from Fort Pitt, Mr. Lytle proceeded in search of the other members of his family, and having reason to suspect the Senecas, he went to one of their villages, where he found his wife and two eldest children. He met with little difficulty in ransoming his wife and the little boy; but neither promises of liberal presents nor entreaties could obtain the release of the little girl who was the adopted child of the tribe. Finding all their efforts vain, with sad hearts the parents were obliged to depart with their one child, leaving their first-born in the hands of the savages. Their grief was partially relieved, however, by the evident kindness with which she was treated, and they could only hope that a future effort might be more successful.

Having placed his family in safety at Fort Pitt, Mr. Lytle next sought the aid of Colonel Johnson, the British Indian agent at Niagara, who had great influence with the savages. Colonel Johnson was a man of benevolent disposition, and, having heard the story, he went himself to the Indian village to procure the little girl's release. But the chief was inexorable; no offer of guns and horses could induce him to part with "his sister."

The little captive who had inspired so much affection in the savage chief, continued to be treated with great kindness by him and the "old queen," his mother. She was supplied with their choicest food, adorned with their brightest ornaments, and rested on their softest couch of skins. This kindness won her from her homesickness, and secured from her affectionate heart a return of love, and she became strongly attached to the chief, whom she learned to call her "brother." She was treated with like consideration by the other members of the tribe, with one exception: the wife of the chief regarded her with a bitter and unreasonable jealousy, and lost no opportunity to manifest her hatred. She would have removed the object of her jealousy by violence had she dared, and she watched with native treachery for a chance to use a more subtle method of revenge. Such an opportunity was offered

by the sickness of the young captive with an attack of fever and ague. The treacherous squaw, changing her demeanor, became very kind in her attentions to the sick child, and one day, during the absence of the old queen, she brought a bowl containing a drink which she offered the patient, and urged her to swallow it, saying it would cure the disease. But a young Indian, who had seen the malignant squaw digging poisonous herbs in the morning, made signals through a crevice of the cabin which put the little girl on her guard, and she bade the woman set it down for her to drink when she came out of the fever turn which was then upon her. When the woman at last retired, the young savage told the story, and the bowl being delivered to the old queen, was found to contain a decoction of the most poisonous herbs known to Indian pharmacy. The other Indians were greatly enraged at this treacherous attempt on the life of their young favorite, and the would-be murderess was banished from her husband's lodge, and condemned to hoe corn in the farthest corner of the plantation.

Four years passed, and the little captive had become contented with her savage life, and happy in the unusual kindness and love of the chief and his mother, while her parents were ever longing for the return of their lost one. After the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, Mr. Lytle determined to make another effort to recover his daughter, and went with his wife to Niagara, that, with the aid of Colonel Johnson, he might spare neither time nor labor to rescue her. Colonel Johnson readily lent his assistance, and went to the Seneca village for the purpose of negotiating for the release of the young captive. It was the time of the "feast of the green corn," the Indians were in a peaceful and pleasant mood, and Colonel Johnson, with great tact and earnestness, unfolded his errand. But the chief was unwilling to listen to the proposal to give up the "sister" who was so dear to him, and who was so attached to him. When, however, the kind-hearted agent told him of the mother's love which had brought her so many miles that she might at least once more see her child, he relented, and promised to bring the captive to the great council which was soon to be held at Niagara, that the mother might look upon her; but at the same time he stipulated that no attempt should be made to take her away from him.

Cheered by this promise that they should once more see their beloved child, but scarcely hoping that they would be able to retain her, the parents anxiously awaited the assembling of the grand council. On the appointed day the ladies of the garrison, who had become deeply interested in the affair, accompanied Mrs. Lytle to the banks of the river to watch the arrival of the various bands of Indians as they reached the opposite shore and were ferried across on their way to the council. At last they saw a mounted party arrive, with the leader of which rode a child, who, though dressed in the Indian fashion and ornamented with strings of wampum about her neck, was recognized as the little captive. Declining the offer to have his horses ferried across the river, the chief entered a boat with his young companion, whom he evidently treated with great tenderness, and was rowed across. Having landed, they advanced towards the group of ladies and officers who were anxiously awaiting them, the little girl clinging to the hand of her protector till she recognized her mother; then, with a cry of delight, she ran forward and threw herself into the arms of the one whose early love she had never forgotten, and who, in her deep emotion, had fallen on her knees in front of the group. The scene was deeply affecting to the by-standers; and the chief, gazing a few moments at this display of mutual affection, with a noble generosity unusual in an Indian, said: "The mother shall have her child. I will go back alone." He immediately returned to the boat, regardless of all invitations to attend the council; and having crossed to the opposite shore, the whole party was seen to mount and ride away into the woods.

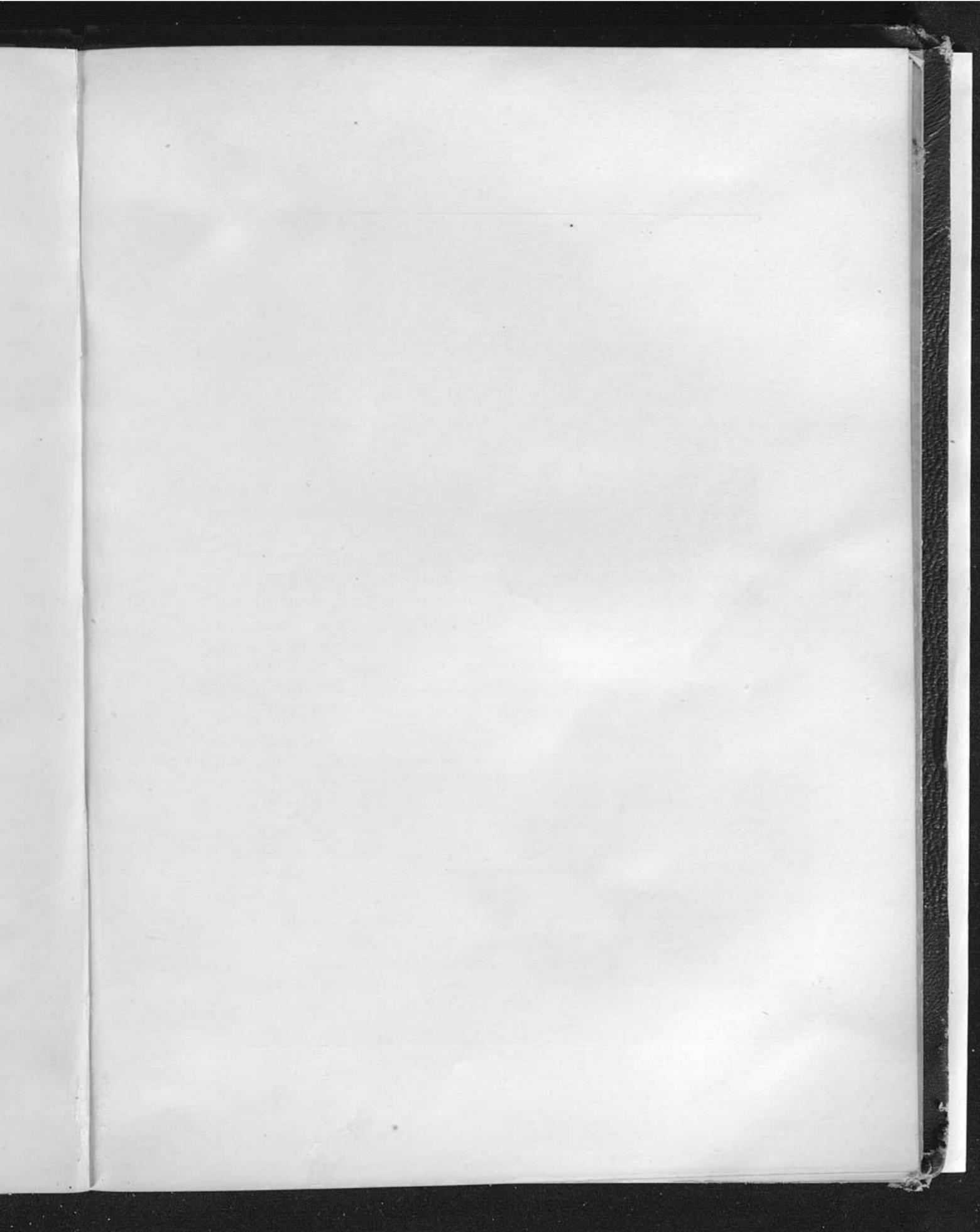
The little captive was thus restored to her parents, and the associations of early years were soon revived, though she never forgot her Indian "brother," as she had learned to call the chief whose kindness had completely won her childish affection. She never saw him again; her father, fearing that the chief might repent of his generosity and attempt to recover his *protégé*, went west, and settled at Detroit. Among the many cruel deeds of the Indians, natural to their savage state, and often provoked by their wrongs, the noble conduct of this chief may well be recorded.

PIONEERS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.



WHILE there was a large emigration chiefly from Virginia and North Carolina to the country now comprising the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, and many settlements had been established there, the country northwest of the Ohio was still a wilderness, occupied only by the Indians, save that a few old French settlements were to be found near the Mississippi. After the revolutionary war, Virginia released to the United States her claim to the Northwest Territory, and other states abandoned their early claims to territory indefinitely westward. The campaigns against the Indians had made known the character of the country, which offered to the white settler a region as fertile and in many respects as attractive as that south of the Ohio. To compensate the officers who had served in the revolutionary war, Congress voted a donation of lands at the west to such as chose to settle there, and adopted a pacific policy towards the Indians, hoping thereby to put an end to their hostilities and open the territory to settlers. Very soon, therefore, there was a movement from the older states at the north towards this new region, the beauty and fertility of which were so highly lauded by the old campaigners and the few surveyors who had explored along the banks of the Ohio.

The United States early established two or three forts in the Northwest Territory as a protection to the frontiers against the incursions of the Indians, the principal of which was Fort Harmer, at the mouth of





BORDER SETTLERS IN OHIO.

the Muskingum River, but the first permanent settlement of this territory was made by New Englanders at Marietta, on the same river, and not far from Fort Harmer. This settlement, from the character of its promoters and leading men, had an important and lasting influence on the development of the Northwest Territory. Some of its prominent men were appointed to high offices in the territorial government, and by their activity, energy, and wise measures, laid the foundation for prosperous and orderly states. It was essentially a New England enterprise, and originated as follows:

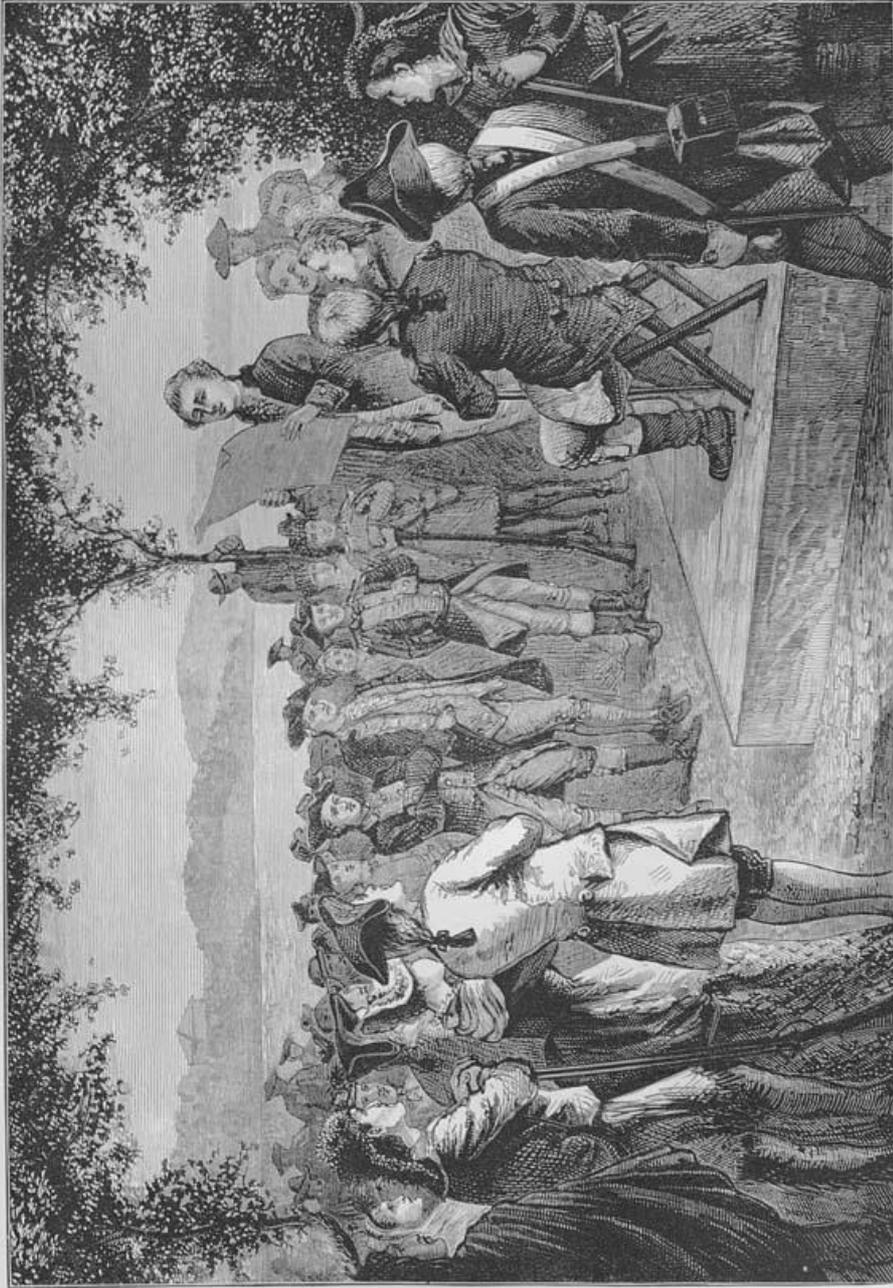
In 1786, Generals Rufus Putnam and Benjamin Tupper, of Massachusetts, having visited Ohio, and found the climate and soil all that the most flattering accounts had represented them to be, invited officers and soldiers who had served in the revolutionary war, and who were entitled by the vote of Congress to tracts of land, with others who were desirous of purchasing lands in the new territory, to organize an association for the purpose of establishing a settlement there. In response to this invitation, delegates from the several counties of the state assembled at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern, in Boston, and organized an association under the name of the Ohio Company, with a view to securing lands northwest of the Ohio River and conducting emigration thither. Many men of prominence in their own communities enlisted in this enterprise, some of them with a view simply to pecuniary advantage, without the intention of emigrating themselves, and others with the intention of establishing themselves in this new country which promised so much greater opportunities for successful agriculture than the rocky soil of New England.

Those who proposed to emigrate were desirous of settling together, or in neighborhoods of several families, and a committee was sent to negotiate with Congress for the purchase of a million acres. After long delay the committee succeeded in making the purchase; but as some of the subscribers for the stock of the company failed to pay, the tract secured was a little more than nine hundred and sixty thousand acres, at two-thirds of a dollar an acre. The sum paid, even though it was in the depreciated continental currency, was a large one for the times, and certainly the tract was a large one. It was located on the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers, in a region which was reported to be the most

desirable in all the territory. It was to be laid out in ranges and townships by the United States surveyors; and the company was to dispose of the lands to actual settlers.

In January, 1788, the pioneers of the Ohio Company, consisting of a number of boat-builders and other mechanics, surveyors with their assistants, and some farmers and laborers, started from Massachusetts for the region where they were to establish new homes. The boat-builders and mechanics went first, and after a laborious journey reached the Alleghany River some thirty miles above Pittsburg, where they were to build boats, and where the surveyors and others, with General Putnam and Colonel Sprout, the leaders of the emigrants, subsequently joined them. Here they built one large "galley" of fifty-two tons' burden, and several smaller boats. With a good supply of provisions which they had carried over the mountains on sleds, the pioneers commenced their voyage down the river on the 2d of April. On the 7th they reached the mouth of the Muskingum, and turning into that river they established their settlement near its confluence with the Ohio, not far from Fort Harmer, which was garrisoned by a company of United States soldiers. The location had been selected after much consideration, and was deemed by those who had explored that region as one of the most desirable in the territory.

Coming from a higher latitude and more elevated country, where the snows had not yet disappeared, the pioneers were delighted with the evidences of advanced spring, the genial climate, and the fertility of the soil. The grass was green, the early wild-flowers had begun to bloom, and the buds of the giant trees were already bursting into foliage under the influence of the warm south wind. Speedily erecting temporary huts, as soon as shelter and their immediate wants were provided for, the company were set at work with New England energy to establish a more permanent settlement. The surveyors were busy from the first, laying out a town with broad streets, and squares, and "home-lots" of eight acres each. The site contained several remains of the works of the "Mound-builders," which, with rare good taste, were preserved in public squares. To this town the directors of the company gave the name of Marietta, in honor of Marie Antoinette, the queen of France, who had manifested



INAUGURATION OF THE TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT AT MARIETTA.



so friendly an interest in America during the revolutionary war. The whole tract purchased by the Ohio Company was then divided into townships, in which more extensive farms were to be located; and in both town and townships reservations were made for educational and religious purposes, the New England system of free schools and churches being thus liberally provided for at the outset in the Northwest Territory.

Some of the pioneers had doubtless been educated at Harvard or Yale, and they manifested their regard for classical antiquities, and perhaps a pedantry not uncommon at that time, by naming one of the squares on the ancient mounds the "*Capitolium*," and another the "*Quadranaou*," while an embankment leading from the latter down to the river was called the "*Via Sacra*." The most important and somewhat remarkable building in the new settlement, which was commenced at an early day, was a large fort, at the angles of which were strong block-houses, and around the sides were dwellings and other buildings for the accommodation of the entire community in case of Indian hostilities, the whole being surrounded by strong palisades. To this was given the classical name of "*Campus Martius*." This fort was constructed with much care and labor, and was not entirely finished till two years after the first settlement. The settlers took not a little pride in it, and the foresight which erected it was abundantly vindicated during five years of Indian wars which followed, when it was a refuge for many families, and a stronghold which defied the savages. Meanwhile other log-houses were built outside the fort, and many of the home lots were early under cultivation.

The pioneers at Marietta were soon followed by a number of families from New England, who came to find new homes in this region of which such favorable reports were given, and parties of emigrants from the states frequently passed down the river to seek other places for settlement. The ordinance establishing the Northwest Territory forever prohibited slavery or involuntary servitude, except for crime, within its limits, while that institution, which had already grown to large proportions in the more southern states, was admitted to the region south of the Ohio. Of the numerous emigrants who descended the Ohio, those from Virginia, Maryland, or Carolina, sought their new

homes in Kentucky, while most of those from the more northern states, where slavery, though it had existed, had never flourished, settled in the territory dedicated to freedom. The pioneers of this territory were essentially different from those of Kentucky. While the latter were mostly from the frontiers of Virginia and North Carolina, hunters skilled in woodcraft, accustomed more or less to contend with the Indians, and but little used to the restraints of law and the management of civil affairs, the former were, for the most part, from the older settlements, which had long been undisturbed by hostile savages, where they had followed the pursuits of industry and were accustomed to participate in civil affairs and to make and obey laws; where the church and the schoolhouse were generally considered institutions essential to the welfare of the community. Wherever numbers of them settled together, they generally at once established some form of local government, and organized for mutual protection and the maintenance of order.

The settlers at Marietta had emigrated with an organization framed in Massachusetts, and under the general authority of the directors of the Ohio Company, several of whom were among the emigrants; but at a very early day, as the Company intended they should, they took measures to establish rules and regulations for the management of their civil affairs according to New England notions. The town-meeting, which had fostered the spirit of independence and self-government, and had started and rendered possible the revolution, was considered one of the inalienable rights of the people. But a more general government, with officers and courts established by Congress, soon supplemented this local system. In July following the arrival of the pioneers, General St. Clair, the first governor of the Northwest Territory, with other officers, reached Fort Harmer, and soon after he assumed the government of the territory at Marietta.

July was a notable month at the new settlement. On the 2d the first meeting of the directors and agents of the Ohio Company, who were in the territory, nearly every one of whom bore the title of general, colonel, or captain, was held. At this meeting, the name of Marietta was given to the prospective town, and the classical names above mentioned were applied to the remarkable relics of the ancient mound-builders. A few laws or regulations for the government of the

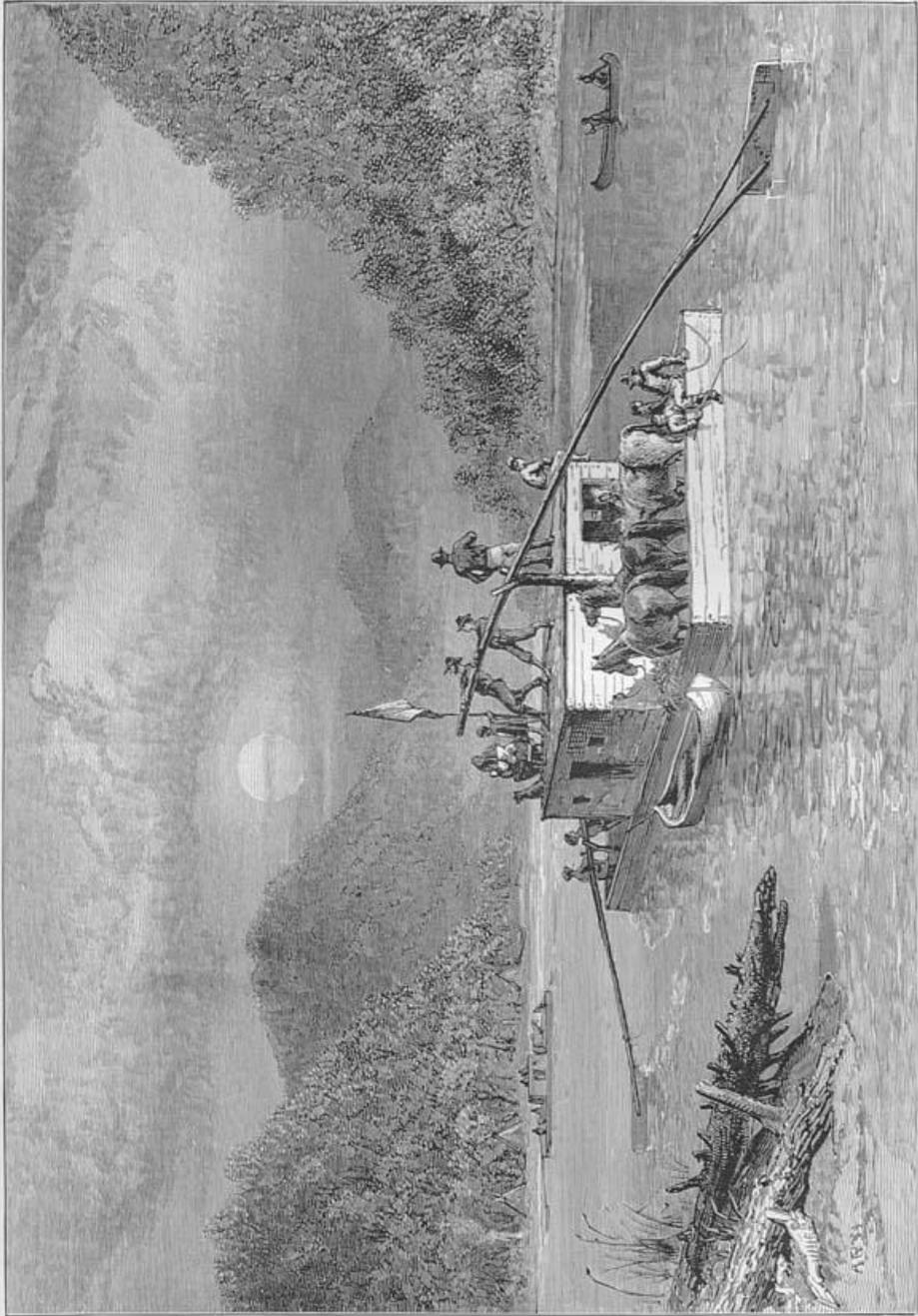
settlement were adopted, written out, and posted on the trunk of a giant beech-tree on the 4th of July, the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, which was duly celebrated with the rejoicings anticipated by John Adams. The morning was ushered in by a salute from Fort Harmer, and a general holiday was enjoyed by settlers and soldiers. A sumptuous feast was prepared and duly served in a "bowery" erected on the bank of the river, and General Varnum, one of the directors of the Ohio Company, who had also been appointed one of the judges of the new territory, pronounced an oration which was the prototype of many a patriotic address delivered since that time in the state of Ohio on the anniversary of American Independence.

On the 9th of July Governor St. Clair arrived at Fort Harmer from Pittsburg, under escort of a detachment of troops, and was received with military honors. His arrival was hailed with satisfaction by the settlers, and arrangements were made for the inauguration of the new territorial government with such formalities as circumstances allowed.

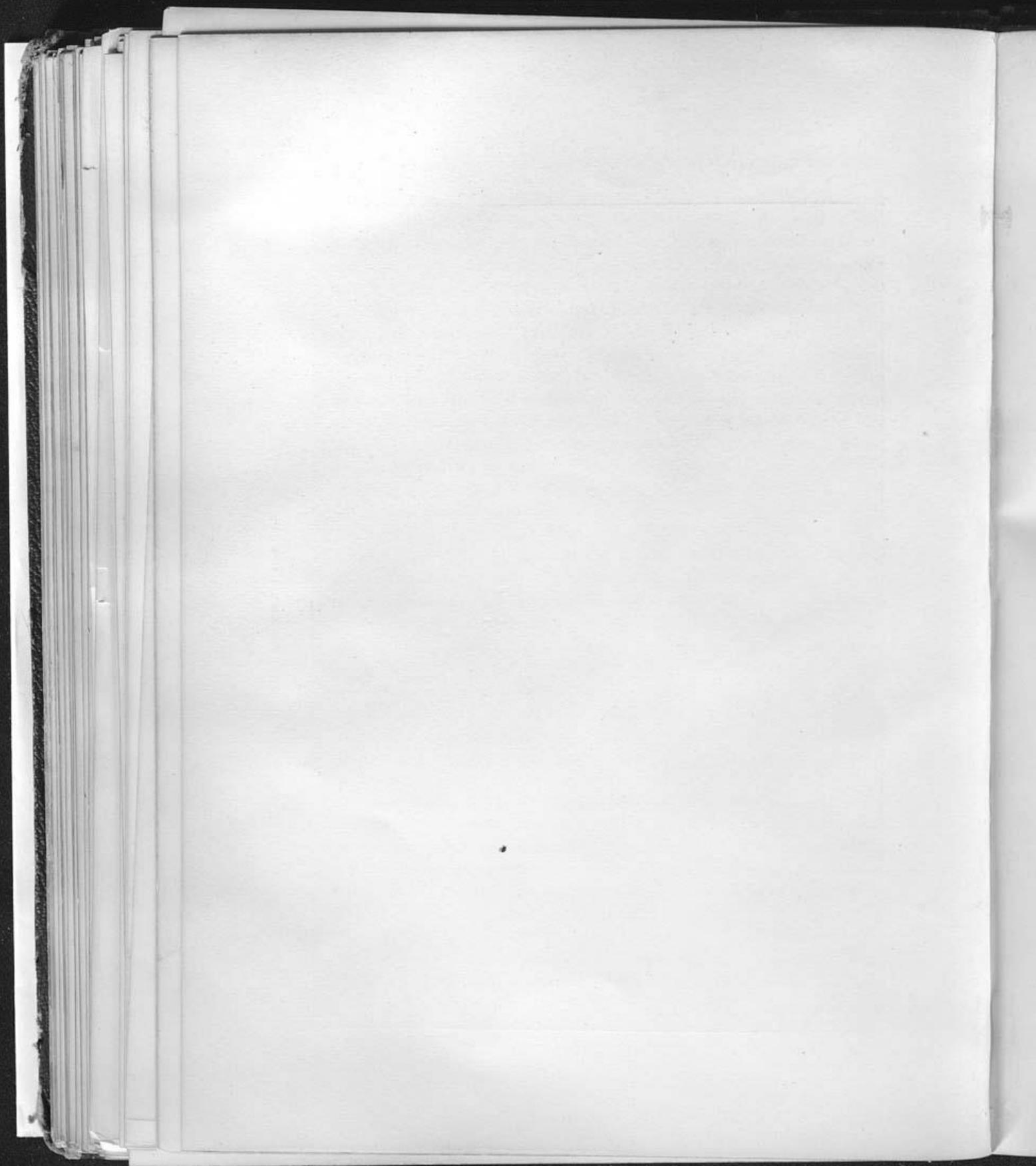
On the 15th the governor, escorted by all the officers of the garrison, went over from Fort Harmer to the new settlement, where he was received by the principal men of the colony in the "bowery" which had been erected for the celebration of Independence; and then, in presence of all the people, the ordinance establishing the territory, and the commissions of the governor, secretary, and judges, were read, and General Putnam formally welcomed the governor to the "seat of government," which welcome was echoed by the hearty cheers of the people. Laws for the government of the territory were soon after promulgated, and the necessary machinery for their administration was established. The laws generally were such as were in force in the states, and, as in New England, order, sobriety, decency, and a sacred observance of the Lord's day, were enjoined by these laws and enforced by penalties for the breach of them; and the pillory, stocks, and whipping-post, as well as the jail, were provided for the punishment of evil-doers.

The settlement of the tract belonging to the Ohio Company was conducted with a system productive of excellent results. The lands were carefully surveyed and laid out in townships and lots, and when "donated" to settlers who came out under the auspices of the Com-

pany, it was upon certain conditions which were strictly enforced. The settlers were to release the land required for highways, to build a substantial house within five years, to plant not less than fifty apple-trees and twenty peach-trees within three years, to clear and cultivate a certain extent of land within five years, and to be constantly provided with arms, and be subject to the militia law; they were to settle in companies of not less than twenty men, so as to be able to defend themselves from hostile savages; and each company was required to have a block-house, where in case of danger they could assemble for safety. Few settlements have been made under such wise and systematic provisions. The thrift and order of the older communities in the northern states were transplanted to this new territory under such regulations as the state of the country required. The conditions on which the lands were granted were such as to secure the greatest benefit alike to the individual settler and to the community. The regulation for planting fruit-trees in process of time made that section of Ohio somewhat famous for its fruits. The settlers were generally of an industrious character, to whom the conditions attached to the land were not burdensome, and they applied themselves with energy to clearing their fields, building their log cabins, and planting their fruit-trees. Though five years of Indian war seriously interfered with their progress, and some of the settlements met with disaster, and for a time the prospect of peace and safety was gloomy enough, they generally persevered in their work as best they could, extending their clearings in the winter when the Indians seldom carried on their wars, and increasing the amount of their crops. The number of settlers also increased, for in spite of danger from the Indians, the liberal policy of the Ohio Company in granting lands to settlers induced many emigrants from the states to come to Marietta. The year that the pioneers of the Ohio Company settled on the banks of the Muskingum, thousands of emigrants went down the Ohio to seek new homes in the west, those from Virginia and other southern states generally going to Kentucky, and those from Pennsylvania and the more northern states for the most part proposing to settle north of the Ohio. Many of the latter desired to join the settlers on the Muskingum, but the Company was not then prepared to dispose of its lands, and they were obliged



EMIGRANTS DESCENDING THE OHIO.



to seek homes elsewhere in the wilderness. Afterwards the lands were opened for industrious settlers, and notwithstanding the Indian war diminished emigration, the settlements on the Muskingum seemed most attractive to those who ventured into the new territory. Besides that at Marietta, other settlements, as at Waterford, Belpre, and Big Bottom, were soon commenced within the tract of the Ohio Company.

The largest accession at one time to the population of this tract and of the territory, was a company of French emigrants, men, women, and children, to the number of more than four hundred, who came in 1790. They had purchased lands of the agent of an association called the Scioto Land Company; but that company had not completed its purchase from Congress, and the poor emigrants, who had expended all their means in buying lands which they could not obtain, and in the expense of emigration, found themselves in a destitute condition. The Scioto Company had engaged to build them houses and furnish a year's provisions, until they could clear fields and raise crops for their own support. Being unable to fulfil their contract, the company sought the aid of the Ohio Company, and land was assigned the emigrants on the banks of the Ohio, where a village was soon erected, and received the name of Gallipolis. Most of these emigrants were from Paris, artisans and tradesmen, entirely unaccustomed to agriculture, and some of them were adventurers, unused to any industry, so that as a community they were ill adapted for life in the wilderness. During the Indian war they suffered much from privations, though the Indians, finding they were French, with which people they had always been on friendly terms, did not trouble them. A few years later Congress gave the unfortunate emigrants, who had been defrauded of their means, a large tract of land on the Ohio, to which many of them removed, though a few settled at Marietta, and some continued at Gallipolis. While not possessed of Yankee thrift and energy, these people and their descendants have proved a quiet and useful portion of the population.

Though they had come to a land where the genial climate and fertile soil seemed to promise an abundance of food, the pioneers at Marietta did not wholly escape the privations endured by those who made their homes in less hospitable regions. In 1790 they experi-

enced what was long known as "the starving year," but it was the only time that they suffered from a scarcity of provisions. The preceding year an early frost in autumn had seared the corn while the ears were yet quite unripe. It was harvested in the hope that when dry it would make wholesome if not so palatable bread; but it caused sickness whenever used, and even the cattle could not eat it with safety. Good corn rose to a price beyond the means of the poorer settlers; cattle and swine were too few to furnish much meat, and the Indians, who claimed all the game, had persistently hunted and wantonly killed and driven away the deer for many miles around Marietta; only occasionally could a wild turkey or a bear be obtained. By May the scarcity of food was so great that the people were glad to eke out their slender meals with the tender shoots of various plants, while spice-bush and sassafras supplied the places of tea and coffee. Compared with the famine experienced by the early settlers at Jamestown and at Plymouth, the scarcity at Marietta was simply a lack of abundance, and happily that was soon relieved by a plentiful supply of vegetables, till a new harvest of wheat and corn more than supplied the wants of the settlement.

INDIAN WAR IN OHIO.



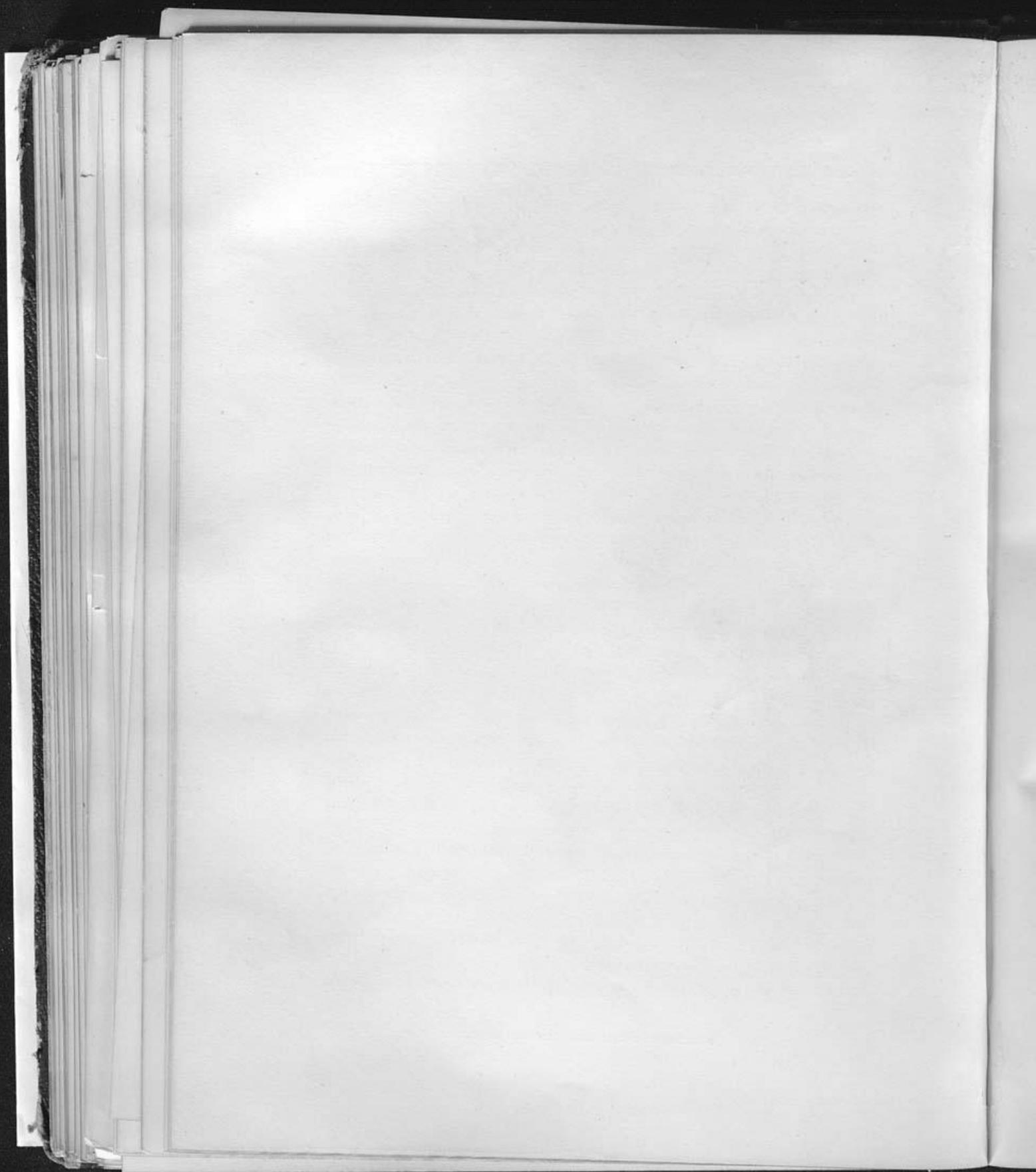
WHEN the New England emigrants landed on the banks of the Muskingum, a band of Delawares from the headwaters of that river were encamped near Fort Harmer, whither they had come to dispose of their peltries. They manifested a friendly feeling towards the settlers, and expressed satisfaction that they had come to the Muskingum. The story of the Indian wars at the West was well known in New England, and the good will shown by these natives encouraged the settlers to believe that peace would readily be established. But it was important that a treaty should be made with the Indians to insure peace and confirm a former treaty by which this part of the territory had been ceded to the United States; and this was one of the first duties imposed upon Governor St. Clair. Just before the governor's arrival at Fort Harmer, a party of soldiers was sent up to the Falls of the Muskingum to build a council-house and make other preparations for his meeting the Indians there to negotiate a treaty. The Indians had commenced assembling there, chiefly the Delawares and other of the more friendly tribes; but among them was a small band of outcasts from various tribes, and one night these made an attack on the tent containing goods, and killed two of the sentinels. The attack was soon repelled; but though the Delawares declared that the marauders did not belong to their tribe, and that they had nothing to do with the attack, it resulted in breaking up the arrangements for a treaty, and the soldiers returned to the fort.

The Delawares and Six Nations were still desirous of making a treaty, but the Chippewas, Ottawas, and the more western tribes, were opposed to allowing the whites any foothold northwest of the Ohio. The Delawares were greatly influenced by Rev. John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary, who had for many years labored among them and other tribes for their conversion to Christianity and adoption of the arts of peace. By his kind and devoted labors he secured the respect even of those who would not listen to his teaching, and it was through his efforts in a great measure that a treaty was at last made. One of the most friendly Indians was Cornplanter, a chief of the Senecas, who had great influence with his tribe and in the general council of the Six Nations. He had the noble traits with which imagination has sometimes dignified the whole race, and he is supposed to be the chief who had adopted Mr. Lytle's daughter as his sister, and at last surrendered her to a mother's stronger love, as related in a preceding chapter. He manifested great friendship for the United States, and endeavored to bring about a treaty, but the unwillingness of other tribes postponed the negotiations for several months. Meanwhile the unfriendly Indians, although they did not resort to any decided hostilities, hunted and wantonly killed the game through all the region for many miles around Marietta, with the avowed object of "keeping it from the white hunter." These savages knew that one of the effective measures of war was to cut off supplies, but they probably did not realize how little the whites depended upon the game of the forest.

In December a large number of Indians, representing the Six Nations, the Delawares, Wyandots, and other tribes, assembled at Fort Harmer for the purpose of concluding the long-talked-of treaty. They were received with military honors, and a large log-house outside the fort was assigned as a council-chamber for negotiations. They were, as usual, very deliberate in their action, and it was nearly a month before all the terms of the treaty were agreed upon. Without much difficulty a treaty was made with the Six Nations, but the Wyandots and other more western tribes were less disposed to make one, and some of them, foreseeing the endless encroachments of the white race on their hunting-grounds, were utterly opposed to relinquishing any of the territory northwest of the Ohio. At last, however, a general treaty



DEALING OUT THE FIVE KERNELS OF CORN.



was agreed to, though a little later some of the tribes repudiated it on the ground that it was made by young men who were not authorized to represent them in so important a matter as relinquishing their hunting-grounds and the graves of their fathers.

During the negotiations for the treaty, and on other occasions when the Indians visited Marietta, they were treated with kindness and respect, which were productive of good results. They came to regard the settlers with very different feelings from those they entertained towards the "Long-knives," as they called the Virginia and Kentucky pioneers, and through the representations of the visitors other Indians adopted the same opinions, so that during the war which followed they seemed less fierce in their hostility towards the Yankees, often passing them by to make incursions into Kentucky, or to attack their old bitter enemies on the Virginia frontier. This exemption, however, was partly due to the systematic preparation for defence which they soon observed was made in the Yankee settlements.

The conclusion of the treaty encouraged the settlers to believe that the danger of Indian hostilities was removed, and they pushed forward their clearings, and in the following spring planted their fields in security. But in a year or two they learned that treachery was a characteristic of the savages, and that some of the most powerful tribes, incited to this course and to war by British agents, repudiated the treaty as one in which they took no part. The first hostile acts of the Indians were committed against the surveyors, for whose operations they had a great dislike. Small bands, while not on the war-path, but hunting through the woods, manifested their hostility to the parties who with compass, chain, and mysterious marks seemed to be stealing their hunting-grounds, by suddenly attacking them, and several men thus engaged were killed or wounded. Other acts of hostility were committed, and it was evident that the western tribes were in a state of excitement which boded evil to all the frontier settlements. Under the lead of a noted chief named "Little Turtle," a brave warrior and a man of great influence with his race, a number of tribes combined to make war on the whites in defence of their hunting-grounds, which they denied had been conveyed to the United States.

In 1790, therefore, General Harmer, with a force of about fifteen

hundred men, who were hastily raised for the purpose, and were neither well equipped nor well calculated for Indian warfare, was sent to reduce the savages to obedience and the observance of treaties. This force, leaving Fort Washington in the autumn, proceeded to the Maumee River and destroyed the Indian villages and plantations in the vicinity of the present site of Fort Wayne, Indiana; and the work of destruction being accomplished, the little army was divided into detachments for the purpose of pursuing the savages who had fled. This movement resulted in disaster. One of the detachments was lured into an ambush, and was quickly thrown into confusion and utterly defeated, a small number only escaping the scalping-knife of the enemy. Another was as quickly vanquished by the fierce attack of a band of Indians led by a chief of white parentage. In a preceding chapter was related the story of the capture of the Linn boys and their associates, one of whom, named Wells, was separated from his companions and taken to a distant village, and did not escape with the others. Adopted by the famous chief, Little Turtle, he grew to manhood among the savages, readily adopting their customs, as was natural at his age, and evincing such skill and courage in hunting and war that he became a chief of the tribe, and it was he who now led the savages in their successful attack on his own race. Subsequently, in Wayne's campaign, with strange inconsistency, he joined the whites and fought against his adopted nation; but after the war was over he returned to his savage friends, and notwithstanding his defection he retained the friendship of Little Turtle, and passed the remainder of his life with the Indians, though always friendly to the American settlers. After these misfortunes, the remnant of General Harmer's army, harassed by the Indians, made its way back to Fort Washington.

The failure of General Harmer's expedition caused great alarm on the frontiers, and there was an urgent call for protection and a more efficient campaign against the Indians, who soon began their raids on the settlements. In the autumn of the following year another expedition was undertaken with a force of about the same number as General Harmer's, but better equipped and more thoroughly disciplined, a part being of the regular army. Governor St. Clair, who had been an officer of the "Continental" army, was assigned to the command.

This army advanced cautiously into the country of the hostile tribes, who seemed indisposed to attack so large a force. They were, however, only waiting for their opportunity; and while their scouts were watching all the movements and habits of the troops, their runners were summoning large numbers of warriors to assemble at a chosen rendezvous. Early in November the army was encamped on a branch of the Wabash, and the scouts reported some Indian villages not far away. The troops were under arms before daylight, and after receiving instructions as to the march and the anticipated attack on the villages, they were dismissed for breakfast and other preparations for moving, with the exception of a few sentries, who were posted more from custom than from any fear of danger.

Meanwhile the Indian warriors had assembled at one of the villages, and at a council of the chiefs, Little Turtle, whose eloquence had aroused their vindictive passions, proposed an attack on the invaders at a time when, as the watchful spies hovering along the march had well noted, the white soldiers were summoned to their morning meal. The plan was adopted, and at dawn, stealthily approaching the position of the army, they filled the woods, where they lay hid, awaiting the time when the troops should lay aside their arms. This was no sooner done than the crack of a rifle was heard, and before the soldiers could resume their arms a volley was poured upon them on all sides by the enemy concealed in the woods. The front exposed to this sudden attack was composed of militia, and they fled in disorder through the regulars, who were quickly rallied and held their ground; but they also were soon exposed to a deadly fire from the savages, few of whom could be seen. General St. Clair at this time was disabled by an attack of the gout, and was borne about on a litter, but with the courage and coolness of an experienced officer he exerted himself with some success to rally his troops and post them for resistance. The Indians, however, led by Little Turtle, a general more skilled in his way than the white commander, pressed on in large numbers, and with fearful yells joined in a closer combat; and the army, demoralized by the unexpected attack, was unable to contend long with what seemed to be a countless horde of ferocious savages. The number of killed and wounded was already large, and the constant though irregular fire of the Indians, from coverts

whence they could not be dislodged, was telling with fearful effect upon the troops, while hatchet and scalping-knife were also brought into requisition. Under these circumstances retreat was the only means of saving the little army from entire destruction. A brave charge made by the regulars compelled the Indians to fall back for a time, and under this advantage the remnant of the force commenced a hasty retreat. For a while some of the Indians harassed the flying troops, but most of them remained to secure the plunder and bloody trophies of the battlefield; and the army, which in the morning had anticipated an easy victory over the savages, greatly reduced in numbers, defeated and demoralized, was left to make its way to the forts.

This disastrous campaign was followed by a general war on the part of the Indians, in which even the tribes that had made the treaty joined. Small parties were constantly hovering about the settlements, stealing horses, killing cattle, attacking the settlers who worked in the clearings or ventured into the woods, and murdering whole families who lived in exposed situations. In more formidable numbers they crossed the Ohio to attack the settlements in Virginia and Kentucky, and the events of previous wars were re-enacted; murders, captivities, daring exploits, escapes, occurred not unlike those which have been related of the earlier settlements west of the Alleghanies.

In the winter preceding St. Clair's defeat, a party of treacherous Wyandots and Delawares made a sudden and unexpected attack on the settlement at Big Bottom, killed twelve of the inhabitants, and carried off others as prisoners. In the following March they made a similar attack on Waterford, but the settlers there, alarmed by the massacre at Big Bottom, were collected in a block-house, and being forewarned were prepared to resist, so that the Indians, kept at a distance by the fire of the garrison, contented themselves with killing the cattle and stealing the horses. At the other settlements on the Muskingum, though they had previously made some preparations for defence, these events led to greater vigilance and more careful provision for safety. Especially at Marietta, the "seat of government" of the territory and the residence of the leading men among the pioneers, great precautions were taken. Campus Martius was completed and strengthened, the men of the settlement were organized for military duty, and as the garrison

of Fort Harmer had been transferred to other posts, or gone to join the forces of St. Clair, a garrison of settlers was constantly maintained at this stronghold of the settlement, while some of the most active and shrewd men were selected as scouts or rangers to watch the movements of the enemy and give the alarm in case of danger. At Belpre, a settlement on the Ohio some miles below the Muskingum, similar precautions were taken, and the safety of the inhabitants secured.

Most of the settlers from New England and the other northern states were unaccustomed to frontier life, and entirely inexperienced in Indian warfare or woodcraft, but they were not inapt scholars, and soon learned much from their neighbors across the Ohio, who had been trained to hunting, and fighting Indians. Some of them became as expert in the use of the rifle and as shrewd in tracking or evading the savages as those who had been long trained in such service. It was this constant vigilance, the manifest preparation for defence, and the strength of the famous *Campus Martius*, that deterred the Indians from making serious attacks on the settlers on the Muskingum, whom they also still regarded with less hostility than they entertained towards the "Long-knives" of Virginia and Kentucky. There were several alarms, but no formidable attack was attempted. Small bands of Indians, however, sometimes eluded the watchfulness of scouts, and men who ventured beyond the protection of block-houses were waylaid by the cunning enemy. Men of ordinary courage, if they had business abroad in the clearings, or simply an inclination to hunt in the forest, were not to be cooped up in garrisons; and, though under serious disadvantages, the work of farmers and others was pursued, stray cattle were hunted in the woods, and a settler would frequently seek a shot at a wild turkey, now almost the only game which the Indians had not destroyed or driven from the vicinity. Some of these, at first not sufficiently vigilant, were killed by the savages prowling singly or in small parties through the woods, while others had narrow escapes, the relation of which for a long time enlivened the fireside gossip of the cabins. Growing more wary and more familiar with Indian habits and cunning, as well as more exasperated against their treacherous and merciless enemy, the settlers often got the best of such encounters.

Such a state of war, which constantly threatened the frontiers, prevented or greatly retarded the settlement of the Northwest Territory. The government had surveyed large tracts within the territory relinquished by the Indians in their former treaties, and numbers of people in the states were desirous of emigrating to the more fertile lands of the West, but were deterred by the hostile acts of the savages. For the protection of the frontier settlements and the encouragement of emigration, the government determined to send a more formidable army to compel the Indians to observe their treaties and remain at peace. After some delay incident to the limited means of the nation and the pressure of other troublesome affairs, a force of three thousand men was organized and placed under the command of the bold and energetic General Wayne, known in revolutionary history as "Mad Anthony Wayne." New military posts were established and garrisoned, a campaign was planned with more care and system than before, and after due preparation General Wayne advanced into the Indian country. But it was now late in the autumn of 1793; and having built a fort near the scene of St. Clair's defeat, he determined to remain there within striking distance of the principal Indian towns until the following spring.

The difficulty of procuring supplies, which were carried down the Ohio from Pittsburg, or collected at the scattered settlements of Virginia and Kentucky, and then transported on pack-horses through the wilderness, delayed the movement of the army till August. Then General Wayne advanced along the Maumee River to a point some forty miles from a British post, where Colonel McKee, the notorious British agent, then resided and exerted his influence to incite the natives to continued hostilities against the Americans. Here the Indians had assembled in large numbers, and here they received their supplies of arms and ammunition from the British. Though confident of victory, General Wayne made an effort to secure peace without resorting to bloodshed; and halting for a few days to throw up some works for the protection of his baggage, he invited the Indians to send deputies to meet him and negotiate a treaty. In the council which was held on the receipt of this proposal, Little Turtle, the hero of two victories over the Americans, foreboding disaster, counselled its acceptance, and

argued in favor of peace; but most of the chiefs and warriors, elated by their former success, were in favor of continued war, and their counsel prevailed. An evasive answer was returned, however, and the army again advanced by slow and cautious marches, not knowing whether to expect peace or war.

It is said, however, that Wayne obtained information as to the real purpose of the Indians through the daring exploit of two of his scouts, the story of which runs as follows: These scouts, who were experienced Kentucky hunters, bold, and familiar with Indian habits, late at night entered the outskirts of the enemy's camp, and with moccasined feet stealthily advanced among the sleeping warriors till they came upon an Indian girl awake. Imposing silence by threatening gestures, they compelled her to follow them to a safe distance from the camp, and then by questioning obtained from her the information that the Indians intended to fight. Whether this story is true or not, the exploit is hardly more remarkable than some of the well-authenticated deeds of Kentucky pioneers.

A more probable version of perhaps the same story is the following: While Wayne's army was building the fort, the general, wishing to learn the intentions of the Indians, dispatched Captain Wells (who, as before mentioned, had joined the whites) with a small party of scouts, to bring in a prisoner, from whom he might learn the purpose of the enemy. This party proceeded down the river until the site of Maumee City was reached, where there was then an Indian village. Wells and his party boldly rode into this town as if coming from the British fort below, and occasionally stopped and talked with the Indians in their own language. After passing through the village they met, some distance from it, an Indian man and woman on horseback, who were returning to town from hunting. They made them captive without resistance, and set off for the army.

A little after dark they came to a camp of Indians amusing themselves around their fires. Ordering their prisoners to be silent, under pain of instant death, they went around the camp until they got about half a mile above it. They then held a consultation, tied and gagged their prisoners, and rode into the Indian camp with their rifles lying across the pommels of their saddles. They inquired when the natives

had last heard of the movement of General Wayne's army, and how soon and where the expected battle would be fought. The Indians standing about Wells and his party were very communicative, and answered without any suspicion of deceit. At length an Indian, who was sitting at some distance, said in an undertone to those who were near him, that he suspected these strangers had some mischief in their heads. Wells overheard it, gave the preconcerted signal, and each fired his rifle into the body of an Indian at not more than six feet distance. The moment the Indian had made the remark, he and his companions rose up with their rifles in their hands, but not in time to prevent Wells and his party from firing. Wells and his comrades put spurs to their horses, lying on the necks of the animals to lessen the mark to be fired at, but before they had got out of the light of the fires the Indians had fired upon them. As one of them lay in this position a ball entered below his shoulder-blade and came out at the top of his shoulder. Wells's arm was broken by a ball, and his rifle dropped to the ground. Another of the party was chased to a smooth rock in the Maumee, where, his horse falling, he was taken prisoner and shot. The others escaped further injury, and carried the information they had obtained to General Wayne.

The next morning General Wayne advanced with his troops, prepared for battle, and after a march of five miles those in advance received a heavy fire from the enemy and fell back upon the main body. The Indians were posted in a position very favorable for their mode of fighting. There was a great quantity of fallen timber in front of the British fort, as if prostrated by a tornado, and in this wood, which was almost inaccessible to cavalry, the Indians with some of the British or Canadians had taken position. Quick to comprehend the situation, General Wayne gave orders for a charge, while cavalry was dispatched to turn either flank of the enemy. The charge was made, and, in spite of obstructions, with such vigor that the Indians were driven from their covert, and a well-directed fire hastened the flight of those who did not fall under it. The fleeing savages were pursued for more than two miles, and many of them were killed. So impetuous was the charge and so swift the pursuit by the troops at the front, that those in the rear were unable to join in the fight, and the battle was won by a third part of the forces.

Having defeated and scattered the Indians, General Wayne proceeded to destroy their villages and cornfields for several miles up and down the Maumee River, as the most effectual method of bringing them to terms. Involved in the destruction were the house and stores of Colonel McKee, the British agent who had been the chief instigator of the war; and though the commander of the garrison objected to the destruction of property within reach of his guns, had he undertaken to protect it, "Mad Anthony" would not have hesitated to attack and drive out these trespassers on the soil of the United States. But the British officer prudently abstained from interfering, and the abandonment of the post was subsequently secured by more peaceful means.

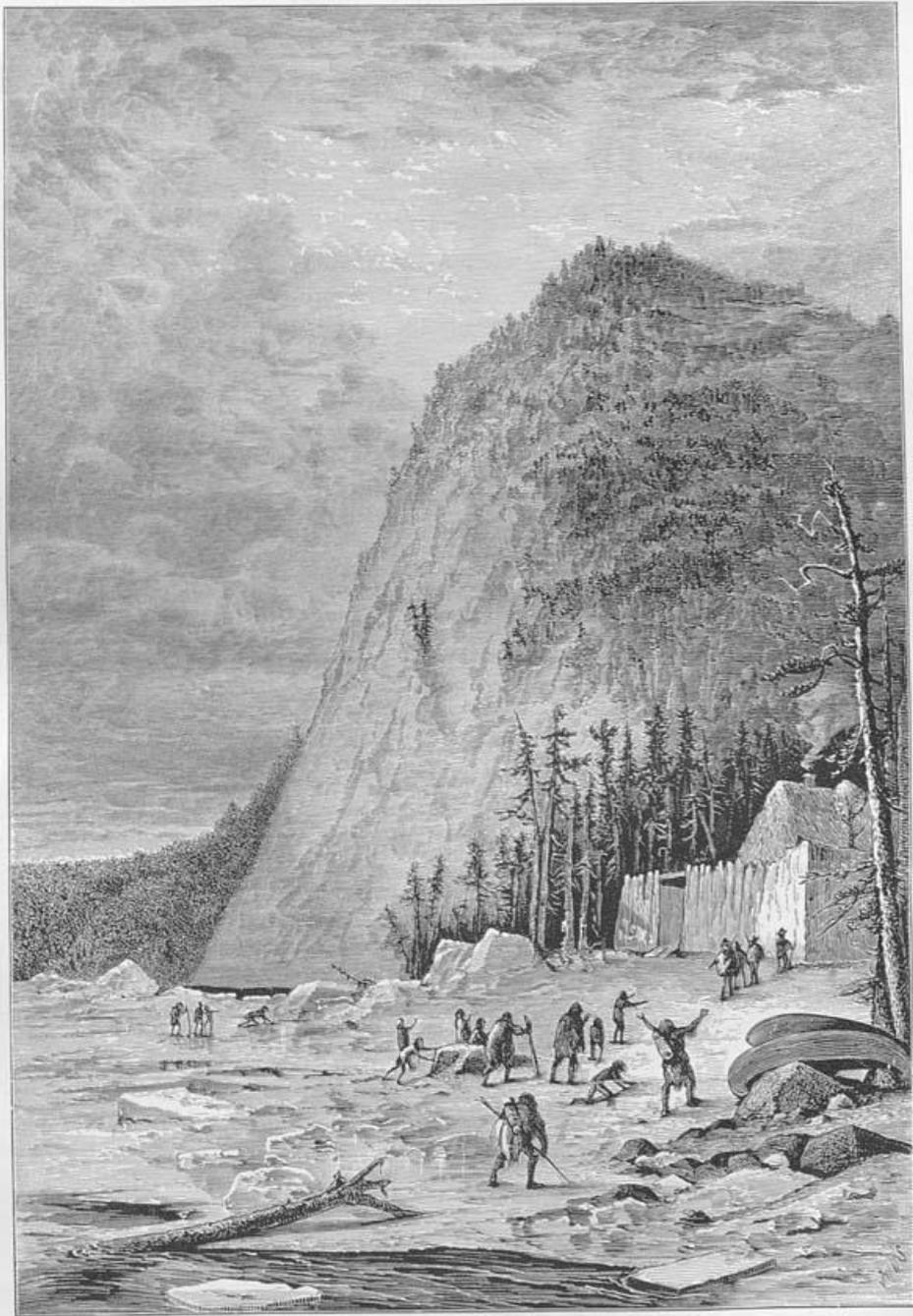
The Indians continued to manifest a hostile spirit, and as the surest means of keeping them in subjection, General Wayne erected forts and placed garrisons in the midst of the country where they had long had their homes and plantations. Small bands sometimes hovered around the settlements and forts, but no formidable expedition was undertaken. The destruction of their cornfields, and their own wanton killing of game in previous years, subjected them to unusual privations during the winter following their defeat, and the next year General Wayne made a treaty with them by which a large part of the Northwest Territory was relinquished to the United States, and the Indian war was happily ended for this region.

The establishment of peace opened a new era in the settlement of the Northwest Territory. Relieved from anxiety and constant vigilance, the pioneers, with new energy, cleared their lands and planted their fields, adding wheat to their crops of corn; and large numbers of emigrants from Pennsylvania, New York, and especially New England, were added to the population not only on the Muskingum, but on the Scioto, Miami, and at other points, even to the Wabash. The Indians frequently visited the settlements, but though regarded with some fear and suspicion, they were generally treated with kindness, and if they appropriated what did not belong to them, the settlers did not, as the frontier-men of Virginia had formerly sometimes done, undertake to punish the theft by an indiscriminate retaliation upon all red men. Civil government, established with the first settlement of Marietta, was extended to all the

settlements, and law and order, characteristic of the communities whence the emigrants had chiefly come, for the most part prevailed.

But the end of Indian wars had not come, and has not yet been reached. As settlements extended westward, through territory now comprising many prosperous states, there has always been trouble with the natives on the frontiers, and from time to time wars of more or less magnitude have occurred, too often provoked by the wrongs inflicted or the follies committed by the whites. The policy early adopted by the United States with regard to the Indians was in the main just and humane, but it has often been perverted, and basely and wickedly administered. To extinguish by purchase the title of the barbarous nomads to lands over which the march of civilization was inevitable, and to gather them upon reservations where they should be safe from the encroachments of the whites, and where, as wards of the nation, their wants should, in part at least, be supplied from the public treasury, and in time they should learn and value the arts of peace, was a fair solution of the problem presented by the meeting of civilization and barbarism in a land especially adapted to the requirements of the former. In some cases the policy has met with measurable success, as in the case of the Cherokees and others, but it has too often failed through the unfaithfulness of agents, the fraudulent practices of contractors for supplies, the rapacity of traders, and the outrages of adventurers.

The American Indians, however, as a race, do not possess the noble traits of character attributed to them by poetry and romance, and here and there shown by individuals. They are cruel, treacherous, vindictive, thievish about the settlements, and bold robbers on the plains, quick to resent an affront, and slow to forget an injury. On the other hand, coming in contact with an enterprising, aggressive race like the Anglo-Saxon, has perhaps called these savage qualities into greater activity. Ever since the whites first crossed the Alleghanies there have been among the pioneers of the West many who through tradition or experience were prone to regard the Indians as enemies against whom, on slight provocation, their hands must be raised. On the frontiers, too, there have been and always will be many unprincipled adventurers ready to cheat and wrong the



FAMISHED INDIANS SEEKING FOOD AT QUEBEC.



ignorant barbarian, and not unfrequently manifesting a spirit as savage as that of the red man. The antagonism of such elements naturally leads to outrage, revenge, war. Grasping traders cheated the Indians, unprincipled contractors defrauded them of supplies paid for by the government, dishonest agents, perhaps, shared in the profits of the frauds, lawless rovers quarrelled with and shot them, and, in more recent times, rapacious gold-hunters invaded the reservations guaranteed to them by the nation. If under these wrongs they became restless, and left their reservations, troops were necessarily employed to compel them to return. What wonder is it that the vindictive passions of the savages have been aroused to indiscriminate war against the whites?—what wonder, indeed, that when waging war with all their native ferocity, treachery, and cruelty, they should be regarded by the white settlers exposed to their attacks as outlaws and perpetual enemies?

While characterizing the Indians generally as vindictive, merciless, and indiscriminate in their slaughter of the whites, it is but just to say that in the recent hostilities in the far Northwest, the Nez Percés, under the lead of their chief, "Joseph," manifested something of the less cruel spirit of civilized warfare. They are credited with sparing the peaceful settler or traveller, and with treating kindly, instead of dispatching and scalping, the wounded soldiers who fell into their hands. How much of this, however, was due to their humanity, and how much to the fact that they were closely pressed, and when showing mercy to the wounded were on the point of surrendering, is a question not easily determined.

THE MIAMI COUNTRY. CINCINNATI.



THE same year that the Ohio Company established their settlement on the banks of the Muskingum, Mathias Denman and others, who had bought land included in a grant to John Cleves Symmes, of New Jersey, of what was then known as the Miami country, settled near the mouth of the Little Miami River, and laid the first poor foundations of the city of Cincinnati. Mr. Symmes was a man of some eminence, and was appointed one of the first judges of the Northwest Territory. He selected as a site for a settlement within his grant a place where the Ohio bends to the north, near the Great Miami River, and which was named and is still known as the North Bend, and there he projected a great city; while a company under Major Stiles, who had purchased a large tract of Judge Symmes, established themselves on the Ohio below the Little Miami, and laid out a town which was called Columbia.

Judge Symmes applied to the United States for the erection of a fort for the protection of the settlement on his tract, and the request being granted, General Harmer sent an officer to North Bend with a detachment of soldiers to select a site and erect the fort. But it is said that the beauty of a woman determined the selection of the site, and nipped in the bud the hopes of the judge that a flourishing town would grow up on the site where he had projected it. The officer, who had probably long been a stranger to female beauty, fell in love with the wife of a man who had come to North Bend with a view to

settling there. The husband, to avoid the offensive gallantry of the officer, went with his wife to the settlement on the Little Miami; and all at once it became apparent to this prudent engineer that the North Bend was not the best place for a fort. He examined the ground on the Little Miami, and, in spite of the remonstrances of Judge Symmes, determined to erect the fort there; and there it was accordingly built, and named Fort Washington. To that circumstance is due the fact that Cincinnati and not North Bend is the Queen City of the Ohio, for at first settlers naturally preferred to establish themselves where they could have the protection of a garrison; and the advantage thus gained subsequently gave the settlement an impulse in growth which no other felt.

None of these settlements had attained any importance before the Indians commenced hostilities, and then, with the exception of that on the Little Miami, where a straggling village of log cabins grew slowly under the protection of Fort Washington, they were virtually deserted. During the war, the emigrants who floated down the Ohio on their flat-boats, in search of new homes in the forests of the Northwest Territory, met with an inhospitable reception, being often fired at by Indians on the shore, whose presence deterred them from landing or attempting a settlement. Some of them accordingly returned, while others ventured to stop at Marietta, or settled on the south side of the Ohio, where there was already a sufficient population to afford some security.

After General Wayne had "conquered a peace," however, emigrants from the east again swarmed down the Ohio, and in 1796 nearly a thousand flat-boats, laden with people and their goods, passed the mouth of the Muskingum. They came from all parts of the states, from New England to North Carolina, those from the south going chiefly to the country south of the Ohio, and the larger numbers from the northern states preferring the territory north of the river, which had been forever secured against the introduction of slavery.

The pioneers about Fort Washington were from New Jersey, and those who earliest joined them were chiefly from that state and Pennsylvania. For several years, however, the settlement did not flourish like Marietta, and consisted only of scattered log houses with a fair extent of cleared and cultivated land; for it had not the good fortune to

be established, like the settlement on the Muskingum, by a large association of enterprising, energetic men. But its favorable situation for trade, when the forests should be cleared and the fertile valleys of the surrounding country should yield a surplus of products, did not pass unnoticed, and about the year 1800 a town was systematically laid out. As Congress offered special inducements to the officers and soldiers who had served in the revolutionary war to settle in the Northwest Territory, and many of them were taking lands there, and retiring like Cincinnatus, after a successful war, to enjoy the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, the town received the classic name of Cincinnati. It soon became a convenient post for emigrants to tarry at before selecting their new homes; traders and artisans found it a promising place for business, and farmers were glad to secure lands in the neighborhood. Thus were the foundations laid for the city which in a few years became the Queen City of the West.

The Ohio Company, in laying out their tract, had wisely reserved a portion of their lands for the benefit of education, and this plan was followed by the United States and all the new communities and states of the Northwest as the country was opened for settlement. Not only were lands reserved in all the settlements on the Muskingum for the maintenance of common schools, but two townships on the Hockhocking River, within the tract of the Company, were set apart for the establishment of a college. In order to reap the advantages of this reservation at an early day, General Putnam, who was ever active in promoting the settlement and welfare of the new territory, induced some of the immigrants, who in large numbers after the war stopped temporarily at Marietta, to purchase lands in these townships, and in 1797 a company settled on one of them, to which was given, with the same reverence for the classics which had been shown at Marietta, the name of Athens.

These colonies on the Muskingum and Hockhocking rivers, and in the Miami country, were the pioneers in the settlement of Ohio; but from the time when the first cabin was built at Athens, numerous emigrants from the east, in single families or in larger companies, began to take up their abode in the wilderness, which was no longer threatened with the terrors of an Indian war. Enterprising

young men bought lands and industriously cleared and planted their fields, built comfortable though not spacious log cabins, and secured the comforts of life for the future wives they were to bring from their old eastern homes; men who had met reverses came with their families to repair their shattered fortunes by diligent labor on the fertile soil of the West; friends and neighbors came in companies from the barren hills of New England, and settling where they could mutually aid each other, established the nucleus of many a thriving village and flourishing town along the Ohio and its numerous tributaries. In most of these the schoolhouse and the church soon appeared; and if at first they were humble edifices, the institutions of education and religion were planted there to flourish with the rapidly increasing communities. The settlement of Ohio was indeed wonderfully rapid, considering the limited population which furnished the emigrants, and the difficulties of the long and laborious journey. It grew not only in the towns and villages, but in farms, increasing in number and extent, the abundant products of which gave an impetus to the growth of cities and the commerce of the great rivers.

CHARACTER OF THE PIONEERS OF OHIO.



CONSIDERABLE number of the settlers of Marietta, as their titles indicate, had been officers in the revolutionary armies, and among them were many men of character and some distinction in the communities from which they emigrated, and several of them were appointed judges and to other offices in the new territorial government. Most of them were from New England, and they brought with them the enterprise and habits of New England, giving the settlement at the outset a distinctive character for thrift and good order.

One of the most influential men was General Rufus Putnam, a projector, director, and principal agent of the Ohio Company, under whose charge the first party of pioneers had come, and under whose direction many measures for the safety and welfare of the new community were adopted. He was self-educated, and had enjoyed but few early advantages, but he was a man of natural ability and sound judgment, and from service in the army, long familiarity with affairs, and association with prominent men, he acquired a mental training and culture which led to his appointment as one of the early judges of the territory, and afterwards as surveyor-general of United States lands. He was regarded as the father of the Ohio settlements, and during his life exerted a wide and beneficial influence throughout the territory.

General James M. Varnum, one of the first judges of the territory, was also a director of the Ohio Company. He was a native of Mas-

sachusetts, received a collegiate education and practised law in Rhode Island, and represented that state in the Congress of the confederation. He was a man of superior abilities, refined manners, and dignified bearing. One of the pioneers on the Muskingum, he lived but seven months after his arrival, being at that time in slender health. But he rendered important service in preparing the first code of territorial laws, which, under the ordinance establishing the territory, were to be drafted and ordained by the governor. His last letter to his wife, who had not emigrated with him, reveals the gentler side of his character, warm affections, and strong religious faith.

General Samuel H. Parsons, another of the directors of the Ohio Company, was the first chief-justice of the territory, having received that honor from Congress by reason of his public services and high character. His services to the new territory were also short, for in 1789, but little more than a year after the organization of the government, while descending a branch of the Muskingum he was drowned. With one companion in a canoe he ventured, with characteristic boldness, to shoot some swift and dangerous rapids, when the canoe was overturned and he was carried down by the current. His companion was more fortunate and escaped, to fall a victim at a later date to the Indians.

Major Winthrop Sargent, the first secretary of the territory, was a native of Massachusetts, though an emigrant from New Hampshire, and was also a member and one of the agents of the Ohio Company. Others of the active members of the Company and early settlers, as Colonel Sproat, Colonel Meigs, and General Tupper, were appointed to various positions in the territorial government, or under that of the United States, and were prominent in the early history of Ohio. Many others of the settlers were men of worth, who as private citizens exercised an excellent influence on the character of the colony. Among others was Captain or Commodore Whipple, from Rhode Island, who, in command of an armed vessel, had rendered good service to the country during the revolutionary war. He was a stern enemy of the British, but entertained no feeling of hostility towards the Indians even during the war, as illustrated by an anecdote told of him.

He had a fine melon patch midway between "the Point," where

many of the houses had been erected, and Campus Martius. Missing from his field some of his ripe melons, he supposed that some of the soldiers or boys had pilfered them after dark; and one moonlight night he resolved to keep watch in an unoccupied log house near by. Posting himself there, without making known his intentions, with a loaded rifle, he was prepared to make war upon the plunderers of his melon patch, or at least to detect the thieves. He did not watch in vain; for during the night two or three trespassers entered the field and began looking for the luscious melons; but, to his great surprise, they proved to be neither soldiers nor boys, but Indians. At that time, when the settlers were in constant fear of hostile Indians, and were on the watch for any savages lurking in the vicinity, most men would hardly have resisted the temptation, and, indeed, would have considered it their duty, to fire upon these plundering enemies. Not so, however, with the veteran sailor. Though he might easily have shot one of the intruders without incurring any danger, as the others would probably have fled, and the report of his gun would have quickly called assistance from Campus Martius, his resentment was at once allayed, and he suffered the hungry savages to help themselves and make off with their plunder, and then quietly disposed himself to rest for the remainder of the night.

Some of the leading men among the pioneers on the Muskingum were early joined by their families in the new settlement, and the women of Marietta brought with them the thrift, neatness, and orderly housekeeping of their New England homes. Some of them were women of culture, who had enjoyed the advantages of a fair education for that period, and were refined in manners and accustomed to good society. Among these was Mrs. Gilman, the wife of Joseph Gilman, who was afterwards appointed one of the judges of the territory. She was an accomplished scholar for the times, familiar with English literature and a fluent reader of French; and she was, moreover, a refined and dignified lady, who exerted a great influence on the society of Marietta. Judge Gilman, also, was a scholar and an able lawyer, and he had brought with him a valuable library, which was an unusual acquisition for a new settlement, and was highly prized by others besides its owner. Books, however, were not as rare in the log cabins on the Muskingum

as in those south of the Ohio, and almost all the families from New England had at least a Bible, a spelling-book, and some old almanacs, which were often sufficient to lead some of the members to seek a wider range of literature.

The elder daughter of Governor St. Clair, who resided with him at Marietta for some time, was a young woman of no little distinction during her stay. She had been carefully educated in Philadelphia, and the daughter of a veteran officer, from her childhood she had received a physical training which had developed great personal beauty, and given her a grace, dash and spirit such as very few American women then displayed. She would fearlessly mount the most spirited horse, and was a graceful and skilful rider; as a pedestrian she showed great endurance, and as a skater she left all the young men behind. An expert in the use of the rifle, she would bring down a squirrel from the tallest tree without fail, and she often, even during the war period, ventured alone into the woods on a hunting excursion without fear of Indians. With all her courage and spirit, however, she was by no means coarse or masculine in manners, but was always neatly and becomingly dressed, lady-like, amiable, and pleasing. During her stay she doubtless excited some comment among the more staid women of the settlement, but she was a general favorite.

What is said of the character of the society at Marietta is true, in a less degree, of other settlements in Ohio when they attained to a considerable population; but none of them in their early days enjoyed the advantages which the former had in the number of men of superior ability among its settlers, and the presence of the officers of the territory. In the settlement on the Miami, which eventually became Cincinnati, there were at first very few who were accustomed to polished society, and no accomplished women to exert a refining influence. Officers and attachés of the army were the most prominent men, and determined the social character of the settlement for the time being; and at that period idleness, drinking, gambling, and coarse amusements were too common in the army, though there were, of course, many honorable exceptions. After General Wayne's successful campaign had closed the Indian war, the discharge of soldiers and camp-followers brought another element of population to Cincinnati, which

did not add much to the good order and sobriety of the place. But the flood of immigration soon brought many civilians of a better class, whose influence shortly predominated, and elevated the social condition of the settlement, and whose enterprise laid the foundations for the future prosperity of a rapidly growing city.

It is not to be inferred, however, that there was not at all times an orderly element among the population about Fort Washington. Before courts were established for the regular administration of justice, the better class of settlers, being annoyed by the depredations of the vicious and lawless men who hung about the fort, adopted measures for their own protection. They assembled under one of the noble trees which the axe had not yet felled, for want of a house sufficiently capacious, and formed a code of laws, to the observance and support of which all present pledged themselves. Mr. McMillan, a young man of great energy, good sense, and decision of character, was appointed judge, and Mr. Ludlow sheriff.

It was not long before there was occasion to enforce this code, and the court was called upon to exercise the authority thus given it. A complaint was made against one Patrick Grimes for stealing cucumbers. He was arrested by the sheriff, a jury was impanelled, and the culprit was tried. The evidence was conclusive, he was convicted by the jury, and sentenced to receive twenty-nine lashes, which sentence was duly executed. This salutary example, however, did not wholly remedy the evil, and in the course of a few weeks complaint was made against another offender, who escaped the sheriff and fled to the garrison to claim the protection of the commandant. That officer, assuming that his authority was supreme, sent an abusive letter to Mr. McMillan, threatening him with punishment if he again presumed to act as judge. The civilians were not disposed to submit to usurpation of authority by the military, and McMillan sent a reply plainly telling the commandant that he had no right to interfere, and bidding him confine himself to his duties. Provoked at this merited rebuke, the officer sent a sergeant and three soldiers to arrest the man who so boldly defied him; but McMillan was a young athlete, of great strength and activity, and he was by no means disposed to be taken prisoner. He refused to surrender, and a violent encounter ensued, in which the sergeant and one

of his men were floored under the heavy blows of their single opponent, and the party finally withdrew discomfited, though in the unequal contest McMillan received injuries from which he never wholly recovered. Soon afterwards a court of quarter-sessions was established at Cincinnati, and the assumption of the hasty commandant was rebuked by the appointment, by Governor St. Clair, of Mr. McMillan as one of the justices.

The disbandment of a large part of the military forces after the war brought another element of population to the Northwest Territory, not criminal, but sometimes lawless, and the occasion of annoyance and litigation. There were numbers of men thus returned to civil life who became voluntary or involuntary settlers, but having no means to purchase lands, or feeling that in that vast wilderness which they had helped to secure from the Indians, there was enough for all comers, they sometimes entered upon lands that had been duly purchased by other parties, and became, in the expressive if not elegant language of the West, "squatters." These acts gave rise to much of the business before the courts.

At Athens, in its early days, several of these "squatters," having been brought before the local court and had judgment rendered against them, threatened to put an end to such courts. The justices, however, were determined to uphold the law and maintain the dignity of their court, and ordered the sheriff to arrest the utterers of such seditious language and take them to Marietta to be tried before the territorial court. Knowing that they could expect no favor from the justice and firmness of that tribunal, the offenders became alarmed, and expressed a readiness to acquiesce in the judgment of the local court. The justices were content with this substantial submission to their judgment; but one of them, who was inclined to humor, told them that the only way for them to escape being carried to Marietta, was to kneel and humbly ask pardon of the court. To this these citizens of a "free country" demurred, thinking it rather hard that they should be required to kneel before two buck-eye justices;* but they finally concluded that even that abasement

* The buck-eye being a soft and comparatively valueless kind of wood, the term was at first applied to persons and things of little worth or importance. It was afterwards, with a more honorable significance, applied to Ohio as the "Buck-eye State."

was better than a severer judgment at Marietta, and complied with the condition, to the great amusement of the justices.

To settle minor disputes, and to punish in a legal manner the offences of such disorderly and lawless persons as were left in the territory by the disbandment of troops, or found their way thither as to all new settlements, inferior courts were established at an early period in all the principal towns, while the general or territorial court determined more important cases at sessions held once a year, or oftener, at the county-seat of the several counties as they were established. These county-seats, for some years before Ohio was admitted to the Union as a state, were Marietta, Cincinnati, Vincennes, and Detroit. In the numerous questions of title, and other cases of more or less importance which came before the court, quite a number of lawyers found employment, and some of them were men who had earned distinction in their profession in the states from which they emigrated. Most of them usually made the "circuit" with the judges, and practised in all the widely separated counties. Thus judges and lawyers, sometimes two or three together and sometimes in larger companies, travelled on horseback hundreds of miles through the woods, such luggage as could not be contained in their saddle-bags being carried on pack-horses. These journeys by a company of men of ability and culture, engaged in the same pursuits, were enlivened by earnest discussions and many a sally of wit and humor, and doubtless by an occasional practical joke, while they were sometimes varied by exciting adventures. They were often obliged to swim their horses across rivers too deep to ford, and in that early day it was an essential qualification in a saddle-horse that he should be a good swimmer. Sometimes they lodged in the cabin of some back-woods settler, occasionally in an Indian village; and often they camped in the woods, where a little game, shot on the way and cooked in primitive style, would be enjoyed as heartily as a more elegant feast, such as they frequently had in the houses of the fur-traders of Detroit. But these journeys were not always pleasant, nor made in the most favorable seasons of the year. They were often attended with severe exposure and hardship. The travellers were sometimes overtaken by a snow-storm, or forced to make their camp in a swamp, or could find no dry wood with which to make their fire on a cold and stormy night;

or their sleep would be disturbed by the fearful cry of panthers attracted by the light of their camp-fire. These annoyances and hardships, however, were patiently endured as the necessary incidents of frontier life, which were forgotten when they reached the settlements and passed their jokes around a bountifully supplied table in a comfortable house, and found themselves surrounded by numerous clients anxious to secure the services of the lawyers and the good opinion of the judges.

There was one class of the western population peculiar to the early days of settlements on the rivers of the West, who were not settlers, but were, for the period preceding the use of steamboats, an essential part of the rapidly growing communities. These were the boatmen who navigated the "Kentucky arks," and the boats of larger burden which succeeded that kind of craft, up and down the great rivers. The disbandment of the army after Wayne's treaty set adrift, without employment or any special aim, many bold, rough, and hardy men who had been engaged as scouts or in other employment with the army which required more of rough labor and ready daring than of discipline. Fortunately at the same time the rapid settlement of the country created a demand for transportation on the rivers, to carry the emigrants to their new homes, and traders with their goods to the new settlements, and afterwards to convey the surplus products of the forest and the farm down the Mississippi to a market. The rough and adventurous spirits released from military service found congenial employment on the boats which soon began to multiply; and though there were boatmen before, they now became a peculiar and distinct class of rough, laborious men, sometimes lawless, but generally trustworthy, fond of whiskey and merry-making, and, withal, spite of hard work, living such a wild and free life as attracted similar adventurous and restless spirits from the more quiet and easier labors of the farm. For many years these boatmen, on great, unwieldy boats, carried immense cargoes down to New Orleans, and brought back with greater toil equally valuable if less bulky loads, making the voyage from Cincinnati to New Orleans and back in six long months. With the appearance and multiplication of steamboats, the flat-boats gradually disappeared till the last one was "tied up" to the shore for the last time, and the race of boatmen, dropping into other pursuits, disappeared.

THE SETTLERS IN THEIR WESTERN HOMES.



THE emigrants from New England brought with them to their western homes the New England institutions,—the church and the schoolhouse. The settlers at Marietta were scarcely established before they had occasional preaching, which soon became a regular and permanent institution of the settlement, and at an early day provision was made for the building of a church, the services at first being held in one of the block-houses of Campus Martius. In other settlements churches were not commenced so early; but with the rapid increase of population there came many who desired to enjoy the religious privileges to which they had been accustomed, and by degrees, in most of the larger places, religious services were permanently established.

Education was systematically provided for in the fundamental law by the reservation of lands for its support, and under the influence of New England emigrants the common school was an institution found in all the settlements; a limited affair, indeed, at that period, and furnishing but meagre instruction, but useful in its day, and the foundation of a better system in later times. The little log schoolhouse, open for a few months in the year, was as certain a feature in the landscape of most of the Ohio settlements as the little red schoolhouse in rural New England.

The austerity of Puritanism had long since, in a great measure, disappeared in New England, and the emigrants from that section of the

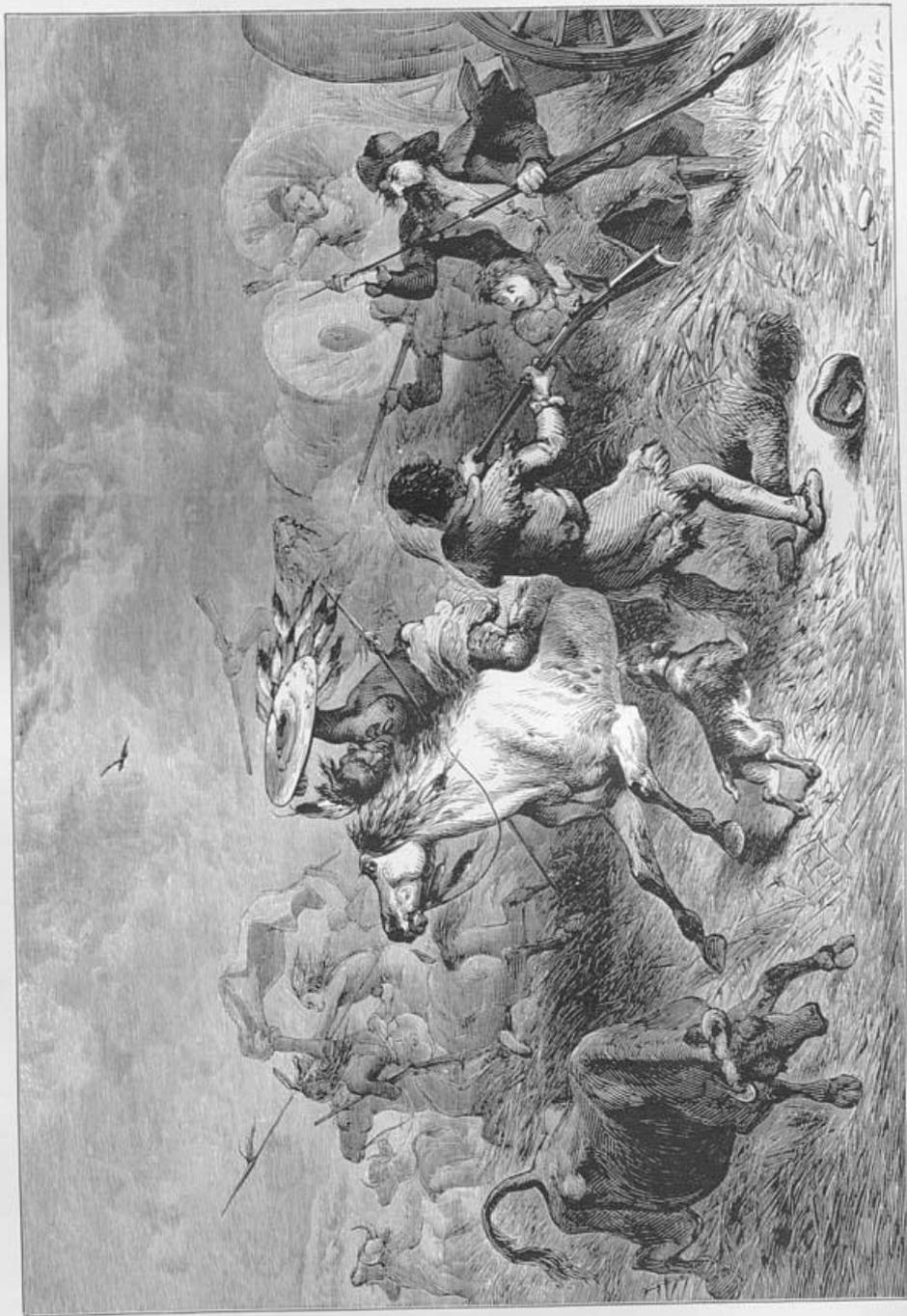
country to the West, though a moral and religious people, were far from being like their forefathers, and were not averse to amusements and a freer mode of life. The territorial law punished profanity and required a proper observance of the Sabbath, but the strict usages of the early days in New England were neither enjoined nor followed. The innocent sports of the young were not frowned upon, and frolics were enjoyed without being stolen. During the Indian war, when the settlers were shut up in the garrisons, a variety of games, rough or gentle, were played by young and old to relieve the tedium of the confinement, and though the settlers did not indulge in the boisterous carousals common among their neighbors on the south side of the Ohio, there was no lack of fun and merriment. The abundant harvests of maize brought a round of merry husking-frolics, when the young men and women assembled in the barn of each neighboring farmer in turn, and made a pleasure of the labor which heaped high the golden ears.

Though not given to the lavish hospitality common among many of the people south of the Ohio, the settlers of the Northwest Territory were ever ready to welcome the honest stranger, and to shelter the benighted traveller. To such, as well as to neighbors, proverbially "the latch-string was out," an expression of hospitality which grew out of the primitive mode of fastening the outer door of the cabin. The door, made of heavy hewn plank swinging on wooden hinges, was secured by a large wooden latch, which was raised by a string passing through the door a little above it. To secure the cabin against unwelcome intruders, the string was pulled in, and the door was thus firmly barred, without any means of unfastening it on the outside. If the latch-string was out, it was a signal that the visitor might enter and receive a hearty welcome from the inmates of the humble but often comfortable cabin.

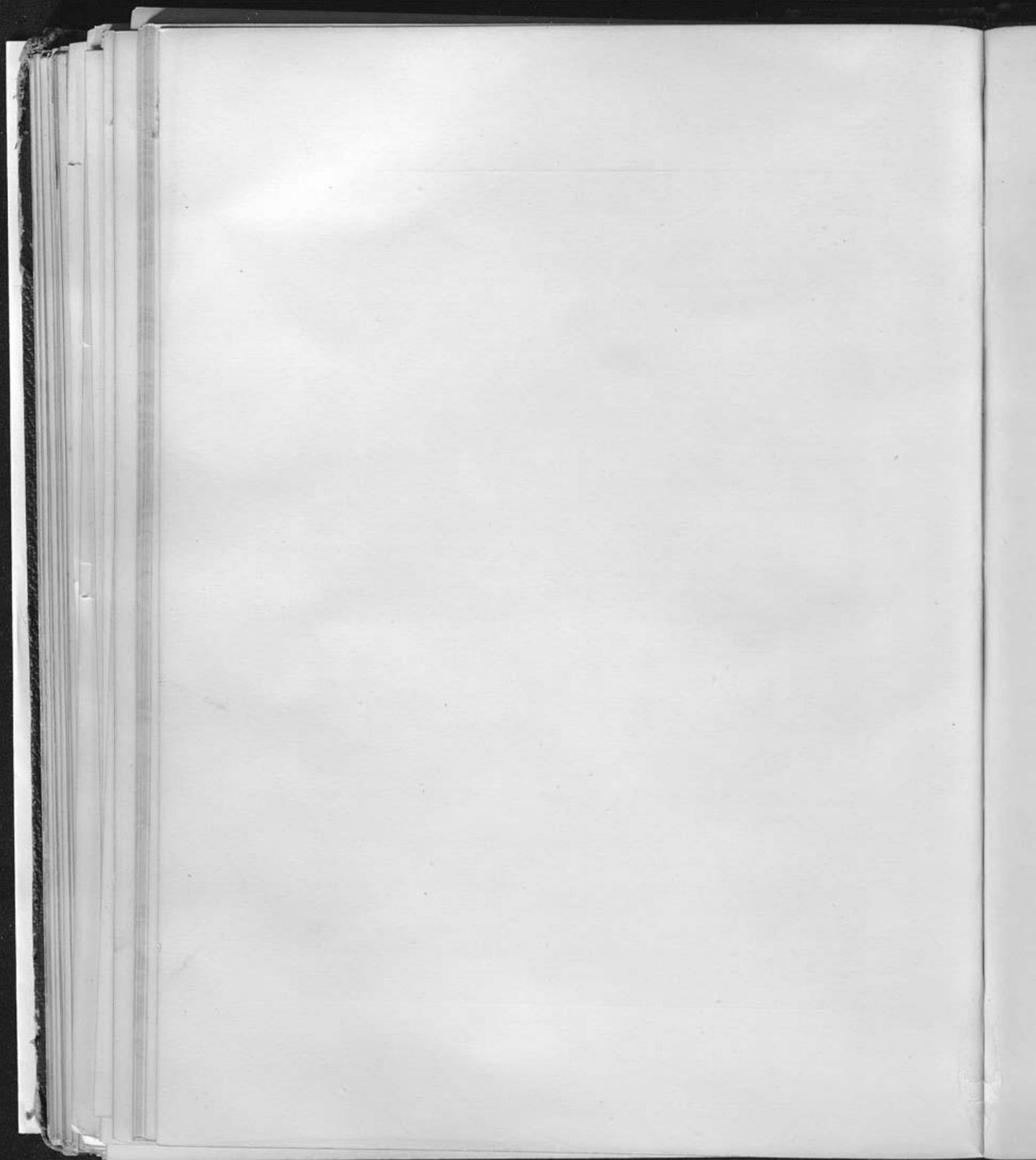
Before the settler reached that stage of progress and comfort in his new home when he could welcome the stranger to a hospitable board, and enjoy abundant harvests, with husking-frolics and other amusements, he was obliged to labor hard to fell the timber and clear his fields. But the promise of a bountiful yield from the fertile soil as a reward for faithful toil, and the encouragement of wife and children,

or the hope of making some damsel, still waiting in her eastern home, the mistress of his new domain, cheered him in his labor, and insured success. Often, however, he was obliged to contend with serious losses and discouragements. Lawless adventurers, who found their way to Ohio as to all the new settlements, would sometimes steal his horses; and sometimes that terrible visitation, not infrequent in forest lands, fire, set wantonly or by accident, would sweep with irresistible fury over thousands of acres of woods, destroy his promising crops, and perhaps consume his dwelling and endanger the lives of his family. To contend with such disasters, which, fortunately, were seldom of so serious a character as here suggested, required the stoutest heart and most persevering energy.

Among the many emigrants from the east, however, there were some who lacked the enterprise and energy to endure the hardships of pioneer life, and perform the work of subduing the forest, or who, from unfortunate location, suffered greatly from fever and ague, and returned discouraged to the older states. These were held up as a warning against emigration, which was so contagious that to some it seemed to be a serious evil to the older portion of the country. The unfavorable reports of these returned emigrants, contrasted with the sanguine hopes of those who were eager to go, were depicted in a caricature quite common in the early part of this century, in which the hopeful and hearty emigrant, mounted on a sleek and well-conditioned horse, is represented as saying, "I am going to Ohio;" while a thin, cadaverous, and ragged individual, mounted on a famished and broken-down animal, replies, "I have been to Ohio." But this did not deter the strong and energetic young men of the East from seeking their fortunes in the more fertile regions of the West, and those who had means to purchase land, and energy to clear and cultivate it, were generally rewarded by success; while industrious mechanics obtained profitable employment in the growing villages and towns, and shrewd traders found an ample field for their enterprise in exchanging commodities for the constantly increasing population.



EMIGRANTS ATTACKED BY INDIANS ON THE PLAINS.



WESTERN SETTLEMENTS EXTENDED.



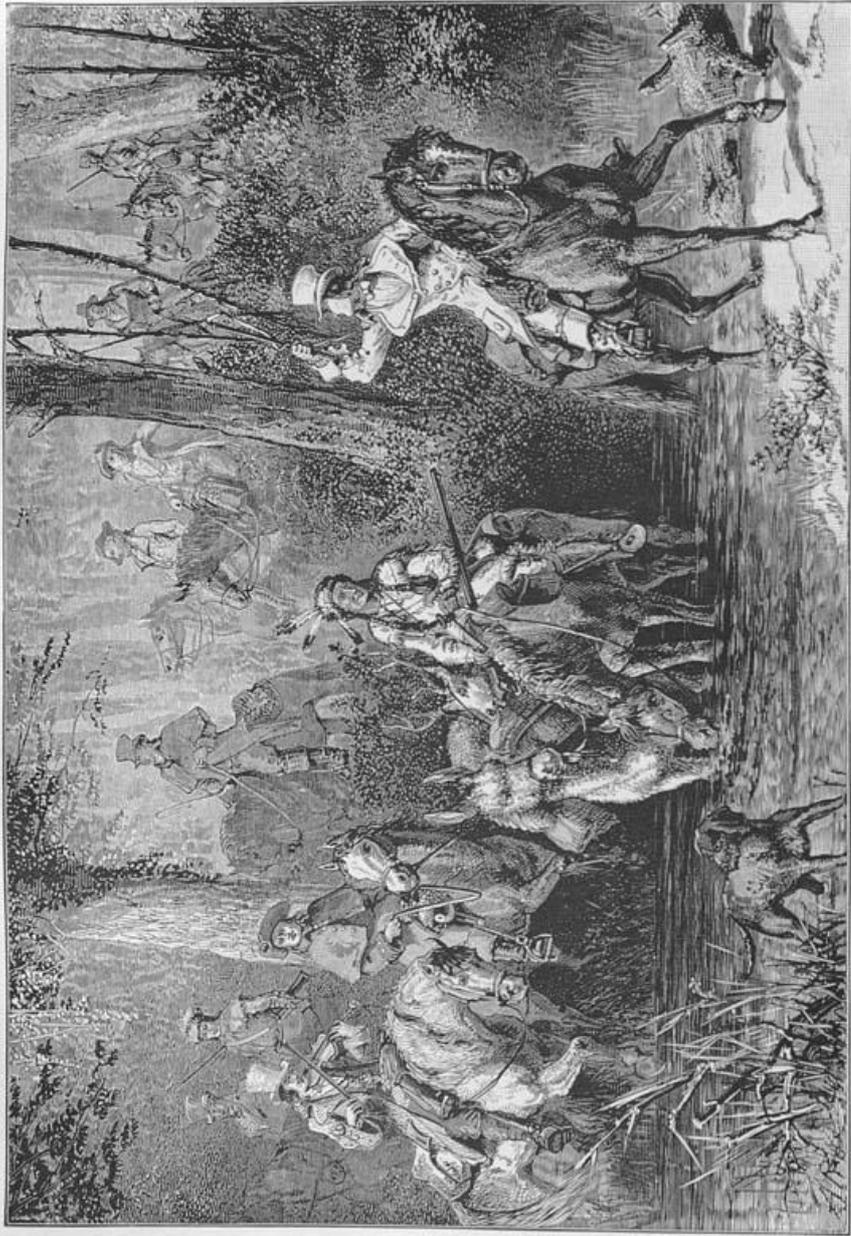
FROM Ohio the tide of eastern emigration gradually flowed over other parts of the Northwest Territory, the settlers first seeking the neighborhood of the old French towns of Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and Detroit, and then choosing other locations more favorable for agricultural purposes or for thriving towns. Kaskaskia and Vincennes, with other French villages, have been referred to in a former chapter; Detroit was also an early settlement of the French, in which they carried on considerable trade in furs. When the English obtained possession of Canada, many English and Scotch fur-traders established themselves at Detroit, where they conducted the business with more energy and success than their French predecessors. These men carried on their trade with the natives far to the north and west, and also employed numbers of whites in hunting and trapping, often taking charge of their difficult and laborious expeditions themselves. When success crowned their labors, and they returned to their comfortable homes at Detroit, they made amends for their months of hardship and privation by indulging in the most luxurious living and the most profuse hospitality, their tables being supplied in great abundance with the choicest viands that the country could furnish, and the finest wines of Europe. In the use of the latter they were especially free, and often competed with each other for the honor of drinking the most wine without becoming intoxicated, a contest which generally resulted in the intoxication of both host and guests. Judge Burnet tells

of such a feast which he attended, though excused on account of his health from participating, where the bottom was broken off every wine-glass in order that each guest should be obliged to drain his glass as each toast was drunk in a bumper.

After Detroit was surrendered to the United States, most of these English and Scotch traders removed to the British side of the strait; and a different class of Americans soon took their places, and the old customs gradually passed away. Previous to this time the people about Detroit and in other settlements on the peninsula of Michigan, who were not engaged in the fur-trade, were mostly French with some English from Canada, and were generally lacking in the energy and enterprise which characterized the people of the revolted colonies. They were poor farmers, and did not raise sufficient produce to supply their own wants. By degrees emigrants from New England and New York came to that part of the territory, though not so freely as to the more fruitful and attractive southern portion, and a new order of things prevailed, but no great progress was made till after the war of 1812.

The early settlers of the Northwest Territory did not anticipate where its most flourishing towns would be located, though Cincinnati more than realized the hopes of its projectors; much less did they foresee with what rapidity great cities would grow up in a region which at the commencement of the present century was a wilderness of forest and prairie, inhabited only by savages, except in a few small French villages. In 1804 there was but a single house on the site of the great city of Chicago. The Indians said that the first *white man* who settled there was a *negro*, meaning the first representative of civilization, though he was doubtless a poor one. This man was a native of St. Domingo, who found his way to this then remote spot and established himself there about the year 1796, and after making some improvements abandoned it and went to St. Louis to join other emigrants from his native island. A Frenchman took possession of the deserted habitation, and after occupying it a few years disposed of it to Mr. John Kinzie, a native of Quebec, who had long lived on the northern frontier, engaged in the Indian trade, and who in 1804 became the first permanent settler of the place which is now the chief city of the Northwest. Mr. Kinzie was a man of great enterprise, and carried on an extensive trade with





JUDGES, LAWYERS, AND CLIENTS GOING TO COURT THROUGH WESTERN WOODS.

various tribes of Indians, a faint prototype of the vast business which now centres in Chicago. His relations with the Indians were always friendly, and some of them held him in high esteem, proving their friendship by protecting his family from hostile strangers. For some years his house and the cabins of his employés were the only buildings in the place, except a small fort which was built by the United States soon after he settled there, and garrisoned with a few soldiers. Very slowly other settlers took lands in the vicinity, and nearly thirty years afterwards there was only a fort and a scattered village with some outlying farms to distinguish it as a settlement. After that period, on account of its advantageous situation at the head of Lake Michigan, it grew rapidly, its increasing trade inviting large numbers of emigrants from the east.

It is not within the scope of this work to give in detail an account of the various settlements in the Northwest Territory or in the region beyond the Mississippi, which, after the purchase of Louisiana, became more truly the Northwest Territory, and whither the tide of emigration soon began to flow. Nor is it necessary even to name the territories which were successively formed, and the new states that were admitted to the Union, as the population increased and spread over the prairies and along the banks of the numerous rivers. The possession of the Mississippi by the United States gave a new impulse to the growth of the West by opening a market for the products of its fertile soil; and when the steamboat supplemented and finally supplanted the "Kentucky ark" and the flat-boat, that growth was wonderfully accelerated. The enterprising young men of the Atlantic states found still greater inducements to go west; and the fame of this fertile and attractive region extending to Europe, emigrants from the Old World sought freedom and prosperity at once in this vast and fruitful field for their industry.

The pioneers who settled north and south of the Ohio River respectively, are essentially the types of the settlers in the northern and southern regions of the Great West. Slavery was carried from the Atlantic states to Kentucky and Tennessee, and all south, while the Northwest Territory was to be forever free from that acknowledged evil. Slavery carried its peculiar conditions of social life, which did not exist where

free labor only was tolerated; and while in many respects there was a community of interests and sympathy between the people north and south of the Ohio, as when they united in fighting the Indians, or the British and Indians combined, yet there was an essential difference of character growing out of those social conditions and the origin of the settlers. This difference extended west as emigration proceeded from the northern or southern section. Some of the people of Virginia and Kentucky, who were too poor to own slaves, crossed into southern Illinois, where slavery was prohibited; and they were consequently exempt from the distinctions which that institution produced between those who labored and those who owned laborers. But they had been reared under the influence of slavery, and lacked the energy, enterprise, and education which characterized the emigrants from New England and other northern states.

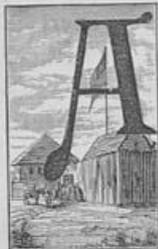
On the other hand, many of the more wealthy Kentuckians, and emigrants from Virginia and other southern states, crossed the Mississippi and settled with their slaves in the territory that became the states of Missouri and Arkansas. Missouri, however, being as far north as a large part of the state of Illinois, and the wise policy which had secured the Northwest Territory against the introduction of slave labor being thoroughly vindicated by the rapid settlement of the country north of the Ohio, and heartily approved by the great majority of emigrants from the northern states, the first contest respecting slavery arose between the North and the South, and resulted in the Missouri Compromise, which made that state a slave state.

At a later date, as the tide of emigration still rolled westward, there was a race between the emigrants from the free and the slave states into the territory west of Missouri, and a contest to secure it, on the one hand to free labor, and on the other to slavery. After a long and somewhat bitter struggle, which it is no part of this work to relate, Kansas was secured to the former, a large part of its permanent settlers having emigrated from New England and the free states of the West. All north of Missouri was conceded to freedom, and all south was conceded to slavery.

While many of the settlers of the northwestern states were emigrants from the East and from the older states of the West, the liberal

policy of the United States continued to invite emigration from the Old World, and large numbers of Germans, with some Norwegians, Swedes, and Hollanders, came to better their fortunes in a country where land was cheap and the inalienable rights of man were secure,—where the poor might become rich, and success was open to all who strove for it. Many of these settled in companies in the new territories, or in the older states, and the population increased with wonderful rapidity, not only east, but west of the Mississippi. The lands were cleared and improved by an industrious people, whose success induced others to follow them; vast and ever-increasing fields of grain waved on the fertile prairies and along the rich bottom-lands; immense quantities of timber from the "forests primeval" were floated down the rivers; extensive towns and cities were laid out and grew up to rival in beauty and substantial appearance the older cities of the East; busy steamboats carried on the growing internal commerce, and soon railroads, constructed to the verge of civilization, invited settlers to build new towns and plant new fields along their lines.

HUNTERS AND TRADERS.



ALWAYS in advance of the permanent settlers were the hunters, those bold and adventurous spirits of whom Boone and Fenton were the early types, whose love of a free life in the woods, and fearless disregard of danger, led them to retreat before the advancing tide of emigration to regions where game was more abundant and the restraints of civilization were not felt.

When the Indians were not on the war-path, the life of the hunter, though not without its toils and hardships, was a pleasant pastime for the bold men who preferred that manner of living. Setting their traps to catch the beaver and otter at night, during the day they sought other game, and meeting at evening in their camp, they enjoyed with sharpened appetites their simple but savory supper of venison, and recounted the adventures of the day and the exploits of former hunts, or the incredible deeds of other bold pioneers. Sometimes a friendly Indian would share their camp and enjoy their hospitality, adding to the picturesqueness of the group as he listened with guttural expressions of approval to the half-understood stories of daring. The results of their hunting and trapping the hunters exchanged for powder and lead, and such few necessaries as their simple life required, at the post of the nearest trader. These visits to the trading-post, with a brief intercourse with the trader's family or assistants, were the only link which bound these men to civilized life. Having varied their life by a few days' sojourn at the post, replenished their stock of



HUNTERS AND TRAPPERS IN THE WEST.



powder and ball, or traps, and obtained such few necessaries as their woodcraft would not supply, they were off again to the woods to watch their traps, hunt the deer, and enjoy the wild, free life of the hunter.

Close to the hunters, sometimes even in advance of them, came the traders, with whose commercial enterprise and love of gain was often mingled something of the same spirit of adventure and desire for the free life of the extreme frontier which characterized the former. Some of them were men of considerable capital, who sought to increase their wealth by a large trade in furs. They employed French half-breeds, and other frontiersmen who were on friendly terms with the Indians, to hunt and trap, or to collect furs from the Indians. As settlements advanced, the supplies of furs receded, and new posts were established farther in the interior, forming the picket-line of civilization.

The trading-posts were usually established on the shores of the great lakes or on the banks of some of the larger rivers, whither the goods which were to purchase the more valuable furs could be most easily transported, and whence the products of the trade could find their way to a far-off market,—across the lakes and down the St. Lawrence, or down the long course of the Mississippi, in either case to be carried at last to Europe. Sometimes the trader brought his family to one of these outposts of civilization, and building a substantial house, he planted fields and enjoyed more than the comforts of the pioneer farmers.

To the trading-post came the Indians in large or small companies with their stores of peltry to exchange for knives, hatchets, and powder, and often, in spite of the prohibition of such trade, for fire-arms and rum. Arms and ammunition, indeed, were most in demand among the Indians and brought the largest return of furs. Encamping about the trading-house, the savages would sometimes remain for many days and even weeks, often to the great annoyance of the trader, who, if he did not scruple to drive sharp bargains with his untutored customers, found it expedient to treat them otherwise with kindness and consideration. By judicious presents to prominent chiefs, the trader secured their lasting friendship, which in times of danger proved of the greatest service to him. More than once these frontier traders and their

families were protected from outrage and saved from massacre by savages whose friendship they had won in times of peace. Notably among these was the family of Mr. Kinzie, the first trader at Chicago, when the garrison at that place was massacred by the Indian allies of the British in the war of 1812, as related in the following chapter.

In order to regulate intercourse between the whites and the Indians, and the better to control the latter, it was in the course of time found necessary to bring the traders with the natives more directly under the authority of the government, and the Indian traders of the olden time gave way to a class different in character, different in their manner of business, and different in their relations to the Indians; a change which was not always for the better. Meanwhile the fur-trade, which at first received its entire supplies from the irregular collections of the Indians, was pursued in a more systematic manner by powerful companies whose posts extended far to the north, where the more valuable furs were found, and whose employés were scattered over a vast territory. The British possessions afforded the best field for their extensive operations, and the Hudson's Bay Company was the most powerful and successful of these trading organizations, with which American fur-traders had many disputes along the undetermined border territory of the far Northwest.

INDIAN OPPOSITION TO SETTLEMENTS.—INDIAN ALLIES OF THE BRITISH.



FROM the time of the first emigration across the Alleghanies Indian wars have been but too frequent on the frontiers of civilized settlements, as the preceding pages have related perhaps too much at length. It may be proper, however, to add one more chapter of treachery and massacre by the Indian allies of the British in the war of 1812, which occurred in the early history of one of the great cities of the West, or rather on the site where a great city has since grown up.

Not many years after the peace secured by Wayne's victory, the famous chief, Tecumseh, animated with a desire to stop the encroachments of the whites on the hunting-grounds which the Indians had so long possessed, undertook, like Pontiac, to organize a confederacy of all the tribes of red men for the purpose of driving the whites from the country northwest of the Ohio. For years he labored with the greatest patience and with the sagacity of statesmanship to accomplish his purpose, and his persistency and eloquence met with as much success as could be expected among savages, very few of whom could comprehend the measures which the able chief advocated, however much they sympathized with his ultimate purposes. In this work Tecumseh was aided by his brother, who assumed the rôle of prophet, and with incantations and mystic rites, as well as vehement harangues, acquired a great influence over the Indians, but who lacked the sagacity, pa-

tience, and ability, as well as the bravery of the chief, and his reckless haste and foolish assumption eventually defeated the latter's scheme.

The efforts of these leaders caused a restlessness among the Indians, and hostile feelings towards the whites, which General Harrison, then the governor of the territory of Indiana, exerted himself for a long time to allay; but under the influence of the Prophet they at last assumed such a threatening attitude that the governor was obliged to proceed against them with force. While Tecumseh was absent, eloquently urging the southern tribes to join his confederacy, the Prophet assembled a large number of Indians at Tippecanoe, where he lived, and encouraging them with assurances that their success was certain whenever they went to war with the whites, made them eager to commence hostilities. As they refused to disperse to their villages, or to hold a friendly council with him, the governor, who, in anticipation of hostilities, had a considerable force of regulars and militia at Vincennes, marched to Tippecanoe, and after a sharp fight, in which the deluded savages were encouraged by their false and cowardly prophet to the most desperate resistance, he finally defeated them, and destroyed the village and plantation of Tippecanoe. Tecumseh returned from his distant mission to find all his labor of years sacrificed by the folly of his brother, and his long-cherished hopes blasted. With increased hatred towards the whites, who, as he believed, were despoiling his race of their heritage, he went to Canada and joined the British in the war against the United States, which commenced the following year.

In the war of 1812 with England, many of the western tribes were induced to ally themselves with the British, and carry on a savage warfare against the frontier settlements. The character of this warfare and the dangers to which the frontier settlers were exposed have been sufficiently indicated in preceding pages of this work, and its limits will not admit of a narrative of the many thrilling incidents of the frequent Indian wars similar to those which have been related. One instance, however, of Indian treachery and atrocity, which in its details forms a sadly interesting chapter in the history of the war of 1812, may be briefly mentioned.

In the early part of the war the conduct of military affairs at the West was singularly inefficient, and the action of General Hull, who

was in command at the Northwest, was pusillanimous. At that time the fort at Chicago was garrisoned by a single company of regulars commanded by Captain Heald, some of whom were invalids. Although the garrison was strong enough to repulse the attack of Indians, from whom alone there was immediate danger, General Hull sent orders to Captain Heald to evacuate the post and retire to Fort Wayne, first distributing all the property belonging to the United States among the Indians. This distribution, it was supposed, would so please the savages that their good will and quiet would be secured; but in the end it proved a worse than useless bribe. The friendly Indian who brought the order from General Hull, advised that the fort should be held; but if it was to be evacuated, he urged that it should be done at once, before the Pottawatomies, through whose country the garrison must pass, should be aware of the movement and collect a force to oppose them. He also advised that the supplies should not be distributed, but left in the fort and storehouse, that the Indians assembled there might be wholly engrossed in pilfering, and not think of a hostile pursuit. But Captain Heald, without consulting his subordinates, disregarded the advice; and having determined to evacuate the fort, he also determined to assemble the Pottawatomies and make an equitable distribution of the stores among them. The other officers remonstrated without effect, and the commandant was left to take his course without further advice.

Meanwhile the Indians assembled in considerable numbers, and became exceedingly insolent and troublesome, and manifested a restlessness, and contempt for the garrison, which boded evil. Captain Heald met them in council, and promising to distribute among them all the goods of the agency, together with the stores and ammunition in the fort, requested of them a safe escort to Fort Wayne. To this the Indians assented with many expressions of friendship. But before completing the distribution, the captain had the ammunition, except a few rounds in the cartridge-boxes of the men, thrown into the well, and all the liquor emptied by night into the river, a proceeding which did not escape the notice of the suspicious natives, and aroused their anger. At this stage of affairs, Captain Wells, the chief of white parentage who has been mentioned in preceding pages, arrived with a small party

of friendly Miamis. He was the brother of Mrs. Heald, and since Wayne's victory, when he took an active part under that general, had been a firm friend of the settlers, and proof against all the seductions of British agents. He had hastened to Chicago to aid in the defence of his friends; but he came too late, and learning that the ammunition had been destroyed, he saw there was no alternative but to undertake the march to Fort Wayne, though he knew by the demonstrations of the Pottawatomies that they contemplated an attack and massacre. They were indignant at the destruction of the ammunition and liquor, and to this, which they considered a breach of faith, was the massacre which followed to be attributed. With a deep sense of the impending calamity, and a determination to sell his life dearly, Captain Wells prepared for the march.

The fort was evacuated; the garrison marched out upon the prairie, the officers' wives on horseback, and the other women and the children in the baggage-wagons. Captain Wells with his Miamis led the column, and a large body of the Pottawatomies brought up the rear as the promised escort. The garrison took a road near the shore of the lake, and they had not advanced far before the Pottawatomies, leaving the rear, took to the prairie, where they were concealed by intervening sand-hills. Observing the movement, Captain Wells, riding back, exclaimed that they were about to make an attack, and called upon the little company of troops to form and charge upon them. He had hardly done speaking when a volley was fired by the hostile Indians.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the scenes which followed. The Miamis fled at the first onset; but the soldiers fought bravely against overwhelming numbers, until two-thirds of them were slain, and but twenty-seven remained, when they surrendered on condition of safety for themselves and their women and children. Although this was promised, the savages indulged their ferocity by dispatching and scalping the wounded; and one, more malignant than the rest, going to a wagon containing twelve children, wantonly murdered them all. Seeing this, Captain Wells bitterly reproached the Pottawatomies for their treachery, and declared that he would kill too. He immediately started for the camp of the enemy, where their women and children were; but

he was pursued by a number of the savages, and, being overtaken, was dispatched by a cowardly knife-stroke in the back.

Mrs. Heald and Mrs. Helm, the latter the wife of the second in command at the fort, were both wounded in the fight, and narrowly escaped death at the hands of the savages, but they were saved by the intercession of Indians who knew them and had probably experienced kindness at their hands. After incurring great danger, they, with their husbands, were delivered to the British at Detroit, and were subsequently exchanged. The wife of one of the private soldiers, who refused to surrender for fear of the torture which she believed was practised upon their prisoners by the Indians, was hacked in pieces with their tomahawks.

When the fort was evacuated, the family of Mr. Kinzie, the Indian trader, remained in his house, and, after the massacre, were protected by several of the Indians whose friendship he had won. They narrowly escaped murder, however, at the hands of a party of savages who had come too late to participate in the fight and share the spoils, and were consequently enraged at their ill luck, and anxious for a taste of blood. But the prudence and diplomacy of the friendly Indians saved the family by representing that Mr. Kinzie was an Englishman and their friend.

During the war of 1812 other massacres were perpetrated by the Indians, the most notable of which was the murder of a large number of officers and soldiers who had surrendered to the British on a promise of protection. The promise was violated by the British commander, who proved as treacherous as the Indians, and suffered his savage allies to murder, rob, and scalp the unfortunate prisoners who had relied on his pledges of safety.

After the war with England, Indian hostilities occurred from time to time on the ever-advancing frontiers, resulting always in the ultimate defeat of the savages and driving them still farther to the west. The Sauks and Foxes waged a long and fierce war under the lead of the implacable Black Hawk, who desired, like Tecumseh, to recover possession of hunting-grounds wrongfully ceded, as he insisted, to the whites; and various other tribes have in the same manner resisted the encroachments of civilization, or sought revenge for violated treaties,

and wrongs inflicted by lawless and avaricious whites. One of the most notable of the later Indian outbreaks occurred in Minnesota in 1862, when the energies of the federal government were taxed to the utmost by the war with the Confederacy, and there were few troops available to resist them. The Sioux, who had long been disaffected, suddenly attacked the settlements on the upper Minnesota River, and massacred the inhabitants. Excited by the taste of blood and their success over a small force sent to resist them, they extended their hostile operations through the state, and even into Iowa, murdering with all the savage atrocity which characterized earlier wars. Six or seven hundred of the unfortunate settlers were murdered, and a few were carried away as prisoners, while many thousands abandoned their homes and sought safety in flight. At last a sufficient force was sent against them under Colonel Sibley, and they were defeated, with the loss of their principal chief and many of his followers, and were driven across the Missouri. In the more recent wars the conflict has been with the mounted Indians of the plains,—the Camanches, Sioux, and kindred tribes, who muster a formidable array of well-armed warriors, and whose daring raids and rapid movements have put to the test the energies of officers and troops that garrison the forts or are sent into the field against them.

C.

ANTIPATHY OF FRONTIER SETTLERS TO THE INDIANS.



IF the Indians hated the whites who encroached upon their hunting-grounds, the feeling was reciprocated on the part of many of the pioneer settlers. From the first settlement of the country, the whites, especially those of English origin or descent, who have come in contact with the Indians, have, with some notable exceptions, regarded them with dislike mingled with contempt, and very many have entertained feelings of hatred towards the whole race. So long as they were peaceful and friendly they were tolerated; but when they resorted to hostilities they were looked upon, not as civilized foes are regarded, but as if they were dangerous wild beasts, and they were often pursued with a vindictiveness equal to that of the savages themselves. It was natural that those who had experienced the terrors of Indian warfare, and had measured the courage of the savage warrior, should entertain such sentiments; nor is it strange that those to whom the deeds of Indian treachery and cruelty were familiar tales should share the feeling to some extent. To such sentiments are due many of the wrongs which have been inflicted on the red men, and which have provoked them to hostilities.

The common opinion among the whites regarding the natives, even when peaceable and friendly, is indicated in Colonel John May's journal of a trading journey to the West in 1789. He was a native of eastern Massachusetts, and had previously seen only the remnants of the almost

extinct tribes of that part of the country. Alluding to the Indians he saw at Pittsburg, he wrote: "Many of them are often over in Pittsburg. I cannot say I am fond of them, for they are frightfully ugly, and a pack of thieves and beggars. One of their chiefs died day before yesterday, and another, as I learn, is just *going to his black master*." The idea that they were children of Satan had not then passed out of the popular mind; nor, indeed, has it yet among some of the people on the frontiers.

A remarkable instance of vindictiveness on the part of a frontier settler towards the Indians is related in Hall's Romance of Western History. It exhibits an implacable hatred and desire for revenge in the breast of a man who otherwise was of kindly feeling, respected by his neighbors, and elected to civil office in the county where he lived. John Mordock was the son of a woman who had been married several times, and as often made a widow by the tomahawk of the savage. After the death of her last husband she joined a party of emigrants at Vincennes with her children to seek a new home in Illinois. They went in boats down the Ohio and up the Mississippi, and had reached the "Grand Tower" in the latter river, when it became necessary to land and drag the boats around a rocky point. Here a band of Indians attacked and murdered nearly the whole party, Mrs. Mordock and all her children, except her eldest son, John, who was with another party, being among the victims. John had just arrived at manhood, and being thus left alone, the sole survivor of his family, he was filled with a desire to be revenged, and he solemnly resolved to gratify it. Engrossed with his purpose, he proceeded to execute it with great caution and deliberation, and became a skilful hunter that he might the better succeed. He ascertained that the massacre had been perpetrated by a band of outlaw Indians of various tribes, and for more than a year he watched their movements, waiting for an opportunity to accomplish his purpose. At last, learning that they were hunting on the Missouri side of the river nearly opposite the new settlement where he dwelt, he raised a party of young men, who were eager enough to aid him, and started in pursuit of his enemies; but they escaped. Shortly afterwards he discovered that they were on an island in the river, whither they had retired to encamp for the night. With a party of his friends, who

were equally bent on vengeance, he went to the island during the night, and there turning their boats and the Indian canoes adrift, the young men determined to exterminate the savage band or sacrifice their own lives. Stealthily approaching the camp of the Indians, who had no suspicion of danger, they discharged a volley which at once nearly accomplished their purpose. Three only of the Indians escaped, and in the darkness eluded their pursuers; and not one of the whites was injured. Mordock, however, was not satisfied while one of the murderers of his family remained; but he patiently bided his time. He learned their names and their haunts, and secretly pursued them until they successively fell under his hand. His vow of revenge was fulfilled, but he continued the implacable foe of all Indians, and was never disposed to spare one if he could kill him.

This is unquestionably an extreme case of persistent vindictiveness on the part of a white, but it illustrates a sentiment entertained by a very large number, and a passion which has moved many to similar purposes less resolutely accomplished.

ACROSS THE PLAINS TO SANTA FE.



SANTA FE, in New Mexico, was settled at an early period after the conquest of Mexico by Cortez, by Spaniards who were in search of gold, accompanied by priests who sought to convert the natives and subject them to the dominion of the Church. The natives of that region were among the most advanced in civilization of the aborigines of Mexico, and the Spaniards found little difficulty in establishing themselves there, and bringing the neighboring *pueblos*, or Indian towns, under the nominal control of priests and military rulers. By intermarriage a race of mixed blood in course of time composed a considerable portion of the inhabitants of New Mexico; and when, more than two centuries afterwards, American emigration crossed the Mississippi, and adventurous traders found their way to the ancient Spanish settlement, the mixed race and quasi civilized Indians greatly outnumbered those of pure Spanish descent.

As early as 1805 two or three adventurers from the western settlements had found their way, singly, by the aid of Indians, to Santa Fe, where they remained, and by their enterprise among a people who lacked that virtue, grew rich. In 1806 Captain Pike, an army officer, was sent with a small party on an exploring expedition into the country which was then a recent acquisition of the United States. He ascended the Arkansas with instructions to seek the sources of Red River, but passed beyond and crossed the mountains in winter, and

after great hardship and peril reached the valley of the Rio del Norte, which he mistook for the Red River. Supposing that he was within the territory purchased by the United States, he erected a small fort and awaited the coming of spring to descend the river. He was, however, on Mexican territory, and his position being discovered by the Spanish authorities, under a pretence of furnishing him horses and an escort to the United States, he and his party were conducted to Santa Fe, and then sent as prisoners to Chihuahua, whence, after the seizure of the captain's papers, they were sent, still as prisoners, to the borders of the United States.

The accounts which Captain Pike brought of the country of New Mexico led some of the western traders, who seemed ever desirous of seeking some new field for their enterprise, to look in that direction. It was not till the year 1812, however, that an attempt was made to open a trade with that country. Then several traders undertook an expedition to Santa Fe with a quantity of goods on pack-horses and mules, and reached that place in safety after a rather circuitous journey. But then their good luck ended, and their hopes of profit were speedily crushed. Spain had for a time succeeded in suppressing the attempt of the Mexicans to throw off her yoke, and the Spanish officers regarded all Americans with jealousy and suspicion. The unfortunate traders were summarily arrested as spies, their goods were confiscated, and they were sent to Chihuahua, where they were imprisoned for nine years, and were released only after the final success of the revolutionists.

In the year 1822, the restrictions imposed by the Spaniards having been abolished by the new Mexican government, a regular trade was commenced between the frontier settlements of the United States and Santa Fe. At first the traders went in small companies, carrying their goods on pack-horses and mules. They followed a more direct course across the plains than that taken by Captain Pike, and in consequence some of them suffered for want of water. One company under a Captain Bicknell were driven by their sufferings to the vain expedient of killing their dogs and cutting off the ears of their mules, that they might assuage their thirst with the blood. But this only increased their torment; and having searched in all directions in vain for water, they

were ready to give up in utter helplessness and despair, when a buffalo fresh from some water-course made his appearance. He was immediately killed, and the nauseous contents of his stomach were drunk with avidity. Thus refreshed, some of the strongest men were enabled to reach the River Cimarron, to which they were nearer than they supposed, and to carry back the water which was so much needed, and which enabled the party in a few days to proceed on their journey.

Gradually these trading expeditions increased in number and frequency, and wagons were introduced in order to carry larger quantities of goods. At first, no trouble was experienced from the Indians; but as the trade increased, they manifested a disposition to rob the traders and even to murder parties which were too small or too poorly provided with arms to defend themselves. The traders, however, were themselves not blameless, for among them were many men who were bitter enemies of all red men, and their indiscreet readiness to shoot an Indian upon the slightest provocation, and even without cause, led to a constant state of hostilities on the plains. For their own protection the traders accordingly united and formed large caravans governed by rules of a military character. Though the Indians sometimes made a sudden attack, when the caravans encamped, for the purpose of "stampeding" the horses and cattle, they seldom showed a disposition to fight where there were evidently numbers and preparation to meet them. If, however, they found any stragglers or small parties separated from the large caravans, they indulged their murderous propensities. So troublesome did they become that the government stationed a small military force on the farthest frontier of Arkansas, detachments of which sometimes accompanied the caravans through the region most infested by the savages.

Such were the first and for many years the only white travellers across the plains; but after Colonel Fremont had found a way over the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada to California, and the successful issue of the war with Mexico resulted in the annexation of a large extent of territory, including New Mexico, Utah, and California, the ever restless tide of emigration flowed to these new fields for settlement, and numerous companies of emigrants, large and small, ventured on the difficult and perilous journey.

These emigrants came from all parts of the United States, though

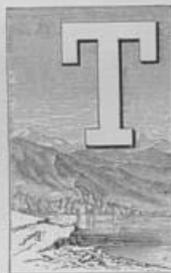
the western states furnished the larger number. Purchasing their outfit of teams in some frontier town, and loading their wagons with a few articles of furniture and provisions, among which the women and children found space for shelter and rest, they set out on the long and laborious journey. The novelty of the expedition at first made it a pleasant excursion; the route across the flowery prairie and belts of wood, the noonday rest, the camp at night in some pleasant spot near a stream, where the cattle or mules could find good pasturage, and the evening meal was cooked and partaken of with sharpened appetites, to many of the emigrants were new experiences which made them forget the toil and hardship and dangers which were before them for many weary weeks. When they had left the frontier settlements far behind, and reached a less fertile region where it was difficult to find water, the toil and tediousness of the journey increased; and the danger increased too, for they had now reached a region where bands of Camanches and other hostile Indians were accustomed to traverse the plains on their fleet ponies, and were disposed to dispute the passage of all but the most formidable parties.

Then came anxious nights in their exposed camps. The wagons were their tents, and afforded ample shelter for those who slept; and to pitch their camp for the night it was only necessary to drive the teams around in a circle, if sufficient in number, till the first and last wagon were brought together, and the whole thus formed a defence for the company and a corral within which the cattle and mules were confined. Sentinels were then posted to guard against the stealthy approach of plundering scouts, or surprise by a more formidable party of savages. A camp thus formed and guarded was generally secure. If the caravan was small, the wagons were usually disposed in some manner for the protection of the emigrants, while the animals were tethered to prevent them from straying away or being easily stampeded by the Indians, and a constant watch was necessary for the safety of both camp and animals.

But sometimes the weary emigrants were not sufficiently watchful, and morning would find them robbed of their cattle and mules, and they would be left helpless on the plains, at the mercy of any band of savages, or awaiting the uncertain coming of some other company

of emigrants to help them forward on their way. Sometimes, too, the Indian scouts would hover around the camp, and taking account of the number of wagons and the strength of the company, would hurry away to inform their comrades. In the morning, when the little caravan was fairly on its way, hoping to make a good day's journey, a mounted Indian would be espied in the distance; then another and another would quickly appear, till a formidable party of mounted warriors would come dashing madly over the uneven plain and fall upon the train before it could be concentrated or the men could be fairly prepared to defend themselves and their wives and children. The emigrants in such cases were fortunate if by a well-directed fire they could check the swift onslaught; but too often the resistance would be overcome, and the whole company would be massacred, or greatly weakened by the fall of some of its brave defenders and the slaughter or capture of its cattle and horses. Some parties of emigrants who thus encountered the Indians were never heard of more; but their bleaching bones and the half-burnt remnants of their wagons told to subsequent travellers the story of their sad fate.

THE MORMONS AND UTAH.

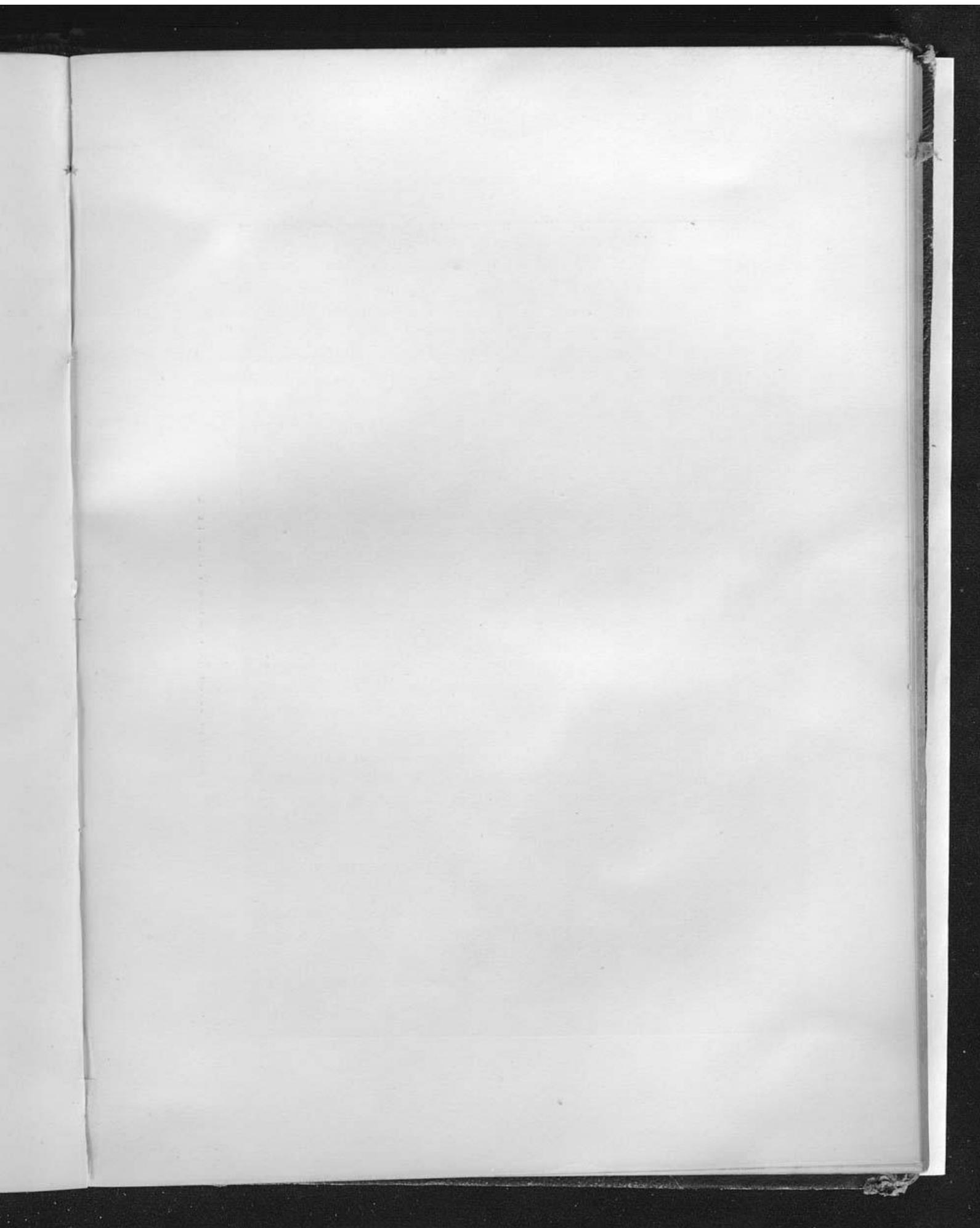


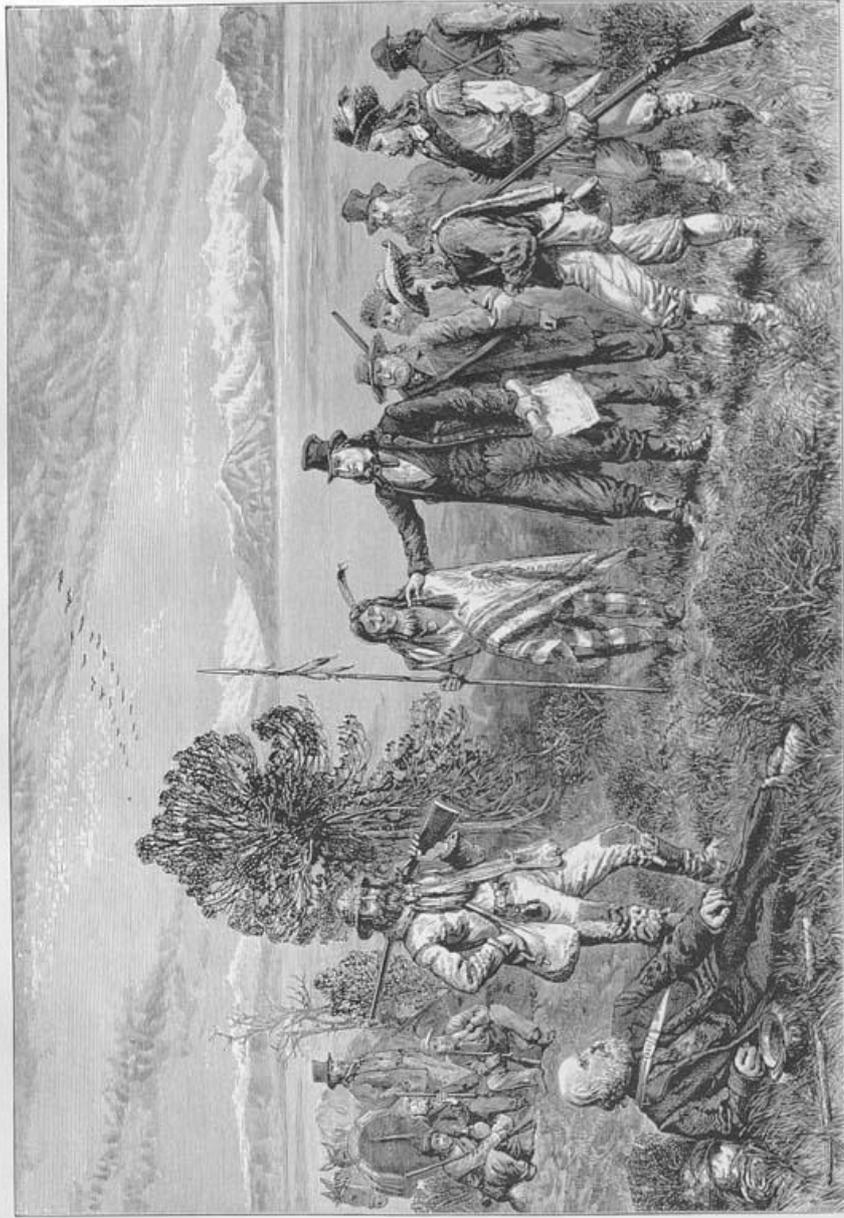
THE most remarkable emigration across the plains and over the Rocky Mountains was that of the great body of Mormons in 1848, who, being driven from Illinois by the scandalous conduct and crimes of their leaders, sought a refuge far beyond the existing bounds of civilization, where they could unhindered build up their hierarchy, and, as the deluded followers of the false prophets believed, in time extend it over the whole country. The Mormons are a sect founded by Joseph Smith, an ignorant impostor, shrewd, avaricious, unscrupulous, who began by pretending to have received in a supernatural manner the book of Mormon, which purported to be sacred Jewish writings, but was a clumsy imitation of the common English translation of the Bible, and followed up this fraud by pretending to be a prophet, and to receive revelations from the Deity. He succeeded in deceiving many ignorant persons, and was joined by some intelligent men from motives of questionable honesty. He first established himself in Ohio, but after a time was obliged to fly from numerous creditors, whom, with one of his associates, he had defrauded. With his followers he next settled in Missouri, where he was joined by a large number of Mormons. They soon quarrelled with the people of the neighboring settlements, who charged them with various crimes, and were driven successively from two counties.

At this time some of Smith's followers deserted him, and accused

him of gross crimes, by which the hostility of the opponents of Mormonism was aggravated, and a state of civil war existed in which several persons were killed on each side. The Mormon leaders were fanatical and defiant; they armed their followers, and their conduct was so rebellious and treasonable that the state militia were called out, when the Mormons capitulated, and agreed to leave Missouri. They found a welcome in Illinois, where the owner of an extensive tract of land in Carthage County gave Smith a part of it for the purpose of realizing a large sum by the sale of the remainder to his followers. Upon receiving this gift, Smith declared to the Mormons that he had received a revelation commanding them to settle in Carthage County, and to build a city to be named Nauvoo. The believers in the delusion accordingly came to this chosen place by thousands, and Smith as well as his liberal grantor accumulated a large sum by the sale of his lands. Nauvoo grew rapidly, and soon contained several thousand inhabitants, the converts to Mormonism flocking thither from all parts of the country, and even from Europe, whither agents or missionaries had been sent to obtain them. A great temple of singular architecture was built, and also an ample house for Smith and his family and descendants in perpetuity. As if to contrast their liberality with the apparent intolerance of the people of Missouri, the legislature of Illinois granted a charter to the city of Nauvoo with extraordinary privileges, and, under this, Smith and a few of the leaders not only exercised almost unlimited civil power, but organized and commanded a military force called the Nauvoo Legion.

"Revelations" came thick and fast to Smith, strengthening his authority over his deluded followers till he was recognized as God's vicegerent. And this authority he used for the most scandalous and wicked purposes, and those who ventured to oppose and denounce his infamous proceedings were visited with vengeance by a destruction of their property. The other people of Carthage County soon began to realize the true character of the Mormon leaders and their ignorant dupes. Warrants were issued for the arrest of Smith and others concerned in the destruction of property; but Smith defied the officer who attempted to serve the warrants and drove him from the city. The militia were called out to enforce the law, and the Nauvoo





BRIGHAM YOUNG AT THE GREAT SALT LAKE.

Legion was called to arms to resist. To prevent bloodshed the governor of the state personally intervened and persuaded Smith and his brother Hyrum to surrender themselves, assuring them that they should be protected from violence. They were confined in the jail at Carthage, but the governor was unable to keep his pledge, for a mob attacked the jail, overpowered the guards, and shot the offenders against whom the people generally were now greatly incensed. At its next session the legislature repealed the charter of the city of Nauvoo, and many of the Mormons, who had now chosen Brigham Young as their leader, determined to abandon Illinois. A large number, however, remained, and became still more obnoxious to the people of the surrounding country, who at last attacked them with a military force and drove them away.

In 1846 large numbers of Mormons assembled at Council Bluffs, in Iowa, preparatory to emigration across the plains, and agents were sent to explore the country beyond the Rocky Mountains and select a place for settlement. They selected the valley of the Great Salt Lake, and thither Brigham Young and other leaders went the next year to lay out the lands for occupancy. The main body of the Mormons, who had long been preparing for the journey, started for their "land of promise" in the spring of 1848. It was a remarkable exodus. Organized into large companies of men, women, and children, with long trains of wagons and herds of cattle, they stretched across the prairies as far as the eye could reach. They believed that like the Jews of old they were leaving the land of bondage and travelling through wilderness and desert to a new Canaan. With fanatical faith in their dead prophet and his successor and associates they were ready to dare and endure all things in order to establish the kingdom of "Latter Day Saints."

The unwieldy caravan moved by short stages and made slow progress, and it was autumn when, having toiled through the mountain passes, they at last descended into the valley chosen for their future home. There Salt Lake City had already been laid out, with ample reservations both for the church and the leaders, and it at once received a large population, and speedily assumed the appearance of a town by the erection of buildings which afforded shelter, indeed, but were far from ornamental. Large tracts of land were devoted to agriculture, and the following spring saw many fields under cultivation. Mean-

while the Mormon agents were busy in Europe making converts among the poorer and ignorant classes, and in the trail of the first great body of emigrants smaller companies followed year after year. Not a few "Gentiles," as all who were not Mormons were called, were also attracted thither by the favorable reports of the country and the opportunities for trade.

The Mormons, with a view to controlling civil as well as religious affairs, framed a constitution, elected a state government, and applied to Congress for admission to the Union; but Congress refused to recognize the unauthorized proceedings, and established the territory of Utah, which embraced within its limits the country of which the Mormons had taken possession. Brigham Young was appointed governor, but the judges and other territorial officers were "Gentiles" from the states, of whom the Mormons soon became jealous, and were not disposed to submit to their administration of the laws. Polygamy, the lawfulness of which Joseph Smith declared had been "revealed" to him, but which the elders while at Nauvoo had said was not one of the tenets of the Mormon church, was openly practised and proclaimed as lawful for the "Saints." The authority of the Mormon church was placed above that of the civil government, and it was impossible to convict Mormons of offences, or if convicted to punish them, and in disputes between the "Saints" and "Gentiles" the latter could seldom obtain justice. "Gentiles" who were especially obnoxious, and Mormons who apostatized, mysteriously disappeared, or were found murdered in the adjacent country, and it was impossible to bring the assassins to justice. All attempts to do so were frustrated; and at last armed Mormons broke into the court-room and forcibly drove the judge out, and the "Gentile" officers were compelled to abandon their posts and leave the country. Among the Mormons there was a secret organization called the Danites, which was composed of some of the leading and most bigoted members of the Mormon church, who were said to be sworn to avenge the death of the prophet Joseph Smith, and who were the ready instruments of the church in punishing its enemies. By the members of this organization many secret murders were supposed to be committed, and they were the perpetrators of numerous outrages on the "Gentiles" and offending Mormons.

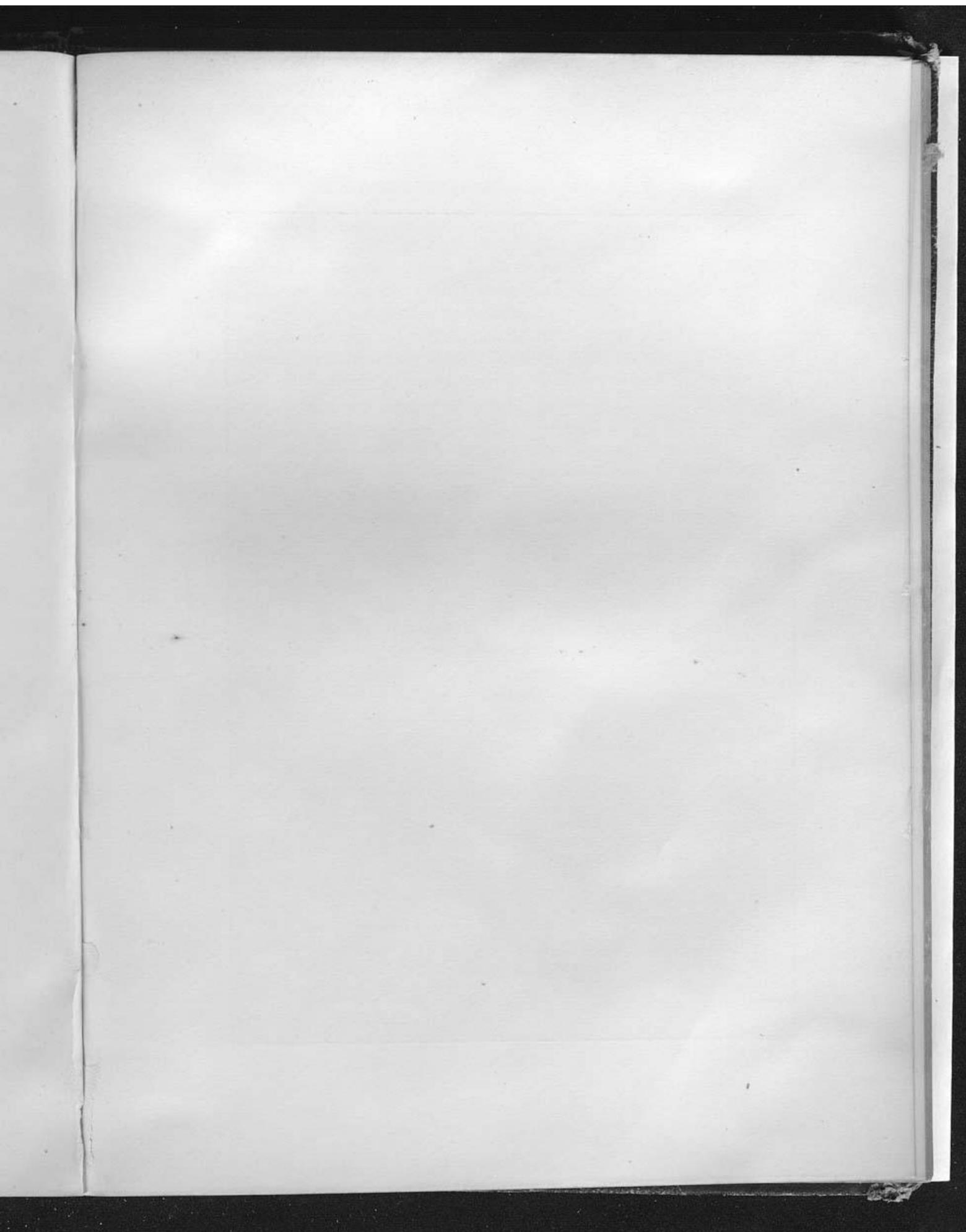
To relate the events which finally led to a state of war between the national government and the Mormons, and to a compromise which tolerated the evils of Mormonism, but did not put an end to dissensions, is not within the scope of this work. One terrible and infamous atrocity, however, which revealed the spirit and character of Mormonism at that time, may be briefly mentioned, though it occurred at a somewhat later period than the first settlement in Utah. This fearful crime is known as the Mountain Meadow Massacre.

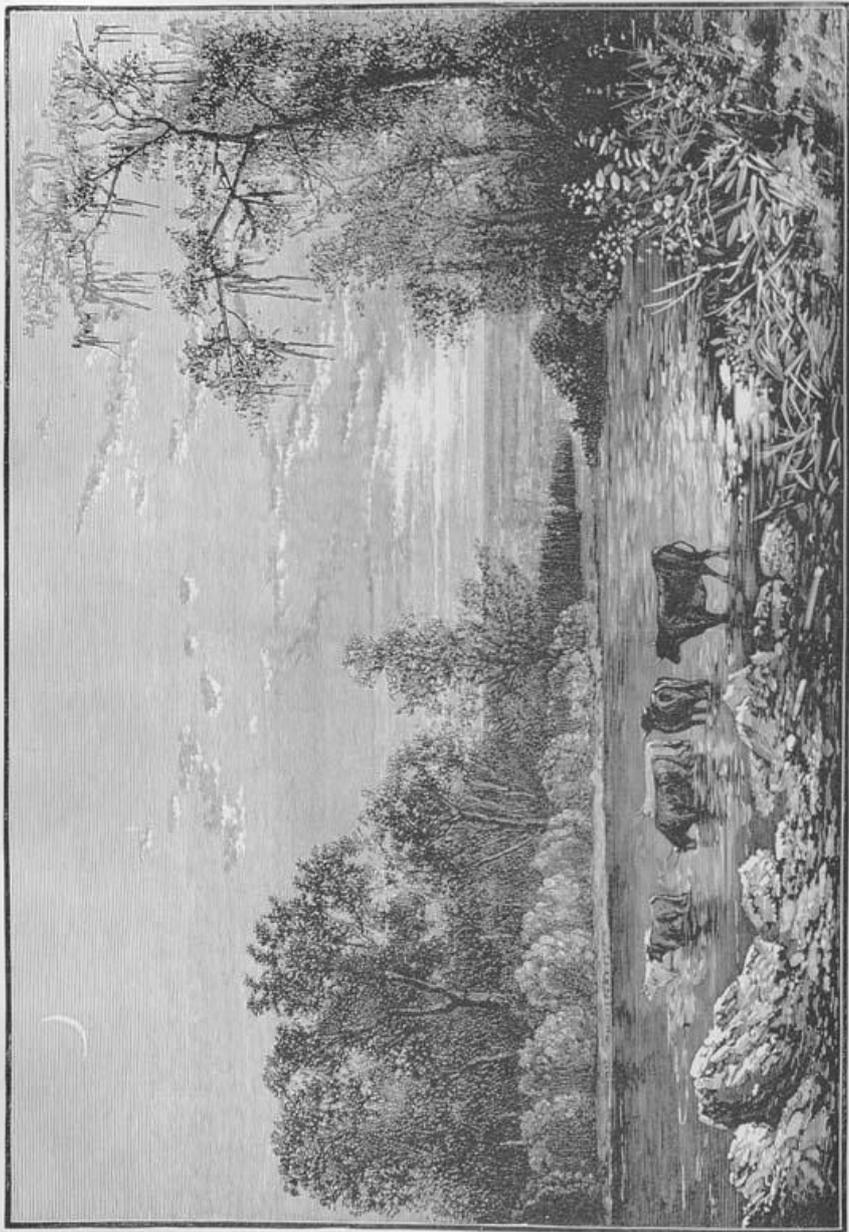
In September, 1857, a party of emigrants from Arkansas and Missouri, numbering one hundred and forty men, women, and children, were passing through the Mormon country on their way to California. While in the neighborhood of a Mormon settlement, to the inhabitants of which they had given no cause of offence, they were suddenly attacked by a party of Indians, or men who appeared to be Indians. Forming a circle with their wagons, after the usual manner in such cases, from behind this barricade the emigrants defended themselves for two or three days, and the assailants were unable to accomplish their apparent purpose of massacre and plunder. Then a Mormon, claiming to be an elder or bishop, sought an interview with them with the pretence of being a mediator between them and the Indians, and promised if they would give up their arms they should proceed without further molestation. Aware of the influence of the Mormons over the neighboring Indians, the emigrants agreed to the proposal, not doubting that it was made in good faith. But as soon as the arms were given up, the Indians commenced firing on the defenceless emigrants, and continued the treacherous and bloody work until all the men and women and the older children were murdered, sparing only a few of the younger children, who were taken by the Mormons to bring up in their faith.

It was with good reason suspected that this treacherous massacre was really the work of the Mormons, and that it was ordered or approved by Brigham Young and the "Apostles" of the Mormon church; that the Indians engaged in it were under the direction of the Mormons, if indeed the latter did not, disguised as Indians, themselves commit the murders; and that the plunder was divided among them. But such was the power of Young and his church that the real facts were at the time suppressed, and the massacre was attributed to the Indians.

Twenty years afterwards, however, when the national authority was better established, John D. Lee, the Mormon "bishop" who was the leader in the atrocious business, was brought to trial for his crime. Then, by his own confession and the evidence adduced, the whole terrible story was made known, and it appeared that if the massacre was not directly ordered by the Mormon hierarchy, some of its principal men were accessories to the crime, and approved if they did not instigate it. Lee maintained that he was not responsible for the infamous act; but as a willing instrument of a superior power he was convicted and suffered capital punishment.

Previous to the foregoing event the caravans across the plains brought constant accessions to the number of Mormons. Their agents in Europe made many converts among the ignorant classes, especially in England and Wales, most of whom, aided by an emigration fund, crossed the ocean and made the long inland journey to the land of the "Latter Day Saints;" and in the United States there were not wanting dupes, waifs, and knaves, who were ready to join a sect which practised polygamy, and promised present prosperity and future salvation on the strength of questionable virtues. The settlements and farms extended far through the valley, and the city grew in size if not greatly in beauty.





SCENE IN TEXAS.

CIII.

AMERICANS IN TEXAS.



IN a former chapter was a brief narrative of the unfortunate colony which La Salle by mistake had planted on the shores of Texas. That country was claimed by the Spaniards as well as the French, and the former soon after effected settlements there in their usual manner, partly ecclesiastical and partly military, the first, founded in 1692, being at San Antonio de Bexar. A few other small posts were established, the limited number of settlers who were not soldiers being priests and dependants, who, without enterprise, were content to live within hearing of a monastery bell, to faithfully attend the ceremonies of the church, and to obtain from the fruitful earth enough for their support. It was the policy of the Spanish government not to encourage emigration to this region, and for a hundred years but little progress was made, and some of the earlier settlements were abandoned. Foreigners were rigidly excluded, and the people of the English colonies were regarded with especial aversion. But after the cession of Louisiana to the United States, Spain adopted a more liberal policy, and not only opened the country to Spanish settlers, but granted a large tract of land to an American, Moses Austin, of Connecticut, on condition that he would settle it with three hundred families. This liberal grant proved in the end fatal to the domination of the Spanish race. The terms of the grant had not been complied with when Mexico achieved her independence; but the grant being confirmed by the new government, Mr. Austin's son succeeded in

planting a colony of three hundred American families on his tract, and in opening the way for additional emigrants. Meanwhile new Spanish settlements were commenced, as indicated by the names of numerous towns and villages. The rich pasturage of the country induced extensive cattle-raising, and farmers found their chief source of wealth in numerous herds, the product of which, with a few other commodities, led to considerable trade with the United States.

The establishment of Austin's settlements was followed by a constant though not large emigration from the United States, and in a few years the American element predominated in Texas. Slaveholders from the southern states emigrated with their slaves; restless and adventurous spirits who desired to be on the farthest limits of civilization went thither; men who had been unfortunate at home sought there a chance to retrieve their losses; and some, to avoid the payment of debts, or to escape punishment for crimes or misdemeanors, fled across the border. These American emigrants carried Anglo-Saxon enterprise with them, and the prosperity of the Texas settlements soon aroused the jealousy of the Mexicans in other parts of the republic. With true Spanish intolerance and fatuity the Mexican government adopted an oppressive policy towards them, which naturally aroused the American spirit of resistance. Finding it impossible to obtain redress, the Texans declared their independence and took up arms to maintain it. They found abundant sympathy in the United States, and volunteers flocked to their assistance from the southern and western states. In 1835, the first year of actual war, they succeeded in driving out the Mexican forces brought against them; but the next year Santa Anna, with an army of eight thousand men, again invaded the revolted state, and, having taken the town of San Antonio, besieged the citadel, known as the Alamo, which was defended by a little garrison of one hundred and forty men. This small force held the fort till nearly all were killed by the storm of shells poured into it, when the overwhelming numbers of the Mexicans carried it by assault, and the survivors of the fight, only seven in number, were killed while begging for quarter. Among the victims of this slaughter were the famous David Crockett and Colonel Bowie, who at the first intimation of the revolt had gone to Texas to lend their services in the cause of its independence.

At the battle of San Jacinto, which followed not long afterwards, the fortunes of war were changed; the Texans were victorious over a superior force of Mexicans, and Santa Anna was himself taken prisoner and compelled to acknowledge the independence of Texas, a concession which cost him his popularity and power. The Mexican congress refused to ratify this recognition of independence, but the disturbed condition of the country prevented any further attempt at subjugation, and the new republic took its place among the nations till it was annexed to the United States.

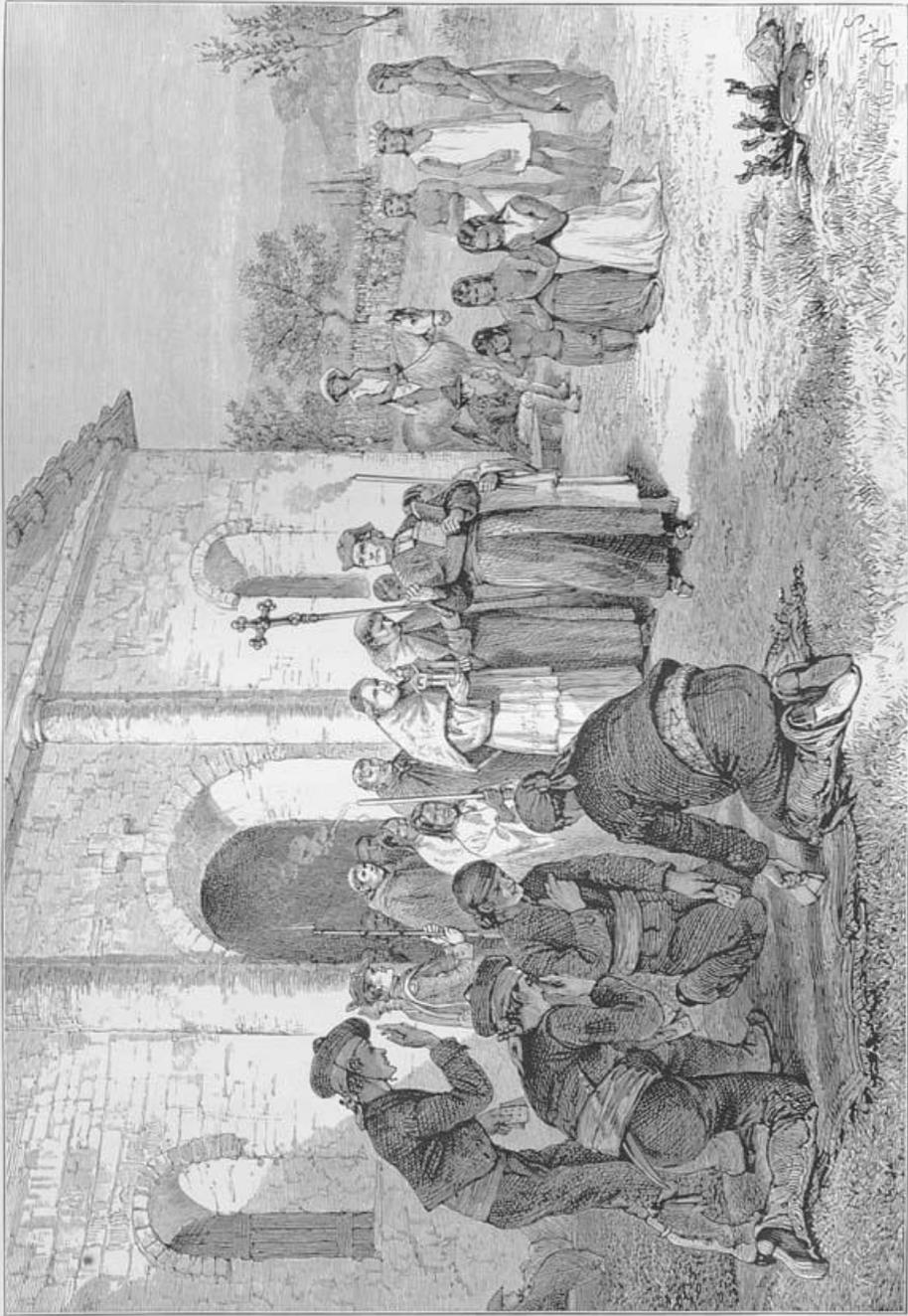
During and after the contest for independence, Texas was known as a refuge for unfortunates and offenders, as well as an attractive region for the enterprising seekers of new homes. "Gone to Texas" became a familiar term, and was derisively applied to traders who, from any cause, closed their shutters, and to all who disappeared from their usual haunts. Texas, however, did not have any great excess of lawless adventurers and offenders over other new countries, and some of those who left the United States under a cloud became prominent and highly esteemed citizens.

SPANISH MISSIONS IN CALIFORNIA.



UPPER CALIFORNIA, the country now included in the state of California, was discovered by Cabrillo, a Spanish mariner, who touched at various points along the coast in 1542, and it was visited by Sir Francis Drake during an expedition in the Pacific in 1579; but for more than two centuries after Cabrillo's discovery no attempt was made to establish a settlement there. In Lower California the Jesuits had maintained missions for nearly a century when the first mission was founded in Upper California, at San Diego, by Franciscan friars, in 1769. In a few years several other similar missions were established, that of San Francisco being commenced in 1776, and before the close of the century there were nearly twenty of these missions along the coast and in the valleys opening to the sea.

The missions were established to propagate the Roman faith among the natives, and were encouraged by the Spanish government for the further purpose of extending the dominions of Spain. The priests by whom they were founded were zealous propagandists, untiring in their efforts to bring the Indians to a reverence for the symbols of religion, and thus to extend their sway over them; and they were no less enterprising in increasing the wealth of their missions. The domain of each mission was measured by leagues, and besides a vast extent of pasturage, in course of time they had fields of grain, orchards, and vineyards, planted by the patient industry of the *padres*, and cultivated by



SPANISH MONASTERY IN CALIFORNIA.



the unwilling labor of indolent natives. There was a constant accumulation of wealth in most of them, in the shape of vast herds of cattle, numerous horses, sheep, and swine, and by a limited trade also in specie and costly ornaments for their churches. In the height of their prosperity, before republican Mexico adopted a policy adverse to their interests, some of the missions owned from fifty to a hundred thousand head of cattle, as many sheep, and thousands of horses and mules, and the zealous *padres* numbered their converts by thousands also.

It was apparently the desire of the priests to occupy the whole country between the coast range and the sea, or at least to exclude as much as possible other settlers, in order that they might more readily convert and control the natives, and devote the wealth of the country to the Church. The government of Spain, however, made some grants to individuals, on condition of their settling a number of families on them, and a few complied with the conditions, though not till some time after the missions had been well established. The Superiors of the missions exercised a mixed civil and ecclesiastical authority over their dependants and converts, and administered justice according to their own ideas rather than by fixed laws, their chief purpose being to maintain the authority of the Church, and to extend it over the natives. Situated at a distance from each other, while they had the same religious purposes, the missions were in some respects jealous of each other, and were rivals in their efforts to secure converts; and in their zeal were not always particular how the converts were brought into their fold.

The structures of the missions, reared by degrees and in the course of years, were mostly similar in style, and consisted of a wall of *adobes*, or unburnt bricks, inclosing a large quadrangle, around the interior of which a roof was constructed on all sides, and the space thus covered was divided into numerous apartments for the accommodation of the priests and their dependants, and domestic animals, and for granaries and storehouses, leaving in the centre an open court-yard. In one angle, or on one side, was the church, a more spacious apartment, which was adorned with poorly executed paintings of sacred subjects, figures of saints, and some costly ornaments for the altar.

Within these structures dwelt the communities of priests and lay

brothers, some of the native converts, a few soldiers, and sometimes other Spaniards who had come to settle on the private grants. Outside, not far away, were the grain-fields, orchards, and vineyards, to which the friars devoted much attention, and cultivated, as already observed, with the labor of their converts. The mild and unwarlike Indians of the coast region were without much difficulty won by the kindness and presents of the priests, impressed by the imposing ceremonies of the Church, baptized, taught the outward observance of religious forms, and perhaps to say an *Ave*. They were also induced to perform labor for a few hours in a day for simple rewards, and sometimes compelled to longer tasks for neglect of religious observances. As the number of converts increased, to each family was allotted a small tract of land on which to erect a dwelling and cultivate their little crops; and thus in time quite extensive villages were formed, and the children of the converts grew up within the pale of the church and under the eye of the *padres*, and were instructed in some of the simple arts of civilized life as well as in a few dogmas of the Church.

Daily the mission bell summoned these natives to the church for matins and vespers, and the frequent holydays of the Roman calendar, with their processions, chants, and ceremonies, were to them a pleasant relief from unattractive tasks. The pious *padres* doubtless found these neophytes more faithful in their attendance at Mass, and much more disposed at least to outward reverence for holy rites and religious ceremonies, than some of their own countrymen, like the lazy soldiers who preferred their game of cards under the shade of the mission walls to joining in the sacred pageantry.

The temporal success of the missions induced the Spanish government to look to Alta California as ultimately a source of revenue. Accordingly the country was divided into several presidencies, to each of which a *commandante* was appointed, who was authorized to exercise civil authority, and had a small force of soldiers to guard against attacks by Indians from the interior, who sometimes manifested a hostile spirit. The residences of these officers, after they had become well established, were called *presidios*, and were similar in construction to the missions, while on some elevated ground near by a stone fort was constructed and garrisoned by the soldiers. With the establishment of

the presidencies more grants were made to private persons, who took large tracts of land, on which, in process of time, they owned large herds of cattle, and cultivated some limited fields. The soldiers were encouraged to take native wives and settle on small tracts of land granted as inducements to such marriages, and some of the larger proprietors and their dependants were not unwilling to choose mates among the converted Indian damsels. From these marriages sprang a race of native Californians who were distinguished chiefly for their ignorance and their horsemanship. The Spaniards also were excellent horsemen, and in no country were there more daring riders or more wonderful feats of horsemanship than among the Californians, whether of pure Spanish or mixed blood.

When Mexico achieved her independence, a large part of the property of the missions was secularized, and they lost their importance and gradually dwindled into insignificance. Their vast possessions were reduced to some scanty fields and vineyards, and the crumbling monastery, where a few poor priests still faithfully performed their religious rites and mourned the lost prosperity of their house. They no longer controlled the native converts as of old, many of whom returned to their nomadic habits and became horse-thieves; and though the people who occupied the adjacent country, whether of Spanish, mixed, or Indian lineage, were Roman Catholics, the mission with its masses and ceremonies was no longer the centre of authority and attraction.

CV.

OVER THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS TO CALIFORNIA.



GENERAL JOHN C. FREMONT may justly be called the real pioneer of a new emigration to California. Ambitious to explore the vast territory between the frontier settlements of Missouri and the Pacific Ocean, he first planned an exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains, and with the rank of lieutenant in the army, and with one or two scientific associates, and a small party of Canadian and American frontiersmen, in 1842 he made his first memorable journey, raised the American flag on one of the highest peaks of those mountains, and added much to the scanty knowledge of the geography of that region. What he had accomplished inspired him with an ardent desire to extend his explorations, and his enthusiasm, together with the substantial achievements of his first expedition, obtained for him permission in the shape of orders from the government to make a second expedition, which should extend to the Columbia River, in Oregon.

Captains Lewis and Clark, in 1804-6, soon after the cession of Louisiana, had commanded an exploring expedition sent out by the government, and ascending the Missouri had crossed the Rocky Mountains, reached the Columbia River, and descended it in canoes to its mouth. They were gone upwards of two years, experiencing great hardships, and meeting with adventures the accounts of which attracted universal attention. Though they contributed much to a knowledge of a portion of the vast territory which had come into the possession of the United



FREMONT ON THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.



States, the expedition was followed by no immediate practical results. Some adventurous fur-traders had already found their way by a different route across the mountains to Oregon, and Major Long, in 1819-20, had conducted an expedition to the Rocky Mountains; but Fremont was to explore and fix accurately the trail to Oregon, and obtain a better knowledge of the intervening country. With a somewhat larger number of men he set out on his second expedition, in May, 1843; but he had not proceeded far on his way when orders came to St. Louis to stop him, on the ground that he was going with a military equipment, including a mountain howitzer, which did not comport with the scientific character of the expedition. These orders were opened by Mrs. Fremont (the daughter of Colonel Benton), and were withheld by her from her husband, whose achievements were thus saved from being nipped in the bud, and his fame as an explorer secured. The Great Salt Lake was visited and explored, and the expedition being continued, the Columbia River was reached in November. After resting from the fatigue of the long and difficult journey, and obtaining all the information he could concerning the geography of the region west of the Rocky Mountains, which was at best meagre and mythical, he set out on his return, intending not to retrace his steps, but to explore this unknown region and find a new passage home. Winter was already at hand, and the perils and hardships of such a journey were imminent; but Fremont expected to reach one of the several rivers which were then supposed to flow from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, and in its sheltered valley, where an abundance of wood and game would enable the party to pass the winter comfortably, and their horses could be supplied with grass, to await another spring. But the rivers proved to be myths, and the party were subjected to the severest hardships as they traversed the Great Basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada. Finding at last by his observations that he was in the latitude of the bay of San Francisco, and distant from it in a direct line apparently not many days' journey, he proposed to go thither. But it was mid-winter, and the Sierra Nevada intervened between him and the proposed goal. The mountains were covered with snow, and the Indians, declaring that they were impassable in winter, could not be prevailed upon by any offer of rewards to act as guides. Fremont, therefore, although his party

was suffering from cold and exposure, determined to attempt the journey without a guide. For more than a month the party toiled through the deep snows, up and down the mountain sides and along the perilous cliffs, with scanty rations and suffering from cold, till men and animals were worn to skeletons. At last they descended the western slope of the range, reached the Sacramento River, and in its verdant valley found a hospitable welcome at Captain Sutter's ranch.

After recruiting the strength of his men and animals, Fremont set out upon his return, taking a more southern route, and skirting the Great Basin till he reached the Great Salt Lake again. On this journey he was more troubled by the Digger Indians than by the difficulties of the way, though these were not small. These savages manifested an unfriendly disposition, though their arms consisted only of bows and arrows, and one of the best men of the party was waylaid and murdered by them while he was in search of a lost mule. By frequent observations, and diverging from his course to visit prominent and remarkable objects throughout his long journeys, both outward and homeward, he contributed very much to a knowledge of the vast region he had traversed, and won distinction as an explorer, while his explorations proved of immense practical and immediate value to the country in the events which followed.

In 1845 Fremont set out on a third expedition, the chief purposes of which were a more thorough examination of a route to the Pacific, and an exploration of the Great Basin. While these objects were in a measure accomplished, the expedition resulted in bringing California under the flag of the United States. In this expedition, carefully noting the position of all prominent points, Fremont pursued a route not very difficult till at the beginning of winter his whole force, which had been divided while crossing the basin, again united at the foot of the Sierra Nevada. Here the party were short of provisions, and it was considered too perilous an undertaking for them to attempt to cross the mountains, already covered with snow, with all the animals and *materiel* of the expedition. The main body was therefore sent by a more circuitous route, which Fremont travelled on his homeward journey the year previous, to lower mountain passes farther south, and into the valley of the San Joaquin, while the commander himself with a few men crossed the moun-

tains and pushed forward to the Sacramento Valley to obtain supplies. This difficult journey was successfully accomplished before the increasing snow rendered it impossible; the supplies were obtained, and Fremont proceeded to join the main body of his little command at the appointed rendezvous. On the way he had a brisk encounter with some hostile Indians, and entered a rugged, mountainous region, amid the snows of which he lost the cattle procured for supplies, and from which he with difficulty extricated himself.

Having descended into the valley of the San Joaquin, Fremont left his party in camp, where they found a pleasant relief from the rigors of winter in the mountains, and proceeded alone to Monterey and obtained from the authorities permission to purchase supplies and continue his explorations. He had scarcely started, however, on his return to camp when he was intercepted by a party of cavalry and ordered forthwith to leave the country with his men. Without supplies the party were in no condition to return to the barren and inhospitable region from which they had just escaped, and Fremont refused to comply with the order. He withdrew to a commanding position, where he threw up a fortification of logs and earth, hoisted the American flag, and watched the movements of the Mexican commander as he apparently made preparations for an assault. Intending no wrong or insult to the Mexicans, he and his men were resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity in case of an unprovoked attack. The expedition, however, was set on foot in the interest of science and peaceful enterprise, and Fremont, conscious of the rectitude of his conduct, was unwilling to maintain a hostile attitude and thus to compromise his government; he therefore abandoned his stronghold and went north, to pursue his explorations in Oregon. He was within the borders of that territory, in the high region of the Klamath lakes, when he was overtaken by a messenger from the government with some immaterial written despatches and a more important verbal communication directing him to conciliate the people of California, and to counteract the schemes of any foreign power to obtain possession of the country. Under these orders he retraced his steps to California, having a sharp fight with Indians on the journey, and losing several men.

There was at this time a considerable number of Americans in

California, most of whom were in Monterey, or Mazatlan, for commercial purposes, while a few had taken lands and settled in the valley of the Sacramento. When Fremont again arrived there, in May, 1846, he found the country in a state of commotion, and he was soon informed that there was a movement on foot to place it under the protection of the English, who had a large squadron on the coast ready to take advantage of the expected war between the United States and Mexico. The Americans in the valley had been threatened, and were fearful of massacre by the Indians, who had been incited against them, and they implored Fremont to protect them. The Mexican general, Castro, was advancing to drive him again from the country. There was no time to lose. Though war had already commenced, the fact was unknown in California, and for United States troops to begin hostilities under such circumstances might seriously compromise their government. But Fremont's orders were to prevent a foreign protectorate, and to obey these he resolved to maintain his position in the country; he accordingly attacked the Mexican forces and defeated them in several engagements. He then raised the standard of independence, to which the Americans and some of the native Californians flocked, and in a short time the Mexican forces were driven from the northern part of the country. Meanwhile the American squadron arrived at Monterey, and the commodore, hearing of Fremont's achievements, took possession of the town and raised the American flag over it just in time to prevent the British admiral from doing the same thing. The combined forces of Fremont and Commodore Stockton soon after pursued the remaining Mexican troops, who were defeated and driven from Alta California. These achievements were well-nigh accomplished before the existence of hostilities between the United States and Mexico was known in California; but they were in the end justified by the actual state of war between the two countries and the importance of the interests at stake. By them and the subsequent treaty of peace California was secured to the United States, and was opened to a new immigration.

THE NEW SETTLEMENT OF CALIFORNIA.



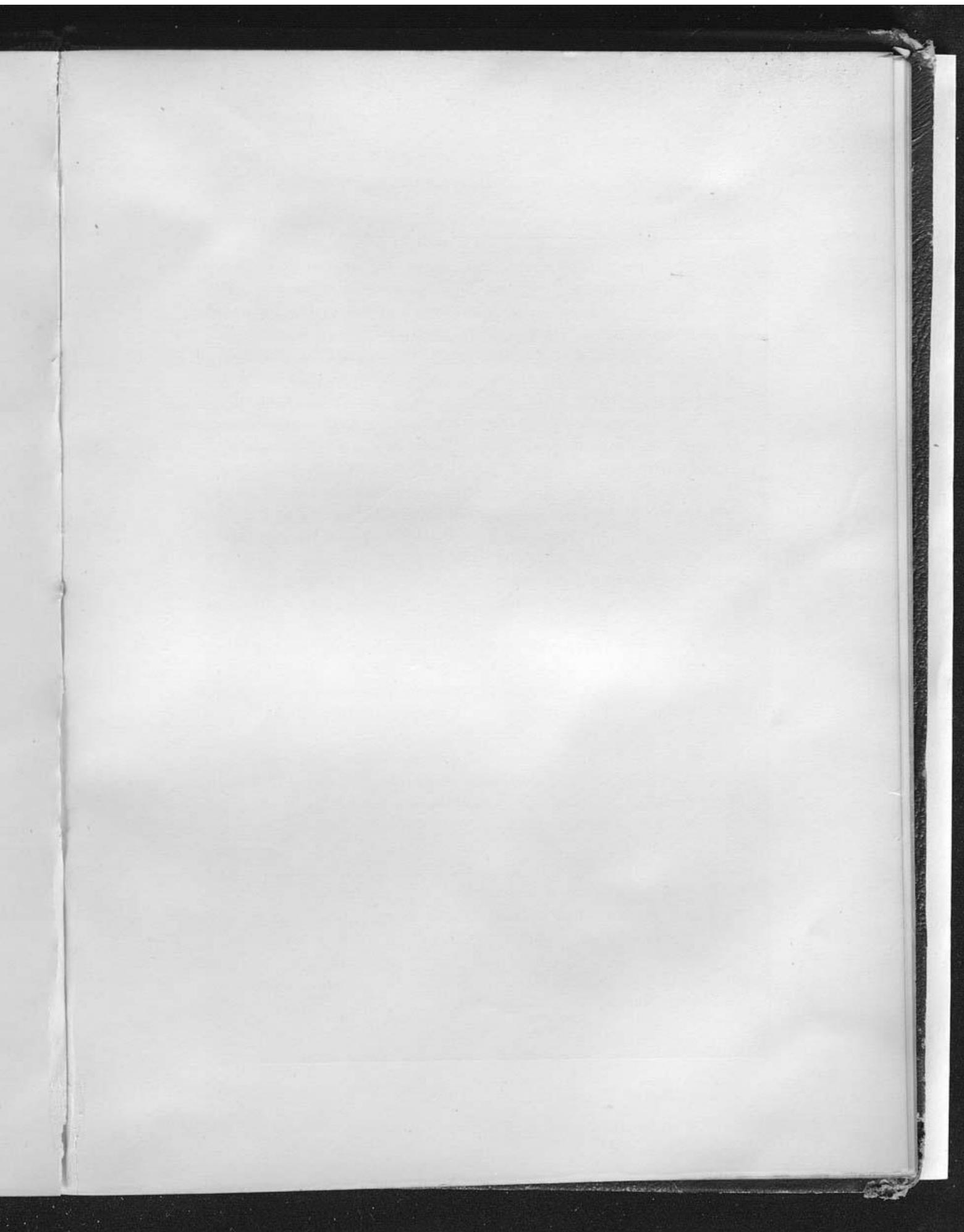
JOHN A. SUTTER, a native of Switzerland, and formerly an officer of the Swiss Guards of Charles X. of France, came to the United States in 1833 and settled in Missouri, where he remained till 1839, and then made the long and difficult journey across the plains and mountains to Oregon. Thence he went to the Sandwich Islands, and finally to California, where he obtained the liberal grant of forty square miles of land in the Sacramento Valley. His disposition to rove was now satisfied, and he established himself on this princely domain. With the aid of a few foreigners and the neighboring Indians, whom he conciliated by kindness and taught to labor, he built a spacious dwelling after the original California style, which was dignified with the name and had something of the character of a fort. Here he lived most of the time alone, except for the company of his Indian retainers, who occupied burrows and huts in his neighborhood, and who labored in his fields and acted as herdsmen of his cattle. His fields yielded an abundance to supply the wants of his establishment and his native dependants, and his cattle multiplied so that, when Fremont first enjoyed his hospitality and obtained from him supplies, he was a wealthy proprietor of the old Californian type.

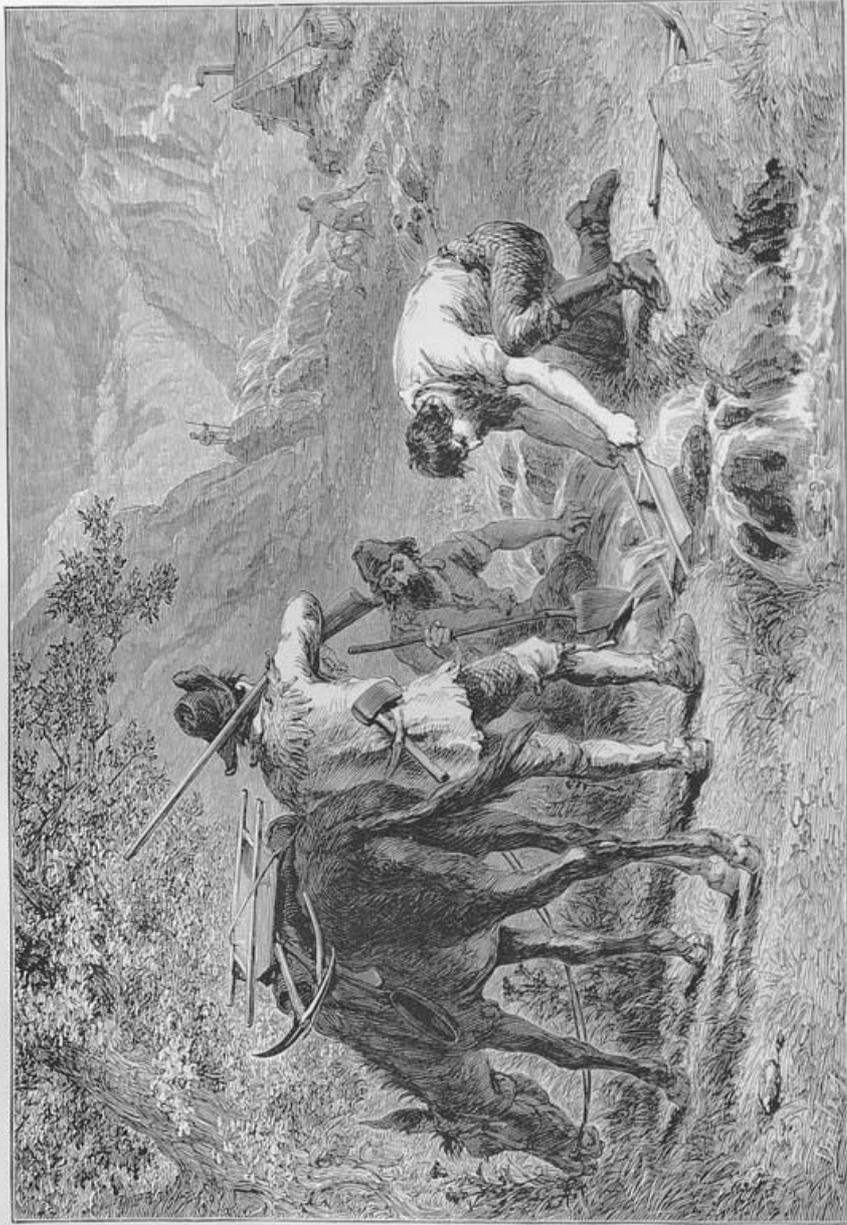
In 1848 Mr. Sutter built a saw-mill on the south fork of the American River. Two Americans who were employed in this work, in order to hasten the excavation of the race, turned a powerful current of

water through it, and when the sand thus washed out was exposed by the subsidence of the water, it was seen to contain numerous shining particles, some of which were collected, and appeared to be gold. Further examinations developed the fact that the valley was rich in these deposits, and upon being examined by competent judges they were pronounced to be really gold.

At first the reported discovery of gold was received with incredulity by the people in the towns along the coast; but when the news was confirmed by an exhibition of some of the precious metal from the "placer," the excitement was intense, and all who could hastened to share in the spoil. The Rev. Walter Colton, a chaplain in the United States navy, at that time held the office of *alcalde*, or mayor, of Monterey, having been elected by the people of the town some time after its capture by the American squadron. In his journal of "Three Years in California" he gives an amusing account of the reception of the news of the discovery and its effects on the population. "A straggler," he says, "came in from the American Fork, bringing a piece of yellow ore weighing an ounce. The young dashed the dirt from their eyes, and the old from their spectacles. One brought a spy-glass, another an iron ladle; some wanted to melt it, others to hammer it, and a few were satisfied with smelling it. All were full of tests; and many, who could not be gratified in making their experiments, declared it a humbug. One lady sent me a huge gold ring, in the hope of reaching the truth by comparison; while a gentleman placed the specimen on the top of his gold-headed cane and held it up, challenging the sharpest eyes to detect a difference. But doubts still hovered on the minds of the great mass. They could not conceive that such a treasure could have lain there so long undiscovered. The idea seemed to convict them of stupidity."

To settle the question of the truth of the reports, the *alcalde* sent a trusty messenger to the American Fork to learn the facts. In a fortnight this man returned with specimens of the gold. "As he drew forth the yellow lumps from his pockets, and passed them around among the eager crowd, the doubts, which had lingered till now, fled. All admitted they were gold, except one old man, who still persisted they were some Yankee invention, got up to reconcile the people to the





GOLD WASHING IN CALIFORNIA.

change of flag. The excitement produced was intense, and many were soon busy in their hasty preparations for a departure to the mines. The family who had kept house for me caught the moving infection. Husband and wife were both packing up; the blacksmith dropped his hammer, the carpenter his plane, the mason his trowel, the farmer his sickle, the baker his loaf, and the tapster his bottle. All were off for the mines; some on horses, some on carts, some on crutches, and one went in a litter. An American woman, who had recently established a boarding-house here, pulled up stakes and was off before her lodgers had even time to pay their bills. Debtors went of course. I have only a community of women left, and a gang of prisoners, with here and there a soldier who will give his captain the slip at the first chance."

This wholesale departure of all sorts of people proved not a little inconvenient and annoying to those who were obliged to remain. Mr. Colton soon had reason to complain that the gold fever had "reached every servant in Monterey; none are to be trusted in their engagement beyond a week, and as for compulsion, it is like attempting to drive fish into a net with the ocean before them. General Mason, Lieutenant Lanman, and myself, form a mess; we have a house and all the table furniture and culinary apparatus requisite; but our servants have run one after another, till we are almost in despair; even Sambo, who we thought would stick by from laziness, if no other cause, ran last night; and this morning, for the fortieth time, we had to take to the kitchen and cook our own breakfast. A general of the United States army, the commander of a man-of-war, and the *alcalde* of Monterey, in a smoking kitchen, grinding coffee, toasting a herring, and peeling onions!"

A few days later the *alcalde* writes: "Another bag of gold from the mines, and another spasm in the community. It was brought down by a sailor from the Yuba River, and contains a hundred and thirty-six ounces. . . . My carpenters at work on the schoolhouse" — it seems American institutions were being already introduced into California — "on seeing it threw down their saws and planes, shouldered their picks, and are off for the Yuba. Three seamen ran from the Warren, forfeiting their four years' pay; and a whole platoon of soldiers from the fort left only their colors behind."

In the course of three months from the first discovery of gold some of the early seekers for the precious ore began to return to the towns with their gains, and Mr. Colton relates a characteristic anecdote which illustrates the lavish manner in which the lucky miners expended their quickly acquired wealth,—an early example of what was very soon a common habit. "My man Bob," says Mr. Colton in his journal, "who is of Irish extraction, and who had been in the mines about two months, returned to Monterey about four weeks since, bringing with him over two thousand dollars as the proceeds of his labor. Bob, while in my employ, required me to pay him every Saturday night in gold, which he put into a little leather bag and sewed into the lining of his coat, after taking out just twelve and a half cents, his weekly allowance for tobacco. But now he took rooms and began to branch out; he had the best horses, the richest viands, and the choicest wines in the place. He never drank himself; but it filled him with delight to brim the sparkling goblet for others. I met Bob to-day and asked him how he got on. 'O, very well,' he replied; 'but I'm off again for the mines.' 'How is that, Bob? You brought down with you over two thousand dollars; I hope you have not spent all that; you used to be very saving; twelve and a half cents a week for tobacco, and the rest you sewed into the lining of your coat.' 'O, yes,' replied Bob, 'and I have got *that* money yet; I worked hard for it, and the de'il can't get it away; but the two thousand dollars came aisily, by good luck, and has gone as aisily as it came.'"

Such was the effect of the discovery of gold on the people of California, native and foreign. The possession of the country by the United States had opened it to immigration, and already many Americans had found their way thither, besides those who were there before the war, and most of them had rushed to the placers at the first announcement of the existence of gold. But when the news of the discovery reached the States and was transmitted over the world, then began a most remarkable immigration and a new settlement of California. Gold-seekers came from Mexico and the western coast of South America when reports of the discovery reached those countries, and among them many lawless adventurers were the first to hasten to the mines. But the discovery awakened the widest interest in the United States, from

which an immense emigration speedily commenced and continued for years.

Great numbers of men from all parts of the country joined the caravans, great and small, which, starting from the West, travelled across the plains and through the mountain passes which Fremont had discovered and described,—making the long and toilsome journey not without frequent hardships and mishaps, and occasional attacks of bands of hostile Indians. The large caravans were too formidable for the savages to venture an attack, but smaller companies, following the trail of the larger, or stragglers who imprudently tarried in the rear, did not always escape. There was no state in the Union, and scarcely a town of any considerable size west of the Alleghanies, that had not its representatives among these travellers across the plains; and many a farm even on the fertile prairies of the West was deserted, and the long and wearisome journey endured, for the alluring prospect of gathering golden scales and nuggets directly from the soil of El Dorado. Toiling over the Sierra Nevada, these immigrants descended into the valleys of California, most of them seeking the placers, where, with shovel, pick and pan, they could wash the glittering ore from the earth; but some, quite as shrewd if not as eager, preferred to gather in the fruits of the miners' labor by a profitable trade in the necessary supplies and the ill-chosen luxuries of the multitude of gold-hunters.

In the Atlantic ports there was a new and universal bustle. The great cities furnished numerous adventurers, who, unsuccessful at home, were ready to try their luck in this new field; and the chances of rapidly acquiring wealth induced many to forsake the slower methods of regular industries for the hardships and the more laborious toil of the miner's life. Men associated in companies and bought or chartered old vessels and new to transport themselves and their outfit by the long voyage around Cape Horn to the land of golden promise. Immense clipper ships were built to engage in the California trade, and were laden with goods for this new and profitable market and with passengers bent on making their fortunes. Lines of steamers were established to run to the Isthmus of Panama, where merchandise and passengers were transported across the land and carried thence in other steamers on the Pacific; and to facilitate travel by this route, which saved a

long and stormy passage around the Horn, a railroad was soon constructed across the isthmus. California was thus connected by a comparatively speedy route with the Atlantic States; but in after years even this was of secondary importance, and seemed wearisomely long when the Atlantic and Pacific were united by a band of iron rails across the continent, and the traveller spent scarcely more than a week between New York and San Francisco.

When Fremont first raised the flag of independence in California, and thus secured its possession to the United States, there was no town and only a few dwellings on the shores of the magnificent Bay of San Francisco. Where the city now stands a dozen adobe houses were all that marked a settlement, and four miles away was the once prosperous Mission of San Francisco. But after the discovery of gold, the numerous ships, which came in ever-increasing numbers, entering the "Golden Gate" found a better harbor than elsewhere on the coast. Here the passengers landed and the ships were unloaded, and while the bay was whitened with sails there sprang up on the land, as if by magic, a multitude of tents and board and canvas houses, where the miners prepared for their future labors, and the traders speedily commenced to dispose of their wares. Thither came the successful gold-hunters to purchase supplies and spend their quickly found treasure, and thither came ships from all quarters of the world with more immigrants and more supplies. More advantageously situated than the old Californian towns for this new commerce, San Francisco, from a collection of tents and shanties, quickly grew to a more permanent and substantial condition, with a population and trade increasing with marvellous rapidity.

But San Francisco was not the only place where miners, traders and adventurers congregated, and with their tents and temporary buildings commenced settlements which soon grew to be populous and thriving towns. Sacramento, Stockton and other places in the gold regions were thus founded, and became centres to which the miners resorted for supplies and "prospectors" for information. Storehouses, refreshment saloons, lodging-houses, gambling-dens, and a few mechanics' shops, all of a primitive construction, formed the beginning of these towns, and the keepers of these establishments comprised the more

permanent population, while a crowd of transient sojourners on their way to or from the "diggings," miners purchasing supplies for their camps, keen speculators watching to secure promising "claims," adventurers in pursuit of nothing definite, and gamblers ready to prey upon the successful gold-hunters, crowded the prospective streets of the embryo cities, creating an ever-increasing demand for goods and accommodations. The wealth of the mines was poured into these towns, and with their rapid growth they assumed a more substantial appearance.

Meanwhile in the valleys of the rivers where gold was first discovered, and of their tributaries, the gold-hunters, singly or in companies, were busy with pick and shovel, cradle and pan, digging and washing the treasure-bearing soil, turning the waters from their natural bed, constructing flumes and various ingenious and inexpensive contrivances to extract the glittering grains from the worthless sand, toiling with an energy, perseverance and patience, that nothing but the hope of finding gold can inspire, and living a rough and perilous life which many of them would endure for no other pursuit. And while these eager gold-hunters were busy in the valleys, more ambitious men were "prospecting" in the mountains for the "leads" from which the deposits in the valleys had come.

The immigration to California was not more remarkable for its numbers than the varied nationality of the immigrants. They came from all parts of the United States and the British provinces, and there was hardly a country of Europe but was represented among them. Mexico, South America, and the Sandwich Islands, furnished their quota; Australia, the gold-fields of which were then undiscovered, sent its adventurers, and China spared large numbers from its dense population. Nor were they of less varied previous pursuits. The merchant, the physician, the lawyer, the professor, the student, the clerk, was there, as well as the farmer, the mechanic, the laborer, the mere adventurer and the idler. A few had come to gratify their curiosity or to investigate for their own or others' advantage, but most of them simply for gain, and all with the hope of speedily realizing at least the beginning of wealth. The outward appearance of their former avocations was left behind with the comforts or luxuries of home and the pleasures of refined society, and all were now alike in the rough garb of laborers, unshaven

and unshorn, bronzed by exposure and soiled with the mud in which they labored, and associating with the rudest fellow-toiler, outwardly at least on equal terms.

It is not surprising that among this large and mixed population there should be many lawless men and some bold criminals. Rough and unscrupulous adventurers would drive weaker and more peaceable parties from their claims, and take possession of the results of their labor. Thieves would sometimes steal the little collection of grains and nuggets which some laborious but not over-careful miner had collected, and villains who preferred robbery to labor would violently seize the treasure of the industrious toiler, and would not hesitate to take his life also; while the Indians, led by Mexican outlaws, would occasionally venture on more general attacks. For their own protection the more orderly and well-disposed miners found it necessary, before a proper local government was established, to form associations in their respective neighborhoods, and organize courts for the trial of offenders. In this way, by the prompt punishment of marauders and the expulsion of the violent and dishonest trespassers upon the rights and possessions of others, offences were diminished and life and property were rendered more secure. Lynch law, indeed, administered with a rough sort of justice, was the most effectual if not the only protection which these communities could then have. Certain unwritten laws were recognized as the rules for the government of the conduct of all in their relations to each other, and the sure execution of the penalty for a violation of them deterred even the reckless and evil-disposed.

The rough gold-diggers could not pursue their heavy labor without some recreation, and when resting about their camp-fires they sometimes told marvellous stories, comic and tragic, or indulged in various rude games. But the amusement which attracted great numbers of them was gambling. This vice seemed a natural outgrowth of the rich results of gold-digging; the treasure quickly acquired must be speedily spent, and the chances of the gaming-table afforded the readiest and most intense excitement to be found at the mines. Some were content occasionally to "stake their pile;" but with others gambling was a passion which often in an hour lost for them the fruits of a week's lucky labor, and they were forced again to content themselves for a

while with digging. Keepers of gaming-tables were found wherever the miners congregated in considerable numbers, and often accumulated their "pile" more rapidly than the luckiest gold-digger.

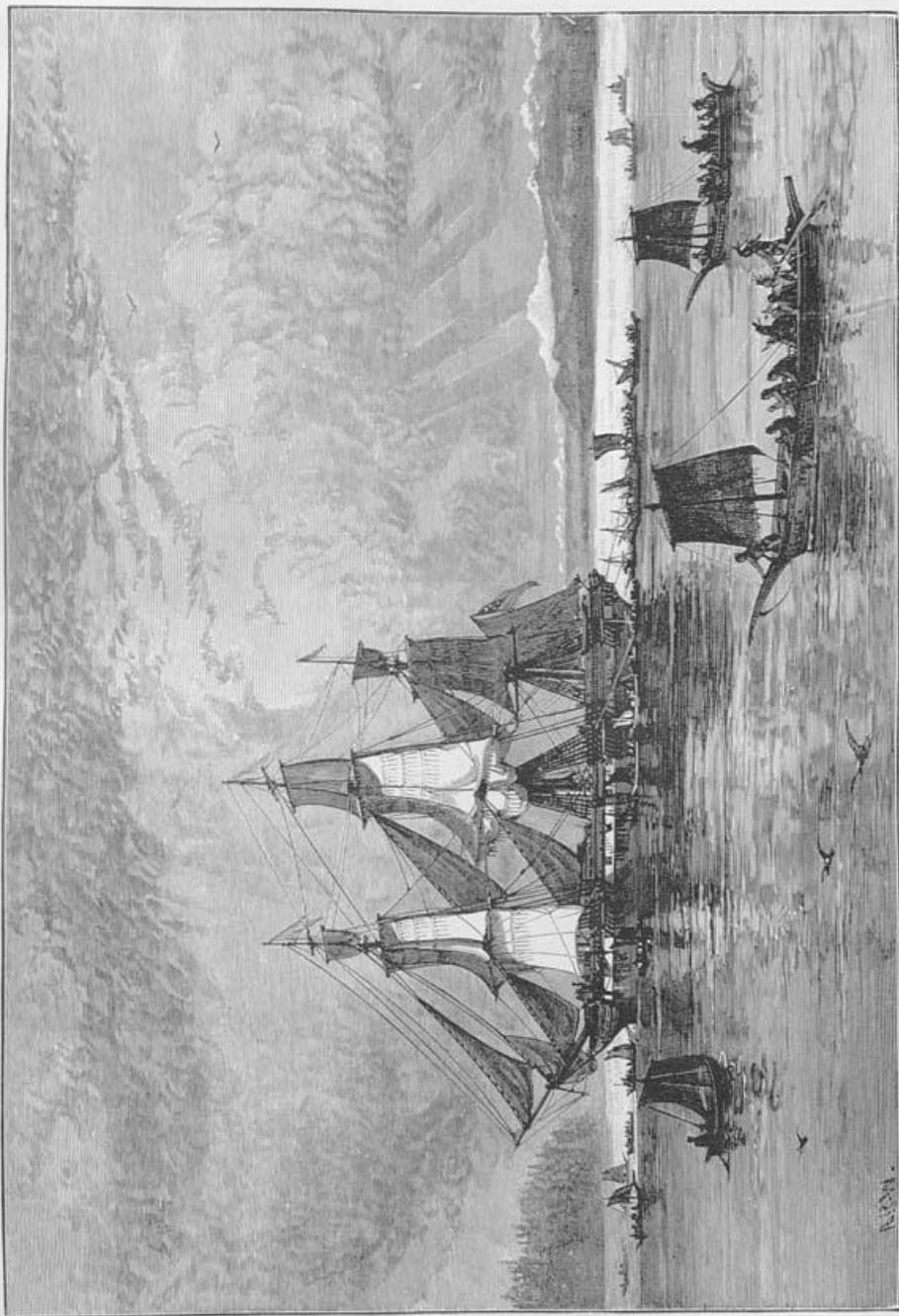
While many of the miners were rough and rather lawless adventurers, who considered themselves in a great measure free from the restraints of civilized communities, the continued immigration into California brought a much larger number of orderly and well-disposed people, who composed a majority of the enterprising inhabitants of the new and growing cities, and of a great part of the gold region. The larger portion of these were from the United States, and were accustomed to the forms of popular government, and it was not long before they took measures to organize a government more in conformity with their habits and political education than the semi-military rule which the conquest of the country had rendered necessary, and to supersede the Mexican laws which were still held to be in force. At first they organized a provisional or territorial government in connection with the governor appointed by Federal authority. They soon afterwards framed a state constitution, and elected a complete republican government and representatives and senators in Congress. In little more than a year from the time of the first rush to the gold region this new government was organized and set in motion; and in 1850, California, no longer an ill-governed, sparsely inhabited Mexican province, was admitted as a state of the Union. The old régime passed away; the native Californians were swallowed up in a vastly greater new population; missions and *presidios* were but the remains of a departed age; the new settlement of the country had produced a change almost as marked as if the immigrants had found it inhabited only by savages, and civilization had then first supplanted barbarism.

THE COLUMBIA RIVER.—OREGON.



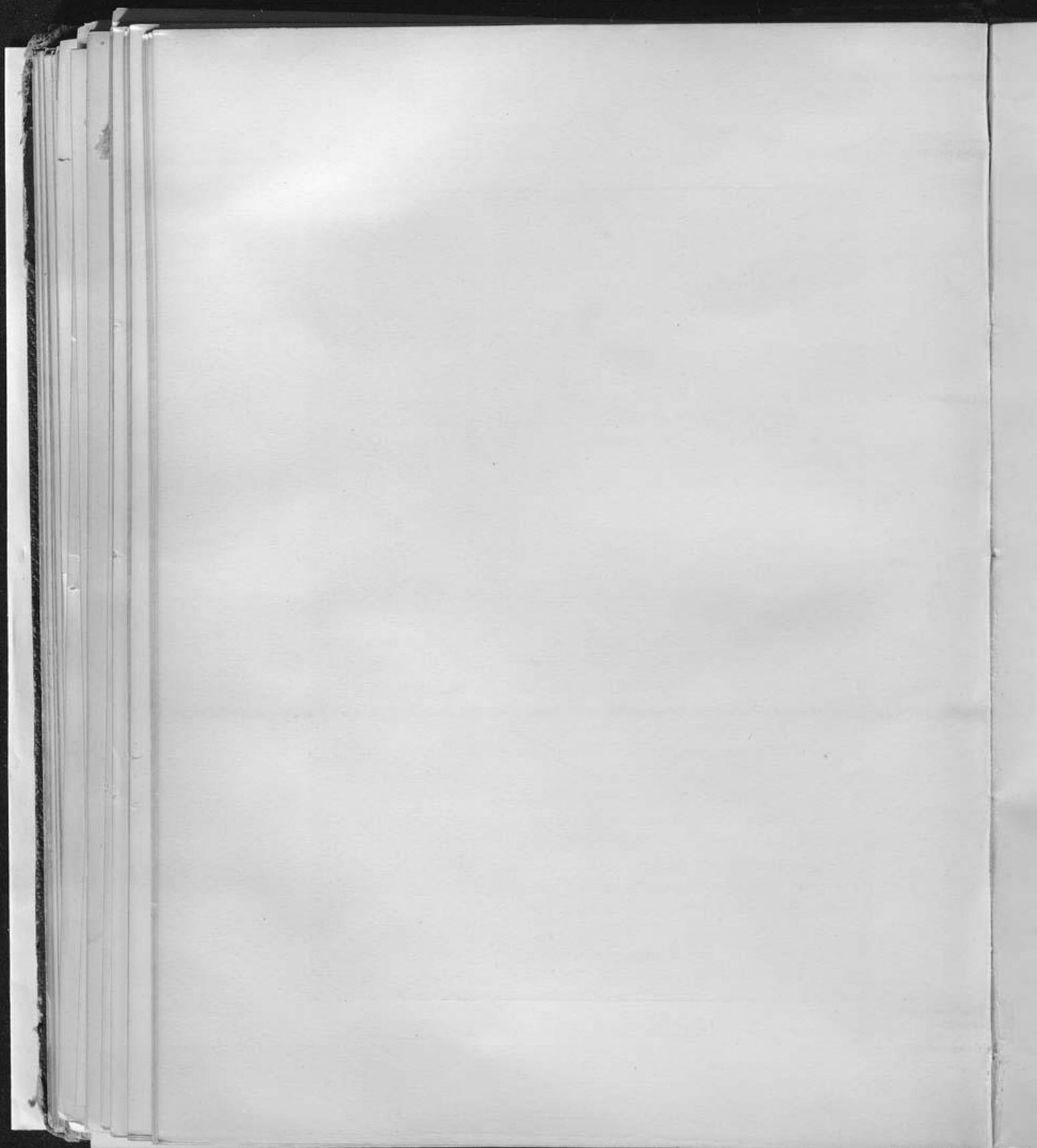
IN the latter part of the eighteenth century American and English ships began to visit the northwest coast of America to trade for furs. They touched at Vancouver's Island, or the islands farther north, of which Russia claimed possession, and having obtained from the Indians a quantity of furs they usually sailed for China, where they found a ready market for them, and obtaining a cargo of teas returned to Europe or America. They went to the high latitudes because a supply of furs could more readily be obtained there, and only touched occasionally at points south of Vancouver's Island. In 1791 Captain Gray, while on one of these trading voyages in the ship *Columbia*, of Boston, discovered the great river of the northwest, but the bar at its mouth and the dangerous breakers deterred him from entering it till the following spring. He then found a safe channel and sailed some distance up the magnificent river, to which he gave the name of his ship.

From the time of its discovery till 1804 the Columbia was seldom visited, and it remained almost as much unknown as before Captain Gray gave it a name. After the acquisition of Louisiana, Lewis and Clark's celebrated expedition was sent out by the United States government in 1804, on the recommendation of President Jefferson. Those enterprising explorers, after encountering great difficulties and dangers, reached the Columbia River and encamped during one winter near its mouth. The report which they made on their return awakened a new



TRADING SHIP ON THE NORTHWEST COAST.

W. B. W.



interest in the great river and the country through which it flowed, which was claimed, though not without dispute, to be within the territory of the United States, and a few companies of enterprising and adventurous fur-traders braved the dangers and hardships of an overland journey to the tributaries of the Columbia, where some of them were murdered by hostile savages. American ships also began to trade at the mouth of the Columbia, though with less success than at points farther north.

In 1809 John Jacob Astor, of New York, who had long been engaged in the fur-trade on the northern frontier, after an unsuccessful attempt to induce the Northwest Fur Company of Canada to join him in establishing a trading-post on the northwest coast, organized the Pacific Fur Company to carry out his purpose. Considerable capital was invested in this enterprise, in which Mr. Astor was the principal partner, and such were the anticipations of its success that there were many eager applicants among the sons of merchants for employment by the Company. The first vessel fitted out by this Company, the *Tonquin*, sailed from New York in 1810, carrying four of the partners, nine clerks, a number of mechanics, and some Canadian *voyageurs*, as the employés in the fur-trade were called by the French; and of course she was laden with a cargo suitable for trade with the Indians. A little earlier the same year another party, consisting of three partners of the company, three clerks and upwards of seventy men, started from St. Louis to make an overland journey to the mouth of the Columbia. After enduring many hardships, and being reduced to the necessity of broiling the leather of their shoes to satisfy their hunger, this party accomplished the long journey, and arrived on the Columbia in 1812, eighteen months after leaving St. Louis.

The *Tonquin* arrived at the mouth of the Columbia in March, a little more than six months after sailing from New York. The weather was rough, but the captain persisted in entering the river, and lost two boats' crews who were sent out to take soundings on the bar, besides nearly losing the vessel itself. The dangerous bar was at last passed, however, and sailing up the river, a site was selected for a chief trading-post about twelve miles from the mouth. There the company was landed with their stores, and a fortified post was erected on a

commanding eminence on the south side of the river, and called Fort Astoria.

After remaining in the Columbia till June, the *Tonquin* sailed for a cruise farther north, Mr. M'Kay, one of the partners, and a clerk, being passengers, for the purpose of trading and becoming acquainted with the Indians in that region. A few days after leaving the Columbia the ship anchored near a large Indian village, where Mr. M'Kay opened a brisk trade with the natives. The captain of the ship, however, was a harsh and overbearing man, little adapted to trade with the Indians, and instead of conciliating them, by his indiscreet harshness towards those who went on board he provoked their hostility. An Indian interpreter who accompanied Mr. M'Kay informed him that the offended savages were meditating mischief, and were in fact laying a plan to capture the ship and murder the crew. But the captain only laughed at the idea of a parcel of thieving savages daring to attack his ship, and took no precautions to prevent it. The Indians remained quiet and apparently friendly for several days, so that the captain's opinion seemed well founded; but the day before the ship was to sail several large canoes came off filled with savages bringing furs as if to trade, and when these had got on board, other canoes filled in like manner were observed leaving the shore. The officer of the watch warned the captain, but he treated the warning and the natives with like contempt; the interpreter, seeing that the Indians wore short mantles, declared that their designs were hostile; still the captain, though urged to at once clear the ship of the natives who already filled the deck, and to prepare for an attack, refused in time to follow the advice of others.

At last the deck was so crowded with Indians that the sailors could not perform their duties, and then, too late, the captain desired the intruders to leave, as he was going to put to sea, and threatened to use force if they did not depart willingly. He was answered by a savage yell, and the Indians immediately commenced an attack upon the officers and crew with clubs and knives which had been concealed under their mantles. Mr. M'Kay was at the outset stunned by a blow and thrown into a canoe, where he was afterwards cruelly murdered. The captain defended himself with bravery, and had killed several of his assailants when he was overcome by numbers. The other officers

and crew shared the same fate, with the exception of three who were in the rigging, but who at last descended, and by a desperate use of handspikes succeeded in gaining the cabin. There with the fire-arms which should have been used at the outset they drove most of the Indians from the deck, some wounded, and all in alarm. Then, while two laid a train of powder to the magazine, the third from a cabin-window addressed some of the natives in canoes, and gave them to understand that they might have the ship if he and his comrades were permitted to leave in one of the boats without being watched or pursued. The proposal was agreed to, though probably not without a treacherous purpose on both sides. A slow-match connecting with the train was lighted, and the men, lowering themselves from the cabin-windows into the pinnace, rowed away, while the Indians eagerly boarded the ship again, bent upon plunder. The deck was crowded, and the captors were forcing their way into the cabin, when the magazine exploded with terrible effect, killing and wounding hundreds of savages, while the ship itself soon disappeared, leaving only fragments of deck and spars floating on the waters with the mangled remains of the victims.*

The three sailors who had escaped the massacre on board the ship were yet doomed to share the fate of their comrades. Forced by the rough sea, or by exhaustion, to land at some distance from the village, they were surprised by some of the Indians as they slept by the shore and murdered with all the cruelty that revenge could inspire.

It was a long time before the fate of the Tonquin and her crew was known at Fort Astoria; but at last the native interpreter returned and related the sad event as he had witnessed it. It was the beginning of the misfortunes of the Pacific Company. The next year, however, another ship belonging to the Company arrived in the Columbia, bringing another partner and more clerks, artisans, and *voyageurs*.

* The above account of the explosion is substantially as related by Mr. Ross Cox, an Englishman, who was at Astoria the year following the event, and heard it told by the interpreter, who, being a native, had escaped. Washington Irving in his "Astoria" relates that the ship was blown up by a sailor, who, being mortally wounded, refused to join his comrades when they secretly escaped. Having induced the natives to come again on board, he fired the train and shared the fate of his victims.

Meanwhile trading-posts had been established in the interior, and explorations made for others. A beginning had been made in collecting furs, and the ship having taken them on board sailed for China. But the Pacific Company was by no means to monopolize the fur-trade of the country of the Columbia. Agents of the Northwest Company of Canada made their appearance, and established posts on the tributaries of the great river so near those of the Americans as to lead to ill feeling and disputes. The Hudson's Bay Company also did not long delay in putting in a claim for the trade of the northwest coast, and had not other events hastened the dissolution of the Pacific Company it would have had to contend against powerful rivals, and probably have been involved in serious conflicts.

While the Pacific Company was pushing forward the work of establishing trading-posts in the interior and collecting furs, war between England and the United States was begun, though tidings of this event did not reach Astoria till the following year, 1813. The resident partners then learned that the Company was in a precarious condition, and was doomed to misfortunes. Their first ship had been lost with all her crew and cargo, the second was now shut up in the harbor of Canton for fear of capture, and the watchful British cruisers were so numerous on the American coast and in every sea, that no other ship could venture to sail from New York on the long voyage to the Columbia. The time for one to arrive had already passed, and their supplies would not last another year, much less till the possible close of the war should permit succor to be sent to them. They were moreover threatened with a disaster which they did not then realize; an English ship of war was already on its way to the Columbia for the express purpose of capturing Fort Astoria, while the rival traders, regarding them as enemies, might at any time capture their outlying posts. In this condition of affairs the resident partners, or directors, wisely accepted an offer from the Northwest Company to buy their establishment with their stock of furs, merchandise, and provisions. The terms were agreed upon without much difficulty, and the establishment was delivered to the purchasers. Such of the employés of the Pacific Company as chose to remain were taken in the service of the Northwest Company, while all the other parties connected with the post, under a stipulation for

safe conduct, returned to the United States. When the British cruiser arrived in the Columbia, the officers, who had anticipated the capture of a valuable prize, were chagrined to find the English flag floating over Fort Astoria, and that its valuables had been transferred to British subjects by peaceful purchase.

Such was the end of an American enterprise which, at its inception, promised to establish on the northwest coast a rival of the older English companies. The organization was dissolved, and no attempt was made to revive it. Before the close of the war the English companies had extended their establishments on the Columbia and its tributaries as well as farther north. No strong American company undertook to compete with them, though independent traders ventured into the territory which was open to the subjects or citizens of both nations. The Hudson's Bay Company had early followed the example of the Northwest Company in establishing trading-posts in the northwestern part of America, and serious disputes and even bloody conflicts occurred between them, till at last they were united; and the Hudson's Bay Company then claimed a monopoly of the trade and exercised an arbitrary authority over an extensive region, including a portion of the territory which was within the boundary claimed by the United States. By treaty, so long as the boundary was undetermined, the country was open to traders from both nations. The Americans, however, who ventured thither fared badly at the hands of the officers and employés of the Hudson's Bay Company, and there were constant disputes and occasional outrages and conflicts.

The fur-traders represented the entire region about the Columbia as wholly unsuited to agriculture, and they even saw no value in the forests of giant trees; but the adaptation of the country for settlement did not escape the notice of those whose interests were not exclusively in the fur-trade. The policy and pretensions of the Hudson's Bay Company, however, for a long time outweighed any inducements which the country offered to settlers, and for many years the only inhabitants besides the Indians were the employés of the Hudson's Bay Company. These were chiefly French Canadians, many of whom took Indian wives, and the children of these marriages, trained to the service of the great fur company, were its most useful *voyageurs*.

In 1833 a few emigrants from the United States made the long over-

land journey to Oregon for the purpose of settling there; but it was not till 1839, when the treaty for joint occupation had expired, that there was emigration sufficient to make it anything more than a region frequented by fur-traders. In the valley of the Willamette, a tributary of the Columbia flowing from the south, the pioneers found a soil well adapted to agriculture, and a climate much more genial than that of the same latitude on the eastern side of the continent. There they planted themselves with the determination of finding other sources of wealth than the half-savage fur-trade, building up a civilized community, and maintaining the rights of the United States to the country.

The establishment of permanent American settlements in Oregon aroused the hostility of the Hudson's Bay Company. Threats of violence were made by the employes of that Company, and through the influence of its direction at home the British government disputed the claims of the United States to a large part of the territory. This dispute, which threatened to result in hostilities, in some degree retarded the settlement of the territory; but meanwhile the character of the country, its wealth of timber, its agricultural capabilities and its fisheries, became better known, and irrepressible emigrants from the United States made the long journey across the mountains by the route now tolerably familiar, or embarked for the long voyage around Cape Horn, to justify the claim of their government. When, in 1846, the boundary was settled, and Great Britain relinquished all claim to the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel, emigration increased, though the discovery of gold in California for a time turned the current in that direction, and did not fail even to attract many of the new settlers in Oregon. In 1850 Congress voted to actual settlers three hundred and sixty acres of land each, and from that time the settlements increased quite rapidly, considering the golden inducements offered by California. Agriculture, lumbering, fisheries, in a great measure, supplanted the fur-trade, till finally the Hudson's Bay Company abandoned its last post on the Columbia and withdrew its wild and adventurous *voyageurs* to the British side of the boundary.

CVIII.

CONCLUSION.



THREE centuries and a quarter have not elapsed since the fierce and bigoted Spaniard, Menendez, planted the first permanent colony within the territory now comprised in the United States, at St. Augustine. Nearly half a century later the first English colonists made their home at Jamestown, and later still the Pilgrims landed from the Mayflower at Plymouth. From time to time during a succeeding century other settlements were made along the Atlantic coast,—a few feeble colonies clinging to the margin of a great continent; before them a vast wilderness, the unexplored depths of which were to them a mystery, and its only denizens wild beasts and cruel savages. To collect some of the incidents and events in the history of these early colonists which illustrate their toils and hardships, the misfortunes they suffered and the dangers they incurred, their progress inland and the advance of their posterity over mountains and prairies and desolate plains till at last the shores of the Pacific were reached, has been the design of the foregoing pages.

Looking back at those small beginnings, at the obstacles encountered, and the conflicts in which the early settlers were engaged, we may well wonder at the results of the colonization of America. The few poor colonists of two centuries and a half ago, scattered along the shores of the Atlantic, have increased to a nation of forty millions that has already seen its centennial of independence,—a galaxy of free states extending from ocean to ocean, abounding in resources and rich in spite of

occasional adversities. Vast stretches of forest have been cleared for the work of the husbandman; log cabins and hewn board houses have given place to spacious farm-houses and elegant mansions; thriving towns and villages are scattered thickly over the land; great cities which have grown up on the sites of early settlements in the East are rivalled by cities of more marvellous growth in the West, and even on the Pacific coast.

Famine at Jamestown and Plymouth, when the starving colonists looked anxiously for a ship bringing them food from Europe, has been succeeded by an abundance that not only supports the millions at home, but feeds millions in other lands. In fields where the savage waged vindictive war the farmer gathers the fruits of his orchards and harvests the waving grain, with no thought of the Indian, who has retired before the advancing tide of civilization to the distant plains and mountains. The spinning-wheel and domestic hand-loom, with which the pioneer's wife wrought the only textiles of the country, have long since passed away, and the banks of numerous rivers are studded with humming mills, while populous towns have grown up where millions of spindles and thousands of cunning looms perform their rapid and wonderful work. Where the carpenter, the cordwainer and the blacksmith were once the only artisans, innumerable industries, with their skilful operatives and ingenious machinery, produce a marvellous variety of articles of ponderous or delicate workmanship.

The small and clumsy ships that made an annual voyage to the colonies, and the sluggish shallop that here and there sailed along the rough Atlantic coast, have given place to ocean steamers, clipper ships, swiftly driven floating palaces, and fleets of smaller vessels, guided along the perilous shore by many a warning beacon and light-house; and the rivers of the West, which floated only the light canoe of the savage when first seen by the white man, are now lashed into foam for thousands of miles by the paddles of numerous steamboats. The bridle-paths which for a long period were the only travelled ways over a large part of the country have been succeeded by a network of railroads uniting all sections in close and quick intercourse, and a band of iron rails over which speed long trains of cars stretches across the continent. Journeys which within the memory of man took

weary months to accomplish, are made with ease within a week, and time itself is annihilated by lightning messages from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

From this era of national growth and prosperity, of the development of the resources of the country and progress in the useful arts, we may well look back to the early day, and recall those pioneers who, from the time of the first landing of adventurous, chivalrous or devout colonists on these shores, have led the way through toils and sufferings and dangers in the work of exploring and subduing the wilderness for the peaceful enjoyment of those who followed; nor should we forget the noble traits of character which were manifest through trying vicissitudes, in bold exploits, in perilous and sometimes grotesque adventures, and even in the misguided acts of narrow superstition and unenlightened fanaticism. If early events and incidents are recalled afresh to some of our readers, and new pictures of pioneer life are presented to others, the purpose of this work is accomplished.

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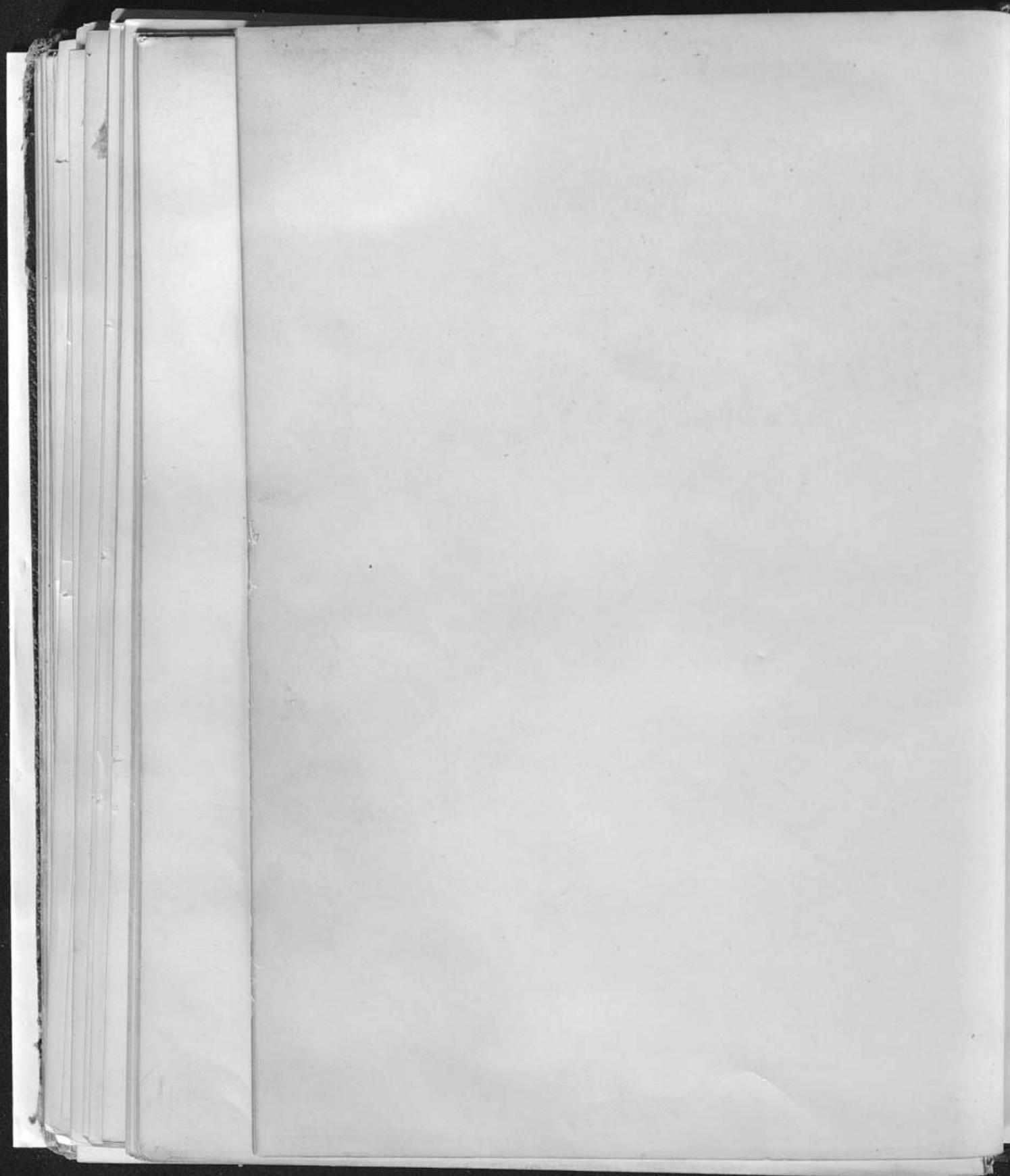
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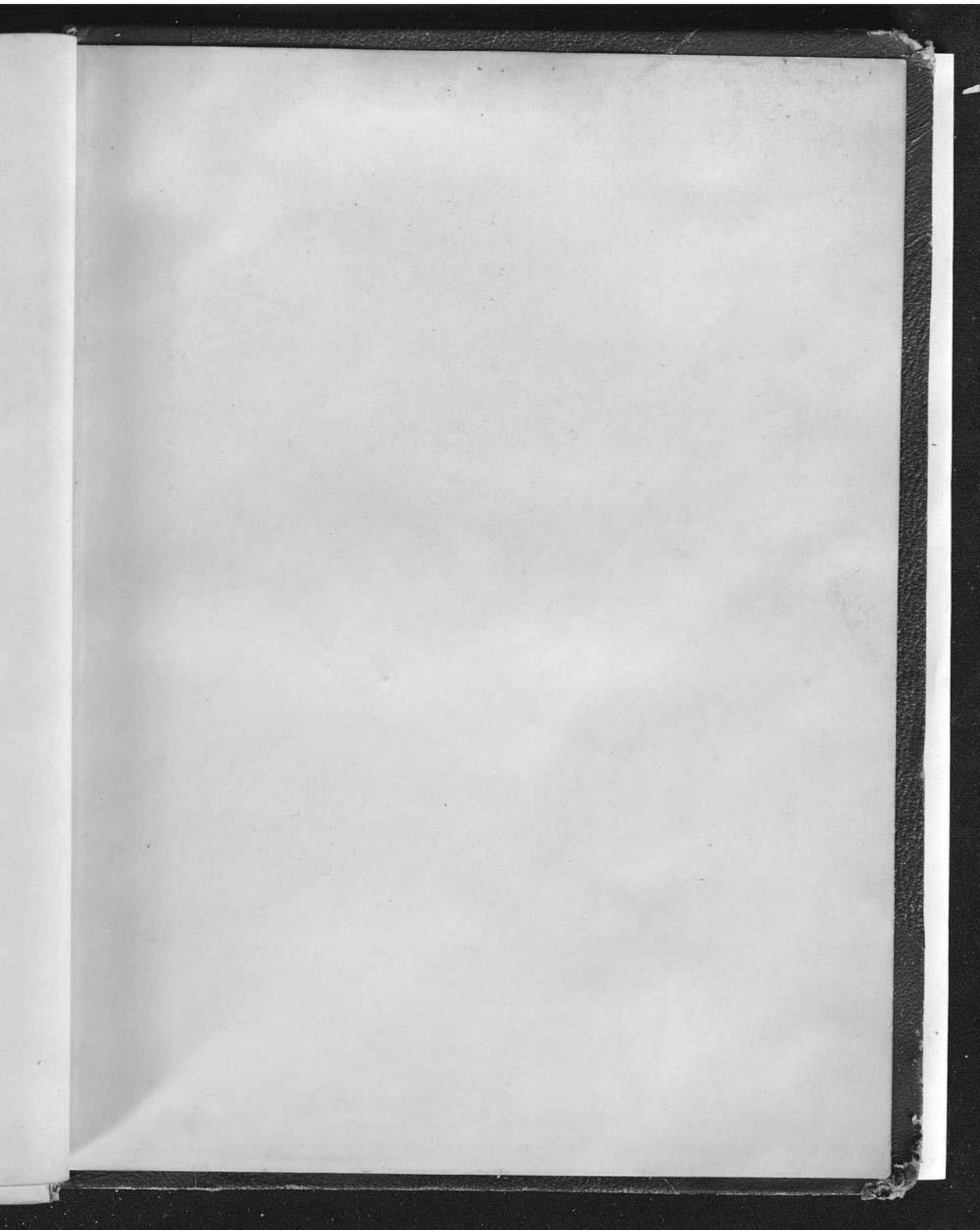
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