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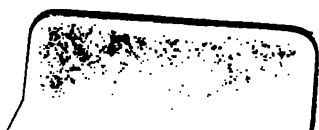
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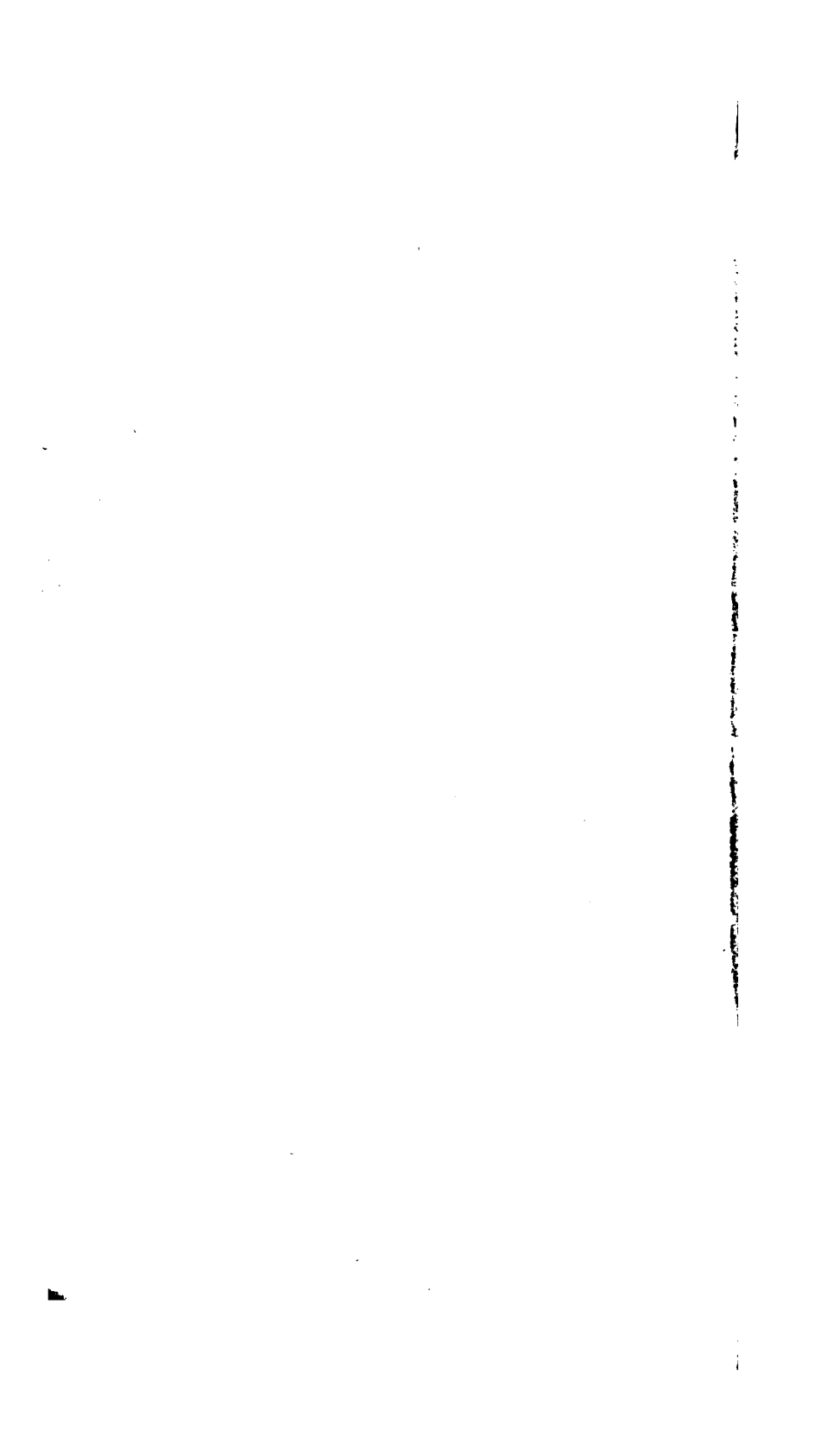
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TRAVELS

IN

NEW-ENGLAND AND NEW-YORK.

BY

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, S. T. D. LL. D.

LATE PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE;

AUTHOR OF

THEOLOGY EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, &c.

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JOURNEY TO PROVINCE TOWN.

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DEAR SIR ;

GROTON is a township, lying on the Thames about twelve miles, and on the Sound about six or seven. A tract, extending along the Sound through the whole breadth of the township, and another, a mile wide, along the Thames, extending through the whole length of the township, are rich and pleasant. The remainder is generally very stony, difficult of cultivation, and to a great extent forested. The soil of Groton is better fitted for grass than for grain. Several of the farms are cultivated by tenants.

The inhabitants carry on some commerce upon the Thames, from the shore immediately opposite to New-London ; and at Packer's ferry on the Mystic, a mill-stream, which separates Groton from Stonington. At each of these places there is a small village. That which was opposite to New-London was principally burnt by the British troops in Arnold's expedition. The damage was estimated at 78,390 dollars. It is now chiefly rebuilt. Throughout the rest of the township, plantations, thinly scattered, are formed in many places. The grounds, which are sufficiently fertile and easy of cultivation to

invite the hand of the farmer, are everywhere taken up. The remainder seems destined to continue in a forested state; for its surface is in a great measure covered with rocks and stones.

The inhabitants of Groton have been more generally regardless of religion than those of most other places in Connecticut. It is a long period since they have had a minister of the Gospel; and the last, a very worthy man, was obliged to leave them, for the want of support. This must have resulted from a general indisposition to support the worship of God. The people are so numerous, that they might support three ministers at least, without any inconvenience to themselves*. There are some honourable exceptions to these remarks.

Groton began to be settled soon after New-London, i. e. soon after the year 1648; but was not incorporated until 1705. In 1756, it contained 2,532 whites, 179 blacks, and 158 Indians; in 1774, 3,488 whites, 169 blacks, and 191 Indians; in 1790, 3,946; in 1800, 4,372; and, in 1810, 4,451.

Of the Indians, in the year 1770, it is said, 44 were able to read, and 17 were members of the Christian church. The number of these people is supposed now to be diminished by their customary vices. The aboriginal name of Groton was Mystic.

This township was the principal seat of the Pequods, who occupied New-London, Norwich, Lisbon, Bozrah, Franklin, Plainfield, Preston, Groton, Stonington, and most probably several other townships, a tract not far from thirty miles square†. Under the command of several shrewd and brave

* Since the paragraph above was written, a number of the inhabitants, as if awaked out of a long slumber, have embodied themselves in a congregation, built a church, and settled a respectable minister. The blessings usually flowing from these measures, or, more properly, following them, they have already begun to realize, and their children will hereafter rise up and call them blessed.

† The legislature of the colony of Connecticut, in their answer to heads of inquiry relative to the state and condition of the colony, signified by the secretary of state, July 5th, 1773, say, page 5th, "The original title to the lands on which the colony was first settled was, at the time the English came hither, in the Pequod nation of Indians, who were numerous and war-

chiefs, these people rendered themselves very formidable to most of the inhabitants in southern New-England. Sassacus particularly, who was their principal sachem at the time when the colonists arrived, appears to have been regarded by his neighbours, as well as by his subjects, with that peculiar awe, which is inspired by superior personal strength, activity, courage, and cunning. By most of them he was considered as invincible; and by all as a singularly dangerous enemy. To those bodily endowments, which are the great means of savage glory, he united a mind, possessed of uncommon native vigour, sagacity, and resolution; and proved his personal superiority by the most difficult exploits, and by the successful conduct of many bold military enterprises. For an Indian, he was unquestionably a great man, and had he been born in an enlightened age and country, might perhaps have been a Charles, or an Alexander. Under his instruction, and by his example, a number of his chiefs also had become intrepid and sagacious warriors. Animated by this band of heroes, the Pequods had risen to the summit of glory, and held among the southern tribes of New-England a station scarcely less distinguished than that of the Iroquois, in the western parts of New-York.

Sassacus, soon after the establishment of the first New-England colonists, appears thoroughly to have comprehended the danger, which, from this source, threatened his countrymen. He beheld them gaining quiet possession of several important tracts in the neighbourhood of his own territory, as well as others in parts more remote. They erected houses and fortresses, built and navigated vessels, and exhibited a

like. Their country extended from Narrhagansett to Hudson river, and over all Long-Island. Sassacus, their great sagamore, had under him twenty-six sachems. He injuriously made war upon the English, exercised despotic dominion over his subjects, and, with all his sachems and people, were conquered, and made tributary to the English. This account of the territories of the Pequods must not be understood to denote the country which they actually inhabited, but that which they either subdued or awed into subjection by the terror of their name."

Sassacus is here called their great sagamore, and is said to have had under him twenty-six sachems. These titles were, I think, mistaken by the legislature. Sachem, as far as I have been able to learn, denoted the chief ruler, and sagamore the subordinate.

skill and policy in government, to which he and his countrymen had before been strangers. They possessed weapons also of a new and terrible kind, conveying death from an unexampled distance, and with a certainty and extent of execution, pre-eminently alarming. At the same time they appeared to be perfectly united, had already become numerous and were continually increasing. They had also begun to demand of the Indians an adherence to their engagements, to which they had never been habituated, to regulate commerce by new rules, and to construe treaties on principles more strict than savages had ever been obliged to admit. To all these disagreeable things they added a kind of authority in their proposals and requisitions, which savage independence could not brook, and which savage pride and resentment were impatient to retribute.

This haughty Indian seems to have been the first who formed the politic design, afterwards executed by Philip, the son of Massasoit, of embarking all the Indians in New-England in a general enterprise, for the purpose of driving the English colonists out of the country. The design was undoubtedly conceived with the soundest policy; and, had Sassacus been able to carry it into complete execution, would probably have terminated in the entire ruin of the colonists. But, happily for our ancestors and for us, there were at this time insuperable obstacles to a successful effort of this nature. Sassacus and his people were more dreaded by all the neighbouring tribes, than were the English themselves. They were hated and envied, as well as dreaded. Every proposal to embark with them in any enterprise was therefore considered by their neighbours as treacherously made, and dangerously accepted. Those, from whom we have already received injuries and by whom we have been often alarmed and distressed, are always regarded with more disgust and terror than new enemies. A proffer of friendship and union from such a source is always suspected as intending concealed mischief; and, whatever advantages it may promise, it will be believed to promise them only to those by whom the proffer is made. With such prepossessions against him and his people, Sassacus attempted without success, to unite the surrounding nations in this enterprise. They heard his proposals, and seem in several in-

stances to have admitted their justice and propriety without opposition. But they hesitated, and declined, on various pretences, to embark with him in any measure for carrying them into execution.

Even the Narrhagansetts, who greatly outnumbered the Pequods, regarded these people and their chief (having often suffered from their prowess), with such apprehension, that they could never be brought to an open and determined adoption of the design. They were plainly bitter enemies of the English, and ardently wished for their extermination. They also perfectly understood the policy and wisdom of the proposal, and felt the force of the arguments by which it was urged. The scheme of attack was too evidently wise and practicable, to fail of their approbation. This was to burn the houses and destroy the cattle of the English, to ambush their roads, to hang upon the skirts of their settlements, and to waste them away by continual loss, alarm, discouragement, watching, and fatigue. Few as the colonists were at that time, no other kind of warfare seems to have been necessary in order to break up their settlements. The Narrhagansetts, however, were still reluctant to unite with their mortal enemies; and, upon a proposal made by the governor of Massachusetts to renew the treaty between them and the English, Miantonimoh, their chief sachem, together with several subordinate chieftains, went to Boston, and engaged in a peace with the English, openly hostile to the Pequods.

Sassacus and his people, not discouraged by the disappointment, persisted in their favourite design with an intrepidity, which, in a nation of Europe, would have commanded praise from the pen of every historian.

In the year 1634, Captains Stone and Norton, with eight men, in a vessel from St. Christopher's, entered Connecticut river for the purpose of trade, under the pilotage of twelve Indians, friends and allies of the Pequods, and were all murdered by their pilots. Stone and two of his men were dispatched while they were asleep. Norton made a gallant defence; but, having placed some powder in an open vessel, that he might load with the greater expedition, he accidentally set it on fire, and was so burned as to be disabled from any further effort. The plunder acquired by this act of treachery

and violence was shared by the Pequods and some of their neighbours.

Sassacus and his men were apprehensive that the English would make war upon them, to avenge the death of Stone and his companions ; and, being imperfectly prepared for such an event, attempted to avert the blow by negociation. Accordingly they sent an ordinary warrior to Boston, with proposals to the governor of Massachusetts, of peace and reconciliation. The messenger was not received ; and was informed, that men of superior distinction must be employed by the Pequods, if they expected any attention to their propositions. Accordingly they dispatched two envoys of higher rank, with a present, to accomplish their purpose. The only terms which they could obtain were, that they must deliver up the murderers. They replied, that the murderers were all dead, except two, whom they were willing to deliver up, if they should be found guilty. They also offered several other conditions, particularly to yield their right to Connecticut river, and its neighbourhood, to the English. The treaty was at length ratified upon these terms, and the English agreed to trade with them as friends.

After the treaty was signed, the messengers returned home, but the Pequods never fulfilled any of their engagements. The truth was, they had entered into them merely because the Dutch and the Narrhagansetts were prosecuting a war with them, and they thought it not safe to make new enemies.

In the year 1635, John Oldham, an inhabitant of Dorchester, who had been trading in Connecticut, was murdered in the neighbourhood of Block Island, by some of its Indian inhabitants, together with several of the Narrhagansetts. A Mr. Gallup, who was sailing from Connecticut to Boston, passing by Oldham's vessel, saw a number of Indians on board, and a number of others going from it in a canoe with a load of English goods. Suspecting the cause, he hailed them ; and, receiving no answer, steered immediately for Oldham's vessel. With only one man and two boys, he attacked them so briskly, that he instantly cleared the deck. He then ran upon Oldham's vessel three several times, and gave it such severe shocks, that six of the Indians at one time, and

five at another, leaped overboard, and perished. He then boarded the vessel, bound two of the Indians, took out Oldham's corpse, together with the remaining furniture and goods, and took the vessel in tow. The corpse he buried. The wind, however, soon obliged him to set the vessel adrift, and she was lost. One of the Indians he was obliged to throw overboard, the other he conveyed to Boston. Several of the murderers of Oldham fled to the Pequods, and were protected by them.

The Narrhagansetts early, and sedulously, offered such satisfaction for their share in this treacherous business, as was ultimately accepted by the government of Massachusetts-Bay.

In 1636, Captain Endicot was sent by this government to avenge these injuries upon the Pequods, and the inhabitants of Block Island. This party ravaged Block Island, by destroying the corn, canoes, and weekwams; made an ineffectual effort of a similar nature upon the Pequods; and then returned home, without having accomplished any object of importance.

The Pequods, who before hated the English, now despised them, and began their hostilities with vigour. They attacked Captain Underhill, and twenty men, destined to reinforce the garrison at Saybrook, as he was lying in the harbour of New-London, took successively and tortured several of the men, and killed several others; waylaid the inhabitants of Saybrook, when about their ordinary business; surrounded the fort with a kind of siege, and destroyed every thing valuable in its neighbourhood. In the spring of the succeeding year, renewing their attacks with still greater activity, they killed four men at Saybrook, and a fifth in the river. Two others, taken at the same time, they tortured in the most excruciating manner, till they died. Another party of them killed six men and three women at Wethersfield, and captivated two girls. In consequence of these ravages, the government of Connecticut, although the whole jurisdiction comprised only three towns, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, determined to attack the Pequods in earnest, and raised ninety men for this purpose. Massachusetts, at the same time, engaged to send two hundred men, and Plymouth forty, to their assistance. The little army of Connecticut, joined by seventy Moheagans,

fell down the river on Wednesday, the 10th of May, under the command of Captain John Mason, a man who was both born and bred a soldier. The Moheagans were headed by Uncas, a sachem extensively celebrated in the history of New-England. The movement of their little fleet was so slow, that the Moheagans requested to be set on shore. On their march towards Saybrook they fell in with a body of the Pequods, of whom they killed seven, and took one a prisoner. This man, having been concerned in all the treacheries and murders of his nation for a length of time, was claimed by Uncas, to be put to death in the Indian manner, and expired under the inflictions of savage torture.

Mason, although directed to proceed immediately to New-London, judged it best (and brought his officers into the same opinion) to sail to Narrhagansett-Bay, and secure the friendship and assistance of Miantonimoh, or at least his neutrality. He found Miantonimoh disposed, without much reluctance, to coincide with his wishes; but he was hardly induced to believe that the English commander was in earnest in his avowed determination to attack the Pequods. Their number he considered as too small to furnish even a remote prospect of success. However, when he saw Mason resolved to proceed, he sent two hundred of the Narrhagansetts along with him. They marched that day, Wednesday, May 24th, to Charlestown*, and were joined the next morning by almost two hundred more, partly Narrhagansetts, and partly eastern Nahanatics, who boasted much of the gallantry which they intended to display in fighting the Pequods. But upon approaching nearer to the enemy, and finding Captain Mason really determined on an attack, a considerable number of them were so disheartened, that they left the army, and returned home.

The original design of Mason had been to attack the fort, in which Sassacus himself resided†. The desertion was occasioned by the notification of this purpose to the Indians, all of whom trembled at his formidable name, and seem to have imagined, that no attempt against him could be attended with success. Upon inquiry, Captain Mason found, after a march of three miles farther, that he was twelve miles from the spot.

* In the state of Rhode-Island.

† This stood not far from the Thames, a few miles above the ferry.

At the same time he was assured, that the other fort of the Pequods was near at hand. He determined, therefore, to make this the object of his first assault; and, having ordered his men to rest for the night, and sent out an Indian to reconnoitre, discovered, with no small satisfaction, that his enemies had not even suspected his arrival, but were in a state of perfect security.

About two hours before day, his little army began their march for the expected fortress, and came in sight of it at day-break. The Indians immediately vanished. Uncas, however, and Wequash, a Pequod chief, who had suffered several indignities from the imperiousness of Sassacus, at length re-appeared, and apologized for the flight of their followers, alleging, as their excuse, the terror with which they regarded these enemies. Mason ordered them to collect their countrymen, and encompass the fort at whatever distance they pleased, that they might see whether Englishmen would fight. They obeyed. Mason, with one division of his troops, attempted the eastern entrance of the palisade, while Underhill, with the other division, marched to the western. It will be proper to observe, that the fort stood on Mystic river, the boundary between Stonington and Groton.

The English were discovered, by the barking of a dog, when they were within a few rods of the palisade; and, while the Indians were betaking themselves to their arms, poured a general discharge of their muskets through the interstices. Mason finding the eastern entrance small, and difficult to be carried, hastened round to the southern one, which was sufficiently large, and secured only by two small boughs. These he and his lieutenant instantly removed, and entered the fortress, the men crowding closely behind them. The Pequods fought with great resolution; and, after they had been driven from the open ground, secured themselves in the numerous weekwams, enclosed within the palisade. Hence they annoyed the English incessantly, without being visible. Wearied with this inconvenient and fruitless mode of attack, Mason ordered his men to set the weekwams on fire; and, seizing a brand, became their example. At this moment an Indian pointed an arrow against him, and would have killed him instantly, had not a sergeant, named Davis, cut the bowstring. The fire

spread among the dry boughs and foliage with which the weekwams were covered, with furious rapidity, and speedily involved them in a general conflagration. The English immediately retired without the fort. The Pequods, following them in order to escape from the flames, were slain by the English or by their Indian allies, who, having assumed sufficient resolution to become witnesses of the conflict, had formed themselves in a circle without the English.

The destruction was very great. Seven only of the Pequod escaped; and only seven more were made prisoners. Between five and six hundred are supposed to have fallen, of whom on hundred and forty were, in the opinion of Captain Masor shot from the top of the palisade, whither they had climbed to avoid the fury of the flames. The English had originally determined not to burn the fort; but, when they found themselves assailed from the weekwams by an enemy who could neither be met nor seen, they resorted to this as a desperate and indispensable measure. When the victory was finished, after some little desultory skirmishing with other parties of the Pequods who made an appearance of attacking them, but fled as soon as they approached, the English embarked on board their vessels, which providentially came into the harbour just at the time when the army, wearied by so much excessive fatigue impatiently wished for their arrival. Within three weeks from the commencement of the expedition they arrived at Hartford, with the loss of two men killed and sixteen wounded. Their Indian allies also returned to their respective homes.

Few efforts, made by man, have been more strongly marked with wisdom in the projection, or with superior courage and conduct in the execution. Every step appears to have been directed by that spirit and prudence which mankind have, with one voice, regarded with admiration and applause in the statesman and the hero. The Pequods were wholly the aggressors; and, however we may approve of the policy which they proposed to exterminate the English, we cannot fail to remember, that the English had entered peaceably into the country, and purchased the possessions at a fair price, of the lawful proprietors. Ninety men undertook and accomplished this desperate enterprise against an enemy, command

ing probably not less than one thousand or fifteen hundred warriors, the most resolute and successful in New-England, the terror and the scourge of all the surrounding nations, headed by a chief unrivalled in his sagacity and success, and possessed of every military endowment, and of all the skill and address attainable by savages.

When the news was carried to Sassacus, it produced a tempest of conflicting passions in the minds of his people and their chieftains. Regret for the loss of their countrymen, and resentment against him, as the author of their calamities, enraged them to such a degree, that they were on the point of putting him to death. His friends, however, interceded for him powerfully, and finally saved his life. But the terror produced by their late disaster, agitated them into a frenzy. Instead of waiting for another attack, they set fire to their wigwams, and to the great fortress of Sassacus, and fled in different directions. Sassacus, together with some of his chiefs, and about seventy followers, went to the Iroquois. The principal part of the nation were dispersed in the countries, westward of Connecticut river. The greatest body of them directed their course by a winding route to Fairfield, where they were received, and secreted by a tribe, who were natives of the place, and were called Unquowas. The principal fortress of these people was in a swamp, on the border of the Sound, about two miles westward of the town of Fairfield, and about a quarter of a mile eastward of Sasco river, lying immediately south of the old post road to New-York*.

Captain Stoughton, with a body of men from Massachusetts, arriving speedily after the flight of the Pequods, determined to pursue them; and, having providentially discovered the place of their retreat, marched directly thither. Here he was soon joined by Mason, with forty men from Hartford. On the arrival of the English in the neighbourhood of the swamp, a part of them, advancing eagerly, sunk so deep into the mire, that, being instantly attacked by the Indians, they were very near being destroyed, and several of them were badly

* The present turnpike road to New-York passes through this swamp.

wounded, before a sufficient number of their friends could come to their rescue. The Indians then requesting a parley, it was granted, and Thomas Stanton was sent by the English to propose to them terms of surrender; and particularly to proffer life to such Indians as had not been concerned in murdering the English. The chief of the Unquowas, with his family and people, to the amount of about two hundred, gladly accepted of these terms, and immediately left the fort. Stanton was sent a second time, to renew the proffer to the rest. These, who were either chiefly or wholly Pequods, received the proposals with disdain. Stanton fled for his life. The Indians pursued him with their arrows so vigorously, that, had not his friends hastened to rescue him, he would have been killed.

Upon this proof of determined hostility, the English resolved to surround the fort at a nearer distance, by cutting a passage through the swamp. Here they formed a circle, the men placing themselves at the distance of twelve feet from each other; and in this manner completely enclosed their enemies. Towards morning a thick fog arose from the Sound, and covered the swamp. A considerable number of the enemy took this opportunity to make their escape, which, after several unsuccessful attempts, they accomplished by breaking through a quadrant of the circle, commanded by Captain Patrick. A considerable number more were killed in several attacks during the night; and in the morning one hundred and eighty were taken prisoners. These were divided between the Massachusetts and the Connecticut troops. The people of Massachusetts sent several of the women and children to Bermuda, and sold them as slaves. The wife of Mononotto, the second in rank among the Pequod chiefs, was one of the captives. This woman had been formerly distinguished by a peculiar attachment to the two girls, taken by her countrymen at Wethersfield. She and her children were recommended to the particular favour of Governor Winthrop, and were received and treated by him with a kindness and generosity, wholly becoming his character. The remainder of the nation, exclusively of those who had fled, and who probably were numerous, amounted to two hundred, beside women and chil-

dren. Of these one hundred were given to Uncas, eighty to Miantonimoh, and twenty to Ninnigret, another sachem of the Narrhaganetts, to be incorporated among their own people*.

Sassacus was soon after killed by the Mohawks, and his scalp sent to Connecticut. Mononotto made his escape.

Thus within the compass of a few weeks was a tribe of Indians exterminated, who, according to the tradition of the country, had come from an inland region at a great distance, fought their way through all the intervening tribes to the ocean, planted themselves in the tracts which they had conquered, and awed, with a general and indeterminate control, all the nations in their neighbourhood. This tribe, apparently superior in their understanding to other savages, and possessed of loftier and more extensive views, was so far annihilated as to be thenceforth without a government, and without a name. It is not easy to travel through the country, where they formerly resided, or to pass by the field, in which

* The legislature of Connecticut, in the answers above referred to, say, "The war with the Pequods being ended, considerations and settlements were made with such sachems and people as remained, who came in and received to their full contentment and satisfaction, and have at all times since been used and treated with justice and humanity. No grants are made by the general assembly before the Indian title is purchased, agreeably to the right of pre-emption granted by royal charter to the governor and company of the colony."

Extract from the Records of Connecticut.—"Joseph Nyouke, a Pequod, presented a petition, in behalf of himself and other Pequod Indians in Groton, concerning the land reserved for that tribe in Groton, one half of which had by permission of the general assembly been divided into fifty-acre lots. This property had been misused by the whites, to whom it had been leased. A committee was granted on this petition, May, 1750."

From this extract, which I have taken the liberty to abbreviate, it is evident, that the legislature of Connecticut, from the conquest of the Pequods, reserved for them by law a considerable tract of land for their maintenance, and superintended their interests with the same attention which was paid to those of the white inhabitants of the colony. This is a decisive instance of the justice, and of the humanity also, with which the Indians were treated by the early colonists of New-Englaad, and which has been continued to the present time.

they were finally overthrown, without indulging many sobs and melancholy reflections.

The conquest of the Pequods filled the Indians of N. England with astonishment and terror. In the emphatic language of revelation, the land, like that of Israel, under government of Othniel, after the victory over the king of Mesopotamia, "had rest forty years."

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Stonington; cultivated partly by Tenants. Indians still remaining here. Their degraded Character and Situation. The perfection to which Man arrives in a state of Nature. General Observations upon the remnants of the Indian Tribes now found in New-England. Means of effecting their Civilization.

DEAR SIR;

AFTER crossing the Mystic, we entered Stonington. The face of the country became immediately better; and, though rough and stony to a considerable degree, was formed of easy and beautiful slopes, levels of considerable extent, and finely rounded eminences. The prospects were generally pleasant, and in several instances superior. The soil also was rich, and almost everywhere well-cultivated. This description is applicable to most of the township, which is one of the largest in Connecticut, extending, with a breadth of about six miles, not less than sixteen from the Sound into the interior*. Beside grass, it yields maize, oats, barley, and rye, remarkably well. Wheat is cultivated in small quantities, and grows luxuriantly; but is often blasted. This is in part attributed to the exuberant vegetation of grass, which, when apparently destroyed by the plough, springs up from the seed, and choaks the wheat at the time when the kernel is forming. Flax formerly grew well; but lately has been blasted also, probably from some defect in the mode of culture. Orchards abound here; and are so prosperous, that apples and cider have become considerable articles of commerce. In the southern half of the township wood is scarce and dear, in the northern it is sufficiently abundant. The hills constitute almost the whole

* Since this journey was taken, Stonington has been divided into two townships; the second named North-Stonington.

surface, and are altogether the best land. The vallies, which are usually narrow and rough, present to the eye a confused mass of stones and rocks, apparently rolled together from the hills by some violent convulsion.

Within the limits of this township are found, on the summits of hills, in about fifty places, single large rocks, lying loose on the surface of other rocks, imbedded in the earth. One particularly, in the southern part of the township, is raised up from the surface on three stones, about twelve or fifteen inches in diameter. The diameter of the rock itself is about fifteen feet. How or when it was thus placed is unknown, and has hitherto baffled conjecture.

The farms in this township contain from sixty to three hundred acres each. Almost half of them are cultivated by tenants. A great part of these are poor people from Rhode-Island, who make Stonington their half-way house, in their progress towards the new settlements. Accustomed from their childhood to labour hard on a sterile soil, and to live on very scanty means of subsistence, they come with their families to the rich lands of Stonington, and take small farms, or parts of farms, upon lease. Here, with the most assiduous industry and a minute frugality, they gradually amass money enough to purchase farms in the wilderness. They then leave their habitations to successors from the same state, who regularly follow them in the same track. In this manner a considerable part of the inhabitants of this township are almost annually changed. It is, however, to be observed, that some of the Stonington people lease their own farms, and hire and cultivate others, which are larger.

The rents of these farms are from one to seven hundred dollars per annum; paid usually in their produce, and, in the greater number of instances, in cheese only. Of this commodity 370,000 pounds are annually exported from this township. Seventeen thousand pounds have been made in a year on the lands of Mr. Denison, the gentleman with whom we lodged. The mode, in which each farm is to be managed by the tenant, is regularly described with minute exactness in the lease.

I have mentioned this subject thus particularly, because it is in a great measure peculiar to this spot. There are, indeed, several instances in which farms are taken upon lease in Groton;

and, in solitary instances, the same thing exists in other places ; but there are probably more cases of this nature in Stonington than can be found elsewhere in a third part of the state.

There are four villages in Stonington : one on the Mystic ; another at the head of navigation on the Paukatuc ; a third, four miles further up the same stream, called Mill-Town ; and a fourth on Stonington Point. The population in these villages is increasing ; in the rest of the township it is at a stand. The houses are, generally, good farmers' dwellings. The villages are built in a neat manner.

Stonington Point is a semi-ellipsis, a third of a mile in length ; and, where widest, a fourth of a mile in breadth. From the centre the surface declines every way, with an easy, arched slope, to the shore. It is disagreeably encumbered with rocks, but is otherwise handsome and pleasant. The houses, about 170 in number, are neat in their appearance and their appendages. There are two churches on the Point ; a Presbyterian and a Baptist ; both new, and good.

The Point is accommodated with two harbours. That on the western side has a bold shore ; is sufficiently deep for vessels, under two hundred and fifty tons, to load at the wharfs, and is safe from all winds, except the south-west, and in the upper parts even from that. The wharfs are built of stone, and are in good order*.

* The following letter is an official account of an abortive attempt made during the late war, by the squadron under Commodore Hardy, to burn the borough of Stonington.

“ STONINGTON BOROUGH, Aug. 21st, 1815.

“ To the Hon. William H. Crawford, Secretary of War.

“ SIR ;—The former secretary of war put into my care, as chairman of the committee of defence, the two eighteen pounders, and all the munitions of war that were here, belonging to the general government, to be used for the defence of the town, and I gave my receipt for the same.

As there is no military officer here, it becomes my duty to inform you of the use we have made of it. That on the 9th of August last, the *Ramilies* seventy-four, the *Pactolus* forty-four, the *Terror* bomb-ship, and the *Despatch* twenty gun brig, anchored off our harbour. Commodore Hardy sent off a boat with a flag ; we met him with another from the shore, when the officer of the flag handed me a note from Commodore Hardy, informing me, that one hour was given the unoffending inhabitants, before the town would be destroyed.

We returned to the shore, where all the male inhabitants were collected,

Mystic river is a good harbour for vessels of not more than sixty tons ; but they are loaded a mile and a half below the when I read the note aloud. They all exclaimed they would defend the place to the last extremity, and if it was destroyed they would be buried in its ruins.

We repaired to a small battery we had hove up, nailed our colours to the flag-staff, while others lined the shore with their muskets.

At about seven in the evening they put off five barges and a large launch, carrying from thirty-two to nine pound carronades in their bows, and opened their fire from the shipping with bombs, carcasses, rockets, round grape and canister shot, and sent their boats to land under cover of their fire. We let them come within small grape distance, when we opened our fire upon them from our two eighteen pounders with round and grape shot. They soon retreated out of grape distance, and attempted a landing on the east side of the village. We dragged a six pounder that we had mounted over, and met them with grape ; and all our muskets opened a fire upon them, so that they were willing to retreat the second time. They continued their fire till eleven at night.

The next morning, the brig Despatch anchored within pistol shot of our battery, and they sent five barges and two large launches to land under cover of their whole fire (being joined by the Nimrod twenty gun brig). When the boats approached within grape distance, we opened our fire upon them with round and grape shot ; they retreated and came round the east side of the town. We checked them with our six pounder and muskets, till we dragged over one of our eighteen pounders. We put in a round shot, and about forty or fifty pounds of grape, and placed it in the centre of their boats, as they were rowing up in a line and firing on us ; we tore one of their barges all in pieces, so that two, one on each side, had to lash her up to keep her from sinking. They retreated out of grape distance, and we turned our fire upon the brig, and expended all our cartridges but five, which we reserved for the boats, if they made another attempt to land. We then lay four hours without being able to annoy the enemy in the least, except from muskets on the brig, while the fire of their whole fleet was directed against our buildings. After the third express to New-London, some fixed ammunition arrived ; we then turned our cannon on the brig, and she soon cut her cable and drifted out.

The whole fleet then weighed, and anchored nearly out of reach of our shot, and continued this and the next day to bombard the town.

They set the buildings on fire in more than twenty places ; and we as often put them out. In the three days' bombardment they sent on shore more than sixty tons of metal, and, strange to tell, wounded only one man, since dead. We have picked up fifteen tons, including some that was taken up out of the water, and the three anchors that we got. We took up and buried four poor fellows that were hove overboard out of the sinking barge.

Since peace, the officers of the Despatch brig have been on shore here. They acknowledge they had twenty-one killed, and fifty badly wounded ; and further say, had we continued our fire any longer they should have

settlement, at Packer's ferry. Paukatuck has a crooked channel, admitting small vessels only. Even these are loaded at a considerable distance below the bridge. Those which are larger take in their lading at Stonington Point, appropriately called the Port.

Between forty and fifty vessels (coasters, fishermen, and others) are owned in Stonington. The cod fishery is by far the most profitable business done here. It is chiefly carried on at Green Island and the straits of Belleisle, and has been uniformly prosperous. The West-Indian business has been generally unprosperous.

A considerable number of Indians reside in this township also, and possess a tract of land on and about Lantern-hill, in the northern part of the township, and the most elevated spot in this region. Here some of them live in weekwams, and others in houses resembling poor cottages; at the best small, ragged, and unhealthy. Others, still, live on the farms of the white inhabitants, in houses built purposely for them, and pay their rent by daily labour. Two-thirds of them are supposed to be contained in the Indian families, the remaining third are employed in the service of the farmers. One-half of the former division live on the lands reserved for them. These are held in fee simple, and cannot be disposed of without the consent of the legislature or of the overseer.

The whole body of these Indians are a poor, degraded, miserable race of beings. The former proud, heroic spirit of the Pequod, terrible even to other proud, heroic spirits around him, is shrunk into the tameness and torpor of reasoning brutism. All the vice of the original is left: all its energy has vanished. They are lazy in the extreme; and never labour, unless compelled by necessity. Nor are they less prodigal than lazy. The earnings of a year, hardly as they are acquired, they will spend in a day, without a thought of the morrow. Wherever they can obtain credit, they involve themselves in debt; and never dream of paying their debts,

struck, for they were in a sinking condition, for the wind blew south-west directly into the harbour. All the shot suitable for the cannon we have reserved. We have now more eighteen pound shot than was sent us by government. We have put the two cannon into the arsenal, and housed all the munitions of war."

unless under the iron hand of law. Thieves they are of course, but have too little enterprise to steal any thing of importance. It is hardly necessary to observe, that they are liars. They have no such thing among them as marriage; but cohabit without ceremony or covenant, and desert each other at pleasure. Their children, when young, they place in English families as servants. In the earlier parts of life these children frequently behave well; but, when grown up, throw off all that is respectable in their character, and sink to the level of their relatives. Some of them, when hired as labourers and servants, are tolerably industrious, from a conviction that they cannot safely be indolent. The rest, and even these when not employed, doze away life in uniform sloth and stupidity. To strong drink their devotion is complete; and for ardent spirits, or cider, they will part with every thing which they possess. Generally, they are healthy; but, when sick, seem in a great measure to be beyond the reach of medicine. Those, who live by themselves, are half-naked, and often half-starved.

The Indian, in a savage state, spent life chiefly in roving; but he roved in pursuit of the deer, the bear, the wolf, or his enemy. A high sense of glory, an ardent passion for achievement, a proud consciousness of independence, and a masculine spirit of exertion were the prominent features of his character. He had customarily an object before him; in his view great, useful, and honourable. He had, therefore, powerful motives to rouse his faculties into action. When he had not, he either spent his time in violent gambling, in which, like the polished adventurers of civilized society, he hazarded and lost his all; even his blanket and his gun; or, when he could not gamble, dozed away life in precisely the same paralytic inactivity, which is so remarkable in his tamed countrymen.

The Indian of the latter character lounges, saunters, gets drunk, eats when he can find food, and lies down to sleep under the nearest fence. Without any present or future object in view, without proposing any advantage to himself, or feeling any interest in what is proposed by others, he leads the life, not of a man, but of a snail; and is rather a moving vegetable than a rational being.

To these remarks there are some exceptions. The women,

who live in English families, retain at times a degree of that fondness for dress, so remarkable and universal among such as still continue in a savage state. Those who are educated in these families are often seen at church. A small number, also, of both men and women are reputed to be honest, and are, therefore, safely believed to merit this character.

But the most remarkable exception is the following: at the settlement above-mentioned lives an aged Indian, who possesses a considerable share of understanding. This man, for a series of years, has occasionally preached to them, and is said to give them useful exhortations. At times they very generally assemble to hear his discourses, and hold him in much respect; a strong proof that human nature, in its lowest degradation of ignorance and vice, feels irresistibly the distinction between worth and the want of it, and renders, almost instinctively, its homage to virtue.

If any thing is necessary to complete the miserable and melancholy picture, it is this additional feature, that not one of the rising generation appears to aim, even remotely, at any higher character.

You have, here, an account of that very state of society, which is preferred and extolled by Godwin as the perfection of man. Here the human race, as nearly as possible, are without the restraint of law, morals, or religion. At the same time they are free in the fullest sense. No private individual possesses or exercises any power to control their conduct; and the government of Connecticut, either from despair of doing them any good, or from the unwillingness of its magistrates to execute law among these people, seems, in a manner which I cannot justify, to have resigned them to the dictates of their own passions and appetites. Flagrant breaches of law would undoubtedly be punished in them as in others. At least such as respected property, life, or limb. But few or no exertions have for a long time been made to restrain their commission of inferior crimes, and to these crimes alone do they appear at present to have any strong propensity; *i. e.* as they estimate crimes, for lewdness seems not to be considered by them as criminal. Ordinarily, they do just what they please.

Promiscuous concubinage also, Godwin's great and favourite

step towards perfection, they practice in the most unlimited manner. Nor are they less perfectly possessed of his other two essential ingredients in the constitution of his happy society. Why then are they not perfect and happy?

There are two great reasons to be assigned as an answer to this question, both of which have escaped this hoodwinked philosopher. The first is, that human depravity, or, in other words, sin, has no tendency to make a happy society; but, among all intelligent beings, will always render the social state unhappy, in exact proportion to the degree in which it exists. The other is, that labour is the only source of those enjoyments, which make up what Godwin calls happiness, and that, without the dominion of law, which alone secures to man the benefit of his efforts, no human being will labour. Godwin and his associates feel as if themselves should be happier if they were freed from the restraints which I have mentioned; not mistrusting, that without them others, enjoying the same licentiousness of disposition, and the same impunity in indulging it, would plunder them of liberty, property, and life. Equally are they insensible, that without the protection of law none would labour, and no part of those enjoyments, on which they riot, be brought into existence. Without law, religion, and morals, they might indeed be fornicators and adulterers, thieves and assassins, but they would be beggars and vagabonds. The very wickedness which prompted Godwin to write his books, and which he has poured out upon almost every page with a portentous turpitude, would render all around him as hostile to him as he is to religion, morals, and government, and make whatever he thought his own rights the tennis-ball of injustice and cruelty. In addition to all this, and in defiance of the sagacious calculations of one of his pretended answerers, population, instead of being increased, would rapidly decay. These Indians have continually declined in their numbers, notwithstanding their decrease has been checked by their cohabitation with the blacks. Where the fruits of no man's labour are secured; where no man has acknowledged children to labour for; where, according to the wish of Godwin, every child is without a known father, and possessed of a casual instead of a family name, no man will labour. He, who is willing to be industrious, seeing all his

earnings destined to become the prey of strangers and enemies, of sloth and villainy, will retire from the hopeless pursuit with disdain, and consent to starve with the multitude, rather than toil for wretches, whom it must be difficult not to hate, and impossible not to despise. What a pity it is that Godwin, and all who relish his doctrines, should not obtain the privilege of sharing in the dignity and happiness enjoyed in this state of human perfection!

The great calamity experienced by these Indians, and by all other people in the like circumstances, is this: within the horizon of their thought not a single motive arises, not a single inducement is visible, which might awaken their drowsing energy, or prompt them to any useful effort. Man, without motives to exertion, is a beast or a log; with them, he can become an Alfred or a Paul. But the motives must be such as he is fitted to feel; and Indians, without greater exertions in their behalf than those which have hitherto been made, will never feel, nor even comprehend, such motives as influence civilized man. The great hindrance to their improvement does not lie, as some dreaming European philosophers have supposed, in the inferiority of their minds. Their minds are natively of the same structure with those of Frenchmen or Englishmen. This position is completely proved by the fact, that the children of Americans, Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Dutchmen, and Frenchmen, when captivated by them in early life, become mere Indians, distinguishable in nothing, except a small difference of colour, from the native savages. Not one of them ever discovered half the capacity, or rose to half the distinction, which the history written by white men records of Miantonimoh, Philip, Sassacus, Uncas, or the great Hendrick. Nay, the Canadian descendants of the French peasantry are many of them inferior in every respect to the aborigines. The philosophy of Buffon, therefore, of De Pauw and various others concerning this subject, would have been better spared; for it is unsupported even by the shadow of a reason, or a fact. The real cause of all this degradation in the Indian is the want of such motives to exertion as he is prepared to feel within the view of his mind. The only cause of human distinction, also, is the existence of such motives. Where nothing prompts to action, nothing will be done; where sufficient inducements are presented, every thing will be done

which is within the grasp of human power. When motives cease to operate and excite, man will lounge away life; saunter from place to place without knowing why; dress himself in a blanket; seat himself upon a stone; smoke through the day at the door of a weekwam; or stretch himself to sleep under the nearest hedge. When motives arouse him to exertion, he will cross unknown oceans to discover new countries; coast the polar ice to attack the whale; ascend the Andes to measure the equatorial latitude; ransack the bowels of the earth to enlarge the science of mineralogy; imprison himself in a cell for seven years to obtain the palm of eloquence; face the fangs of the catamount or the tiger, to be called the best huntsman; toil through life to accumulate an inheritance for his children; or fight battles, or slaughter millions, to wreath upon his brow the garland of triumph. With sufficient motives, also, he will resist temptation; subdue his lusts; expend his substance; and yield his life for the cause of Christianity, the salvation of men, and the glory of the Redeemer.

The Indian, when passing from savage ferocity into quiet life, undergoes this transmigration with the most unfavourable circumstances. All the considerations by which he was formerly influenced are cut off, and no new ones are introduced to his view. War and hunting, wisdom in council, and eloquence in debate, the only objects of his former ambition, and the sources of all his former glory, vanish at once. To them nothing succeeds which presents him a single allurements. He hates labour, and is therefore poor. But among civilized people poverty is, in the common opinion, only another name for disgrace. For reflection and study he is utterly unqualified; from the want, not of capacity, but of inclination. Labour and thought, therefore, being both odious, and in his view contemptible, he is at the outset precluded from attempting either. But with these, all motives which prompt to any exertion in civilized life are inseparably connected. Hence his mind is left to the government of instinct, and the remaining influence of his former habits. In this manner he sinks down to the state of a mere animal, and in his mode of life resembles a brute more than a man. Ardent spirits in this case vary the dull course of his feelings with a pleasure, derived from nothing else, and therefore peculiarly agreeable. The pool, sluggish and dead, is for a moment brushed by an

agitating breeze ; but, when it is past, the broken scum unites, and resumes its former appearance of loathsome and noxious stagnation.

Savages can be successfully changed into civilized men only in two modes. Christianity, by establishing a sense of duty to God, always conveys with it motives capable of prompting the soul to any thing which it commands ; such as the attainment of mental peace, the approbation of God, the esteem of good men, safety from perdition, and a title to eternal life. Even Indians, under its influence, have in many instances exhibited fair specimens of virtuous and commendable conduct. In spite of all their habits, they have employed themselves in useful business ; and, in spite of their ignorance and errors, have acquired the esteem of Christians. If Indians are to be civilized without the immediate influence of Christianity, the work must be accomplished in such a manner, that they must not cease to feel the motives which produced their former conduct, until they have begun to feel new ones ; that they shall be engaged by new objects of allurements before they have bidden a final adieu to the old ; and that they shall not lose the sense and hope of reputation, while passing through the metamorphosis by which they are changed from savages into citizens. An Indian, hopelessly sunk below the possession and the attainment of character, can never, without an exertion of Omnipotence, cease to be an Indian ; *i. e.* a sloth, a sot, and a vagabond.

The only passion, which can be immediately substituted for the Indian love of glory, is that which has been substituted in every civilized nation ; *viz.* the love of property. Wherever this can be established, Indians may be civilized : wherever it cannot, they will still remain Indians. The belief, that our exertions will promote our benefit and our consequence, will ever stimulate us to exertion. Without this belief, the great body of mankind will not exert themselves at all.

If the period should ever arrive, in which the inhabitants of the United States should set themselves in earnest to do good to this miserable people ; and under a sense of obligations, which can neither be denied nor lessened, should seriously attempt to make them comfortable, virtuous, and useful, here, and happy hereafter ; common sense will require, that such of them as remain in the English settlements should be gathered

on tracts, inhabited by themselves only. Those, indeed, who are to be the immediate agents in accomplishing this object, must reside with them, but no others. The contempt which this degraded people will always experience from us, and the sense of their own degradation and our superiority, will forever keep them in their present state, if they are to remain dispersed among the English inhabitants. When they are by themselves, they will be equals; and may, therefore, imbibe gradually a sense of personal character. Until this can be accomplished, nothing can be done, unless they can be persuaded cordially to embrace Christianity. Concerning this subject I may have opportunity to make some observations to you hereafter.

The inhabitants of Stonington have suffered in their religious interests from their neighbourhood to Rhode-Island. There are six congregations in this town; three of them composed of Baptists. The number of Baptist ministers I know not. There was no Congregational minister here; and the Baptist preachers were mere uneducated farmers or mechanics. Public worship therefore was either not celebrated at all, or celebrated in a forbidding and vulgar manner. Licentiousness always follows, instantly, the loss of public worship; and contempt for religion regularly follows the administration of it by ignorant men. Mankind are creatures of instruction, as well as of habit. When they are not taught, they will of course be ignorant; and when they are not admonished and reprov'd, they will of course be loose. The inquiries which I made concerning this town, of persons whose respectability could not be questioned, terminated in satisfactory evidence, that although there were some religious, and many respectable people here, yet, by the mass of inhabitants, religion was little regarded, and the standard of morals low; facts but too common along this border of Connecticut*.

In the year 1756, Stonington contained 3,518 inhabitants; blacks, 200; Indians, 965: in 1774, 5,412; blacks, 219; Indians, 245: in 1790, 5,648; in 1800, 5,487; blacks, 42: and, in 1810, 3,043. The same year, North-Stonington contained 2,534: total, 5,577.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Within a few years past a respectable minister has been settled in Stonington.

LETTER V.

Westerly. Charlestown. South-Kingston. Aboriginal Tribes formerly inhabiting New-England. Their Population. Number of Warriors, as estimated by General Gookin. War with the Narrhagansetts. Attack and Capture of their Fortress. Gallant Conduct of Captain Denison and others. Death of Nanuntenoo.

DEAR SIR ;

SATURDAY, September 20th, we left the hospitable house of Mr. D——, and rode to Newport through Westerly, Charlestown, South-Kingston, and Jamestown on Canonicut island ; thirty-eight miles.

About two miles from Mr. D——'s we crossed Paukatuc river, which divides Connecticut from Rhode-Island, and Stonington from Westerly. At the bridge there is a pretty village, principally in Westerly, containing perhaps twenty houses. In this village a bank has lately been established with a capital of 100,000 dollars, which may be increased to 150,000.

Paukatuc river forms the only harbour in Westerly, and furnishes excellent fisheries for bass, eels, black-fish, shad, and herrings. In the bay, which is formed at its mouth, these kinds of fish are caught in as great abundance as perhaps in any part of New-England. Long and round clams, also, oysters, and a little farther out in the Sound lobsters, are found in great numbers.

The land in this township is divided into two kinds. The border of the Sound, which is generally good, and that in the interior, which is a collection of hills, stony, sandy, and lean, originally covered with shrub oaks and pitch pines. This ground, which constitutes a considerable part of the township,

produces scarcely any thing, beside small crops of rye. On the former of these tracts the inhabitants are generally in good circumstances. On the latter, though said to be industrious, they are generally, and indeed necessarily, poor and unthrifty. Except the village above-mentioned, Westerly is a collection of farms.

There is a good common school near the bridge, styled an academy. There are several other schools in the township, as much inferior to this as the parochial schools in other parts of New-England are to the academies.

Immediately after leaving Pankatuc village, a traveller is struck with the sudden change of the whole artificial scenery. The houses, a few excepted, are small, old, and ragged. The barns vanish, and the tidy, thrifty appearance of Connecticut ceases. Every thing indicates a want of energy; a destitution of all views and efforts towards improvement; a sluggish acquiescence in inconveniences and imperfections, which a more vigorous disposition would easily remove.

About one-fourth of the people of Westerly are supposed to be Sabbatarians, or seventh-day Baptists. Some of these people appear to be religious, and are more distinguished by good morals than most of their neighbours. The remainder are chiefly Baptists.

Charlestown resembles Westerly in soil and surface, in its houses and inhabitants. The lands on the Sound are, however, more beautiful and more fertile, consisting of smooth, easy slopes, and handsome plains, divided into spacious fields, and fed by fine herds of cattle. The season was now remarkably dry, yet there were sufficient proofs of the fertility of these grounds. A great part of the houses are ill-built, misshapen, and unrepared; and exhibit an absolute want of both taste and economy. The people of Charlestown, who live on the Sound lands, appear to be in good circumstances, and furnish for exportation a considerable quantity of beef, butter, and cheese; all in good reputation. The whole of this tract seems to have reached the highest point of improvement, aimed at by the inhabitants, and to be either stationary or declining. Their products, their houses, their manners, and their enjoyments, are much the same as they were fifty years ago, and as they probably will be fifty years to come.

In the southern part of this township is a pond, called Pauwaget, or Charlestown pond, and part of another called Conaquoatog, the remaining part being in Westerly. The former is about four miles in length, and extensively visible along this road. It is separated from the Sound by a narrow beach, through which several passages have been made for the admission of fish. In these two ponds, and several others in Westerly, Charlestown, and South-Kingston, immense numbers of streaked bass, and various other kinds of fish, are caught annually.

Westerly contained, in 1790, 2,298 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,329; and, in 1810, 1,911*.

Charlestown, in 1790, contained 2,022 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,454; and, in 1810, 1,174. This extraordinary decrease I am unable to explain.

On the north side of the road through both Westerly and Charlestown the ranges of hills, which are numerous and sudden, terminate either immediately on the road, or at a small distance, presenting to the eye their rough, ragged ends, covered with sands, or loaded with a dismal collection of naked rocks. Desolate and barren grounds are often scenes of romantic wildness and grandeur; here they were objects of mere disgust.

About ten miles from Newport the road turns directly northward round a handsome hill, and winds along its eastern margin by the side of a river. At the end of two or three miles it turns eastward again, and crossing the river ascends a beautiful slope, and descends another of the same appearance to Canonicut ferry.

The whole of South-Kingston, the next township to Charlestown, so far as it is visible in the road, is pleasant and fertile. The surface is extensively undulating. The hills rise and fall with great ease and elegance, and are rounded with lines peculiarly flowing and graceful. The inhabitants appeared to be prosperous, and the agriculture superior to what we had before seen in this state. In 1790, this township contained 4,181 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,488; and, in 1810, 3,560.

The flat country in these three townships is appropriately called Narrhaganset, or the Narrhaganset country.

* Westerly was the principal seat of Ninigret, one of the two chief sachems of the Narrhagansets.

The Honourable Major-General Gookin, who has left, in many particulars, the best ancient account extant of the natives of this country, informs us, that, originally, five principal Indian nations occupied the chief part of New-England. The limits of this country on the north and west, were, at that time imperfectly defined. The tracts, assigned to these five nations by Mr. Gookin, amount, also, to less than one half of the present New-England. We are, therefore, to understand this account with important qualifications.

The Pequods are the first of these nations. The jurisdiction of this people spread over the country, commencing about five miles east of Paukatuc river, at a place called Wecapaug, in the township of Westerly, and terminating near the western boundary of Connecticut. Mr. Gookin observes, that their sachem held dominion over a part of Long-Island, the Mohegans, the Segamores of Quinipeake (Quinipiac, or New-Haven), the people on Connecticut river, and over the most southerly inhabitants of the Nipmuc country about Quinibaug, the southern part of the county of Worcester. The country, inhabited by the Pequods, has been already pointed out.

The second of these nations was the Narrhagansets, who inhabited most of the country which is now the state of Rhode-Island, and had also several tributaries.

The third nation was the Pawkunnakuts or Wampanoags, who inhabited the three counties of Plymouth, Bristol, and Barnstable, or the old colony of Plymouth.

The fourth of these nations was the Massachusetts, who occupied the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, and Middlesex, and probably the eastern border of Worcester.

The fifth nation was the Pawtuckets, who lived in the county of Essex, the northern part of Middlesex, and the county of Rockingham, in New-Hampshire.

The two last of these nations I suppose to have been comprehended under the common name of Aberginians.

To these nations may be added the Nipmucs, or Nipnets, who occupied the county of Worcester, and were extensively tributary to the three first, which have been mentioned; the Mohekaneews, who extended their jurisdiction over the counties of Berkshire, in Massachusetts; Columbia, Rensselaer, a part of Washington, Ulster, Albany, and Saratoga in the

State of New-York ; and the county of Bennington in Vermont; and the Tarrateens, who possessed a great part of the district of Maine.

Westward of these nations, and bordering upon them, were the Iroquois. These I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

The comparative strength of these chief nations, as declared by the oldest Indians in Mr. Gookin's time, was as follows:—

	Warriors, when most numerous.
The Pequods	4,000
Narrhagansets	5,000
Pawkunnakuts	3,000
Massachusetts	3,000
Pawtuckets	3,000
Nipnets, probably	1,000
Mohekaneews	1,000

From the smallness of the number of children, who survive their childhood, and the universal devotion to war among the savages of this country, which makes every man a warrior as early and as late as he can possibly employ himself in this business, it may be safely determined, that one person out of four is a warrior. The whole number of these nations, therefore, at the time of their greatest known prosperity, may be safely considered as within the following enumeration:—

The Pequods	16,000
Narrhagansets	20,000
Pawkunnakuts	12,000
Massachusetts	12,000
Pawtuckets	12,000
Nipnets	4,000
Mohekaneews	4,000
Total	80,000

This population covered between thirty and forty thousand square miles, and may be considered as the acme of Indian population; for there is no tract of country, equally distant from the equator, which could boast of so many advantages, or furnish equal means of subsistence to man, living in the Indian manner. It is believed, that one third, if not one half

of this population, was sustained on fish only. The Narrhagansets, whose country was much more populous than that which was inhabited by any other of these tribes, were proprietors of the best fishing grounds; *i. e.* for such fish, Indians were able to take, furnished by the continent North America. From this source was derived the uncommon populousness of the Narrhaganset territory.

In the numbers, mentioned above, are intentionally included all the subordinate and tributary tribes; who, as I apprehend, being either obliged or voluntarily inclined to take the field with their lords paramount, were customarily reckoned in the number of their warriors. These numbers are given, as I have observed, according to the accounts of the oldest Indians within the knowledge of General Gookin. My own opinion is, that they are most, if not all, exaggerated. Seventy thousand, or two to a square mile, would, I am satisfied, include every Indian, living on this tract at any preceding period.

The Narrhagansets were undoubtedly the most formidable tribe in New-England after the Pequods. I have observed, that their dread of the Pequods prevented them from uniting in the scheme of exterminating the people of New-England, proposed by Saccacus in 1637. Their dread of the English colonists prevented them from openly uniting with Philip, who formed the same design, and attempted to execute it in the year 1675. Still they favoured his enterprise; and entertained his warriors with a hospitality, which contradicted both their professions and their treaties. Their warriors, also, went into the field with this chieftain; and took their share in his battles, murders, and conflagrations. Satisfied of these facts, the commissioners of the united colonies resolved, in the month of November, 1675, on an expedition against these people; and for this purpose directed an army of a thousand men to be immediately raised. Of these, Massachusetts was to furnish 527; Plymouth, 158; and Connecticut, 315. Connecticut, however, sent 300 soldiers, and 150 Moheagans and Pequods. Major Treat commanded the Connecticut troops; Major Bradford, those of Plymouth; and Major Appleton, those of Massachusetts. Mr. Winslow, governor of Plymouth, commanded the whole. The Massachusetts and Plymouth

the 18th they were joined by their friends from Plymouth and Massachusetts. The night following was tempestuous and very cold. The snow fell to a considerable depth and the army was without a shelter. Very early in the morning of the 19th they marched against the enemy, and were defeated in a swamp, which I suppose to be that called Mud Swamp, in the northern part of Charlestown. In the dark and thick recesses of this dismal place was an island, containing five or six acres of ground, enclosed with palisades.

Here the Narraganset warriors, above two thousand in number, armed with one thousand muskets, besides many bows and arrows, furnished with ammunition, and possessed of the means to use them, had collected their whole strength, together with their women and children, and their winter's stock of provisions. One of these people, named Peter, had quarrelled with his countrymen, and fallen into the hands of the English. This man promised to guide them to the fortress, and actually fulfilled his promise. The Massachusetts led the van; those of Plymouth occupied the centre; and those of Connecticut the rear.

Seven miles this band of heroes waded through the snow, and in the dawn and one o'clock P. M. They reached the fort, while their enemies were employed in dressing their lines, without a suspicion of their approach. The New-England forces could discover but one entrance into the fort; this was on a log, felled across the exterior ditch. The

and driven before them into the fort. From this embarrassment they were delivered by Peter, who led them to another opening. Here some trees, lying loosely as they fell, obstructed their course; and a block-house, directly in front, threatened them with destruction. The passage, however, was possible; and they attempted it without hesitation: but the fire from the block-house was so great, and so well directed, that they were compelled to fall back. The attempt was immediately renewed, notwithstanding they lost a number of men in the onset, and, among others, Captains Johnson and Davenport, who fell while they were fighting gallantly at the head of their companies.

During this struggle the Connecticut troops became impatient of their situation in the rear; but found it impossible to act with any advantage against the enemy, as the main body of the army was between them and the fort. A part of them, therefore, moved round to the opposite side, and forced their way, over the hedge, through a gap in the palisado. The Indians were so occupied in defending the entrance, where the Massachusetts' people began the assault, that these men crossed the hedge, and came upon their rear unobserved. Here they poured upon them a well-directed fire. Every man took aim; and every man was a marksman. The execution, therefore, was great.

Just at this time some of the officers, commanding the main body of the Colonial army, cried out, "They run." At the word the soldiers pushed their enemies with increased vigour, and compelled them from their shelter. The contest then became still more violent: but it was now carried on in the open field; and was therefore more destructive to the Indians, and less so to the New-England forces. The battle lasted from two to three hours; and ended in the expulsion of the enemy from the fort. The soldiers in the mean time set fire to their weekwans, and destroyed them.

Three of the Massachusetts captains, Johnson, Davenport, and Gardiner; and three of the Connecticut captains, Seely, Gallup, and Marshall, were killed outright. Captain Mason of Connecticut, and Lieutenant Upham of Massachusetts, died of their wounds. The killed and wounded soldiers amounted to two hundred and ten. Eighty of these died,

either on the field, or soon after the battle; forty belonging to Connecticut, thirty to Massachusetts, and ten to Plymouth. The loss of the Indians, according to the confession of Potock, one of their principal men, taken afterwards at Rhode-Island, amounted to seven hundred killed outright, and three hundred more who died of their wounds. Six hundred men, women, and children, were taken prisoners. The whole number of the savages in the fort is supposed to have been four thousand. The remainder escaped.

After the battle, the New-England troops marched immediately back to their former places of rendezvous; carrying with them their wounded, and most of their dead. Their march lay through a pathless wilderness. The frost was severe, and the snow so deep, that they were scarcely able the next day to move at all. To these inclemencies the wounded were exposed, equally with the rest.

The Connecticut troops having suffered very severely from their march, as well as from the conflict and the succeeding hardships, it was thought proper, that they should return immediately to Stonington. The Massachusetts forces, together with those of Plymouth, took up their head quarters in the neighbourhood; and by destroying the provisions of the Indians, frequently alarming them, captivating some, and killing others, distressed them not a little.

Few events in the annals of war have exhibited more honourable proofs of patience and fortitude under severe sufferings, or of gallantry and firmness in battle, than this enterprise. The enemy greatly outnumbered the New-England army; and in numbers, not less than theirs, were furnished with fire arms. They were at the same time immured in a fastness, and defended by a fortification, in the highest degree favourable to the Indian manner of fighting: being secured in a great measure from the view of their enemies; while their enemies were perfectly open to them. The savages were brave, and desperate: for they fought near three hours, and until half of their warriors fell. The New-England army, also, lost early in the engagement the greater part of their principal officers. Marching through snow, even of a moderate depth, is attended with excessive fatigue; and to be exposed night after night to repeated snow storms, and severe

frosts, has of itself been often fatal. All these evils were accumulated upon the New-England troops in a deep forest; and were borne without a fear, a murmur, or a thought of returning before the purpose was accomplished. Not a single instance of cowardice, impatience, or dishonour, is left on record. The officers and men, without an exception, suffered, fought, and endured, as a band of brothers. When all the circumstances are considered, I am satisfied, that it will be difficult to point out in the history of mankind a fairer specimen of heroism or of fortitude.

The great reason for undertaking this enterprise, beside the treachery of the Narrhagansets, was the extreme danger apprehended from their inroads upon the colonies in the ensuing spring. The commissioners certainly acted very wisely in determining to attack them before the commencement of their hostilities. They had already proved themselves to be determined enemies; and were waiting only for an advantageous opportunity to invade the colonies. Had they been let alone till the ensuing season, they would undoubtedly have destroyed great multitudes of the New-England people; great multitudes, I mean, more than they actually destroyed. The colonial troops marched at the critical moment. A snow first, which immediately after fell to a great depth; and then a thaw, which dissolved the snow, and filled the low grounds with water; would have rendered it impossible for them to reach the enemy, until the season was too far advanced to allow the hope of any important success. On the whole, Providence smiled on the undertaking in many important particulars, every one of which seems to have been indispensable to its success.

In the ensuing spring the remainder of this people, joining themselves to Philip and his associates in different parts of New-England, destroyed many of the towns, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants.

In the month of March, Captain George Denison, of Stonington, one of the bravest and most skilful of partisans, made a successful incursion into the Narrhaganset country; where he surprised and seized Nanuntenuo, son of Miantonimoh, and the chief sachem of this people. He was offered his life upon condition of living in peace with the colonists: but he

he offer with disdain; and would not permit any in-
to be made for his life; declaring, with a loftiness
which would have been admired in a Grecian hero,
lose to die before his heart became soft, and before
tered any thing unworthy of his character.

course of this season, Denison, with his volunteers,
l took, in several expeditions, 230 of the enemy,
aving one man either killed or wounded. This fact,
any circumstances would have been extraordinary,
astonishing; for the Indians are the most exact marks-
; world*. During the whole of this season Philip and
ites were everywhere pursued, throughout the different
e country, by Major Talcott, Captain Denison, Cap-
h, and many other gallant officers and men, without
on. Parties everywhere scoured the country, and
dians neither safety nor rest. In August, Philip,
e and soul of the war, was surprised and shot by
, one of the soldiers of Captain Church. With him
and exertions of the enemy in the southern half of
land expired. Peace was established the following
ere were, a few years since, remaining in the country
ndred of the descendants of these people, and of
hours, the eastern Nianticks. I know nothing in
acter or circumstances, which distinguished them
Indians of Stonington.

I am, Sir, &c.

ive actions of the Connecticut volunteers have not been enough
Denison's name ought to be perpetuated. The Narrhaganset
aged the Indians, and made them desperate; and the English
after that, were in greater terror than before; but this success-
hem, and ferreting them out of their burrows, sunk and broke
and seems to have determined the fate of the English and
ch until then was doubtful and uncertain.—Hutchinson, vol. i,

LETTER VI.

Canonicut Island. Newport; its Buildings, Harbour, and Fortifications. Proposition of the French Government relative to the Occupancy of Newport. Remarkable Cliffs and Chasm. Enumeration of the Fish brought to this Market. Healthfulness and Commerce of Newport. Its Settlement.

DEAR SIR;

WE crossed Canonicut ferry, lying between what is here called Boston neck and that island; and then rode across the island, one mile in breadth, to Newport ferry.

Canonicut is a beautiful island, sloping with great elegance from the middle to the shores. All the lines of its surface are graceful, and the soil is rich. It is about seven miles long from north to south, and includes a single township, incorporated in 1678 by the name of Jamestown, which, in 1790, contained 507 inhabitants; in 1800, 501; and, in 1810, 504.

The prospects from the highest part of this island are uncommonly handsome.

We crossed Newport ferry, between Canonicut and the island of Rhode-Island, more rapidly than either of us wished; and arrived at 7 o'clock.

The next day, Sunday, September 21st, we attended divine service in the Rev. Mr. Patten's church. Monday and Tuesday morning we spent in examining the town, the fortifications in the harbour, the remains of the British works erected during the revolutionary war, and several other objects in the neighbourhood.

Newport is built near the southern end of the island of Rhode-Island, upon the western shore. Its site is a beautiful slope, rising from the water to the eastern side of the town. It is unnecessary to observe, after what has been repeat-

edly said upon this subject, that it is irregularly laid out, like most other towns in the United States. The streets, except Main Street, which is a mile in length, straight and wide, are narrow. Almost all the houses are built of wood; few comparatively are painted; many are out of repair, and many stand endwise upon the street. The town strikes the eye of a traveller, therefore, much less agreeably than he would naturally expect from the figure which it has long made in the history and commerce of this country. To most of the houses are attached small, and to a considerable number large gardens, which diffuse a cheerful sprightly aspect around them. The good houses, of which there is a considerable number, are scattered, and frequently illuminate spots, which would be otherwise absolutely gloomy. A few of them may be styled handsome.

Newport contains ten buildings erected for public worship, of which the Baptists have four, the Presbyterians two, the Episcopalians, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews, one each. Of these buildings the best is the Episcopal church; but even this appears old and neglected. There is also an academy, a library, a court-house, and a gaol. The court-house is a decent building. The library was formerly valuable; but many of the books were lost or carried away, and many more were injured, while the British were in possession of the town.

The harbour of Newport is deep, and sufficiently capacious, to admit any number of vessels of any size, which will probably ever be assembled in one body. Indeed, all the waters which encompass this island, except those on the south, may be regarded as one vast harbour. The anchorage is very good. The egress and ingress are perfectly easy, and its position is in the highest degree favourable for the commerce of the east and of the south.

Fortifications were begun here under the auspices of President Adams, who intended this place as a station for the future American navy. They consist of six different erections, one on Goat-Island, one on Rose-Island, one on Canonicut, at the point called the Dumplings, two on Rhode-Island, and one on another island. These are all parts of a great scheme, intended to affect and control the harbour and its entrances; and, it has been supposed, will be sufficient for this purpose.

Of this subject I am a very incompetent judge, yet I cannot but confess myself doubtful concerning it.

I was never so struck with the insidiousness of the proposal, made by the French government, to have this island and harbour ceded to them by congress, as at this time. Congress, indeed, had it not in their power to alienate any part of the territory of any state. The arguments adduced by the French, to persuade congress to a compliance with their wishes, were, that a French fleet, being kept here, with a considerable body of land forces, would prevent the island from being seized anew by Great Britain, and preclude the British from a harbour on our coast, would be ready at all times, as an ally, to defend us in war, and would furnish a valuable market for our productions in peace. Had this story been told in plain English, it would have run thus:—Newport would furnish a convenient station for French ships at all times; and especially when France was at war with Great Britain, would enable the French to awe us in time of peace, and to distress us by harassing our coast, and destroying our trade in time of war; would furnish us with just such an ally as the man in the fable became to the horse, when he assisted him to drive off the stag; with masters, voluntarily invited by us, and kindly disposed to rule and ride us, according to their pleasure.

Soon after Mr. Jefferson's entrance upon the presidency, the fortifications in this harbour were discontinued. Any nation that pleases may, therefore, now occupy this advantageous spot; and will never be driven off from it by force, until the Americans shall have wisdom enough to raise up a fleet sufficient to command it on the side of the ocean.

The commerce of Newport was formerly extensive, but was destroyed in the revolutionary war. A part of the inhabitants were driven off, and the part which remained behind were not a little distressed by their invaders. The effects of these disasters are felt to the present time, and the town has never recovered its former prosperity. Before the revolution, also, the inhabitants carried on a brisk trade to the African coast. This has been prohibited by the national government, and has therefore been chiefly, though it is said not entirely, discontinued. A few individuals, with a laudable spirit of enterprise, have made several successful attempts in commercial business.

of other kinds ; and the spirit of the citizens, which seems to have been rather asleep than awake for some years past, is beginning to revive. Still an air of inactivity prevails here ; and, though many of the inhabitants are said to be rich, few of them seem to be engaged in any active designs of adding to their property.

On Monday morning, D. Lyman, Esq., collector of this port, a gentleman to whom we were indebted for many civilities, accompanied us to the seat of the late Godfrey Malbone, Esq., now the property of Mr. William Rotch, of New-Bedford. The gardens appear to have been once well stored with fruit, and other productions. The spot is delightful ; and the house originally included many conveniences, but its appearance must have been always indifferent. The farm, on which it stands, containing a thousand acres, is an object of great beauty and value.

From this place we proceeded to Tommany Hill, a little eastward of Mr. Malbone's house, on which the British built a fort, while they had possession of Newport. This is a fine eminence, commanding the best view of the island, the bay, the town, the neighbouring islands, the river far up towards Providence, and the opposite main.

In the afternoon I accompanied Major Lyman to the southern shore of the island. Here, at the distance of a mile and a half from the town, is a remarkable range of cliffs, formed of pudding-stone, exactly like that which abounds in the neighbourhood of Boston, particularly on the Dedham and Plymouth roads. These cliffs are forty feet in height, and contain a chasm six feet wide, one hundred and fifty feet long, measuring back from their front, and descending below the surface of the water, to a depth which is unknown. The darkness, raggedness, and perpendicularity of this chasm give it an awful appearance, and have entailed upon it the emphatical name of Purgatory.

One of our American philosophers, whom Major Lyman conducted to this place some years since, and who observed that he had never before seen any thing which resembled these rocks, was asked what he thought concerning their origination. He answered, that they were undoubtedly derived from the petrification of vegetable matter. Upon being further asked

how long he supposed the progress of petrification had been going on, he replied, "probably a million of years, perhaps two million, and not improbably five or six. The period has undoubtedly been a very long one, but how long it is impossible to determine."

A plain man, in the exercise of mere common sense, would naturally have recollected, that vegetable matter contains in itself no principle of petrification; that whenever vegetables have been petrified, the induration has been invariably effected by means of some fluid existing in the earth or its waters; that no vegetable was ever known to be petrified while lying in a dry position on its surface; that vegetables are indeed capable of becoming mould; but that this mould, unless accumulated by rains or streams, does nowhere, even on this continent, where it seems to have been forming from the remotest period, exceed twenty-four inches in depth; and that, therefore, it cannot possibly have been accumulated here alone, to the depth of more than forty feet.

Such a man would also have asked, how this vegetable matter was originally formed, and afterwards petrified, beneath the surface of the ocean, where no terrene vegetable could possibly grow. He would next have inquired, how the plums (*i. e.* the pebbles, and other larger stones), often exceeding twelve inches in diameter, embosomed by this mass in numbers apparently infinite, could exist in petrified vegetable matter; whether they originally grew within the substance of plants, shrubs, and trees, or whether they were anciently (*i. e.* two or three millions of years ago) the kinds of fruit which they bore; or whether the cause of the petrification, proved by the uniformity of the embosoming mass to be perfectly simple, turned the vegetable matter, uniform also, partly into this mass, and partly into the plums, of which some are slate, some are quartz almost pure, some are granite, some are sandstone, and others are very different from each other, and from them all. If neither of these modes of explanation satisfied him, he would further ask, whether, when the first stratum of vegetable matter began to undergo the process of petrification, it lifted, by some unknown effort, the plums which were beneath above its upper surface, that they might be ready for the next stratum; and then another set of plums,

above the surface of the second, to be ready for the third; thus raising them through all the superincumbent strata, until, finally, the last collection was supplied for the stratum which was uppermost.

After making these inquiries, he would have recurred to his own observation, if it had extended so far, and recollected, that pudding stone exists at little distances in every part of this country; and that the embosoming mass always partakes of the nature, qualities, and appearances of the ground in which it is formed. He would recollect, that this mass is sometimes cemented loam, containing in it the same grit which is found in the adjoining earth; that in sand, it is a mere sand stone, differing from the surrounding sand in nothing but hardness; that in the soil called brick-mould, it varies from a brown, faintly shaded with red, to a red, approaching to crimson; and that in yellow earth, its hue is a variety of the same colour. He would remember also, that in its tenacity it varies from mere earth to the most solid rock; the parts being often so friable as to be easily pulverized between the thumb and finger; that they are often decomposed by the weather, and that in both these cases they become again the very earth, of which they were formed. He would remember also, that rocks of pudding-stone, both solid and stratified, of every form and every size, exist in the bowels of the earth, at every depth which has been explored, and in the bowels of mountains; and that they rise singly to a considerable height above the surface adjacent, so as to require for their formation, that the vegetable matter should be heaped up and confined in detached spots, in an extraordinary manner. Finally, he might be informed, that great mountains are chiefly composed of the same stone; to the formation of which, it must be admitted, a soil unusually productive, and a vegetation remarkably prolific, were indispensable. From all this a plain man would naturally conclude, especially as he always found the stones in the embosoming mass the very same, and lying in just such clusters as those imbedded in the earth around them, that pudding-stone is formed by the efficacy of a fluid, cementing and thus petrifying the earth; and that its substance was not vegetable matter.

The well-bred people of Newport have the same polished,

agreeable manners which prevail along the eastern coast of Massachusetts. The decay of business has produced here its customary consequences. The men of wealth live by loaning their money, without entering, in any great degree, into active, useful business. The poor people catch fish for their sustenance, and lounge and saunter for their pleasure. This state of things is unnecessary and unhappy.

Religion and morals are here not on a high scale. In the church, where we attended divine service, there were perhaps thirty persons present in the morning, and in the afternoon not more than sixty or seventy. The day was wet, but the streets are paved; the members of the congregation live at little distances from the church, and the minister is respected and beloved. I was informed, that in all the other churches, except one belonging to the Baptists, the attendance is usually thin.

The people of Newport are in general not very friendly to the college in Providence. For this, the following reason was mentioned to me. When the college was in projection, it was proposed to place it where the largest subscription should be obtained. Newport contributed the greatest sum, yet it was placed at Providence; and the resentment of the people of Newport has not subsided.

In a former part of these Letters I mentioned, that I would give some account of the fish found on the coasts of New-England. Newport is acknowledged to be the best fish-market in the United States. The following list of the fish, caught in the neighbouring waters, was furnished me by my friend Mr. S. of this town:—

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|------------------|------------------|
| *1. Alewife, | 12. Cutfish, |
| *2. Anchovy, | 13. Cravalley, |
| *3. Bass, | *14. Mud clam, |
| *4. Sea bass, | *15. Beach clam, |
| *5. Blue fish, | 16. Cockle, |
| 6. Brill, | 17. Conckle, |
| *7. Bonetta, | *18. Green crab, |
| 8. Bill fish, | 19. Sand crab, |
| 9. Chiving, | *20. Sea crab, |
| 10. Cusk, | 21. Spider crab, |
| *11. Cauchogset, | 22. King crab, |

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|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 23. Running crab, | *63. Rudder fish, |
| *24. Drum, | *64. Roach, |
| 25. Dace, | 65. Seal, |
| 26. Dog fish, | 66. Shark, |
| 27. Egg fish, | 67. Sting ray, |
| *28. Sea eel, | 68. Skip jack, |
| 29. Sand eel, | *69. Scuppague, |
| *30. Lamprey eel, | *70. Succoteague, |
| *31. Common eel, | *71. Sturgeon, |
| *32. Flounder, | *72. Sheepshead, |
| *33. Frost fish, | *73. Salmon, |
| *34. Flying fish, | 74. Skate, |
| 35. Grunt, | *75. Shad, |
| *36. Haddock, | *76. Smelt, |
| *37. Hake, | 77. Soal, |
| *38. Halibut, | 78. Sucking fish, |
| *39. English herring, | *79. Silver fish, |
| 40. Lancet, | *80. Escallop, |
| 41. Limpet, | 81. Squid, |
| *42. Lobster, | *82. Shrimp, |
| 43. Maid, | *83. Shiner, |
| *44. Mullet, | 84. Sea snail, |
| *45. Black muscle, | 85. Sager, |
| *46. Pale muscle, | 86. Sword fish, |
| *47. Manhaden, | 87. Tarpum, |
| *48. Round mackarel, | *88. Tautaug or black fish, |
| *49. Small ditto, | 89. Thornback, |
| *50. Spanish ditto, | *90. Tom cod, |
| *51. Large-horse ditto, | *91. Trout, |
| *52. Oyster, | *92. Mud turtle, |
| *53. Plaice, | *93. Toad turtle, |
| *54. Pout, | *94. Terrapin, |
| *55. Pike, | *95. Loggerhead turtle, |
| *56. Pumpkin fish, | 96. Toad fish, |
| *57. Pollock, | *97. Whiting, |
| *58. Sea perch, | *98. Winkle, |
| *59. Pond ditto, | 99. Wilke, |
| 60. Porpoise, | 100. Yellow belly, |
| 61. Periwinkle, | *101. Cod fish, |
| *62. Quahang, | *102. Dolphin, |

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 103. Whale, | 108. Horse-foot, |
| *104. Redfin perch, | 109. Razor-handle clam, |
| 105. Sun fish, two sorts, | 110. Fresh-water clam, |
| 106. Pickerel, | *111. Fresh-water sucker, |
| 107. Portuguese man of war, | 112. Star fish, or five finger. |

Mr. S. subjoins to this list the following observations:—

“Some of the fish named in the above schedule have been seen here but seldom. The horse mackarel formerly frequented this coast in immense numbers, and in the season were constantly to be found in the market. But about the close of the revolutionary war they forsook our waters, and have not made their appearance since. They were esteemed a great delicacy, and are the largest of the mackarel species. I have prefixed an asterisk to the names of those which have been found fit for the table. Those annexed to the following numbers are in their season generally to be found in the Newport market. No. 3, 4, 5, 11, 14, 18, 30, 31, 33, 36, 38, 42, 48, 49, 52, 53, 62, 72, 88, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 101, 104.

On a skirt of this town is the foundation of a wind-mill, erected some time in the seventeenth century. The cement of this work, formed of shell lime and beach gravel, has all the firmness of Roman mortar, and, when broken off, frequently brings with it a part of the stone. Time has made no impression on it, except to increase its firmness. It would be an improvement in the art of building in this country, if mortar, made in the same manner, were to be generally employed.

Newport has always been esteemed one of the healthiest spots in America. The air of this island is almost absolutely sea air, is damp, often replenished with mists, less cold than the neighbouring continent in the winter, and less warm in the summer. The temperature resembles in some degree that of England. Whatever is the cause, it has long enjoyed this reputation, and has accordingly been a place of great resort, especially from the southern states and the West-Indies.

Newport has ever subsisted by commerce, and is still to a considerable extent employed in various kinds of commercial business. It is the port of entry, if I mistake not, for most of the trading towns in the state, Providence excepted.

The following is an abstract of the duties collected here for ten years:—

Years.	Duties.
1801	Dollars, 205,153
1802	173,067
1803	134,605
1804	136,511
1805	222,525
1806	180,692
1807	94,232
1808	63,380
1809	68,757
1810	59,075

This town was settled in 1639, by Mr. William Coddington, and seventeen others. These men, together with Mr. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane, favoured the peculiar tenets of Mrs. Hutchinson. As these tenets became more and more unpopular, Mr. Coddington, who had been a councillor in the colony of Massachusetts'-Bay, and been held in much reputation, was unwilling to continue in a country where his character and influence had materially declined. In the year 1637, he and his companions purchased this island, then known by the Indian name of Aquidnec, or Aquetnec. Here he soon after settled himself, with several of his associates. Mr. Hutchinson speedily followed him with his family, and, by the zeal and activity of his wife, was chosen governor in the place of Mr. Coddington, whom this restless, turbulent woman, incapable of any enjoyment unless when controlling both the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the community in which she lived, persuaded the inhabitants to lay aside. Mr. Hutchinson died in 1642, and Mrs. Hutchinson removed to Manhattan, afterwards New-York. Mr. Coddington was then reinstated, and continued to be respected until his death. From the effects of Mrs. Hutchinson's conduct on himself, he probably learned moderation and wisdom. The colony does not appear to have been molested by the Indians. In truth, the inhabitants were secured by the strength and bravery of the other colonies, which, however, placed no confidence either in them or in their neighbours at Providence, and would never receive them into their union.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VII.

Battle between the Americans under General Sullivan and the British commanded by Sir Robert Pigot. Stone Bridge. Tiverton. State of Rhode-Island. Its Boundaries and Divisions. Original Settlement. State of Religion and Learning. Common Schools.

DEAR SIR;

TUESDAY, September 23, we left Newport after dinner, and rode to Tiverton, twelve miles. In our journey we passed through almost the whole length and the whole breadth of the island of Rhode-Island. Everywhere we found the same finely rounded swells, elegant slopes, and handsome vallies; which, beginning as a characteristic feature at South Kingston, and continuing through Canonicut, terminated here. Except a few cliffs, which in some places form the shore, and are hanging and solemn, the surface is everywhere easy and graceful. The soil also is excellent, and especially fitted for grass. From thirty to forty thousand sheep are annually fed here, beside many neat cattle. The island abounds also in orchards; and yields a considerable quantity of garden fruit, particularly pears, of many varieties; some of them very fine. Peaches are neither excellent nor prosperous. They are injured by the peach-worm. In the spring, the sea winds are supposed to chill and shrink, and sometimes to destroy every kind of fruit. The inhabitants, therefore, surround their orchards and fruit yards with a shelter of forest or other hardy trees. Among these, cherry trees are found firmly to resist the influence of the winds. They are said to bear well; but many of those, which we saw, still exhibited evident marks of British ravages during the late war.

The fences on this island are generally stone walls, moderately well-built, and in tolerable repair. The wood was chiefly cut down by the British. In some places it has grown again to a considerable height. We passed the remains of several British works.

In a valley just below the hill, called Meeting House hill, and sometimes Quaker hill, a battle was fought between the Americans under General Sullivan and the British under Sir Robert Pigot. The Americans had crossed the river with an intention of attacking the British force in Newport; while the French fleet, under the command of the Count D'Estaing, was expected to second their efforts by sea. The count being drawn from his station by the address of Lord Howe, put to sea in pursuit of the British fleet. Here he was overtaken by a violent storm, August 11th, and suffered so severely, that he concluded to return to Boston with his fleet. A small number of his ships, only, came up with the British, and those were roughly handled. Thus the enterprise was abandoned by the French admiral. Had the Americans marched for Newport immediately after they had landed, or had D'Estaing returned to Newport after his pursuit of Lord Howe was ended, it is not improbable, that the British force might have been obliged to surrender, especially as they were ill supplied with provisions. Neither of these efforts was, however, made. Lord Howe, in the mean time, having sailed back to New-York, took on board 4,000 additional troops, and proceeded as fast as possible for Rhode-Island. The American general, having received intelligence of this measure, resolved to retreat as early as he could do it with safety. To cover this design, he employed his men in throwing up works, and made the appearance of continuing his operations with spirit. On the 26th he withdrew his army from the neighbourhood of the British works in the evening; and at three the next morning had reached his destined position, near the north end of the island, without molestation or loss. At seven the British, who, as soon as they discovered the retreat, pursued them, began a brisk fire upon an advanced body of their troops in this valley. Detachments were sent out from both armies, until the battle became in a great measure general. At the close of the engagement the advantage lay on the side of the Americans.

They were commanded by General Greene, and behaved (the militia no less than the regular troops) with a gallantry highly honourable to their character, especially as they were discouraged by the desertion of Count D'Estaing, and had scarcely recovered from their severe sufferings, occasioned by the long-continued violence of a furious storm. The next day General Sullivan, being informed that Lord Howe was on his way to intercept his retreat with a body of men, employed himself with great diligence and success to deceive the enemy, and convey his army, together with their tents, baggage, stores, and artillery, to the main. Both these purposes he accomplished in a manner very honourable to himself. All his men, and every thing belonging to them, arrived safe, except those who were killed or missing in the action. The Americans lost on this occasion thirty killed, one hundred and thirty-two wounded, and forty-four missing. The British lost thirty-eight killed, two hundred and ten wounded, and twelve missing.

Narrhaganset bay is formed by the influx of Taunton and Pawtucket rivers. The island of Rhode-Island lies in this bay, about six miles from the western, three from the northern, and where narrowest half a mile from the eastern shore. At this place we crossed the ferry, known here by the name of Howland's ferry. Two bridges have been erected over it; the first at the expense of thirty thousand dollars, and the second at that of twenty-six thousand. The latter was ruined by the sea-worms. Had the wooden piers, on which it was built, been painted with verdigrise, the loss might possibly have been prevented. A ship, whose bottom was covered with this pigment, lately returned from India to Newport, and was so sound, that the owner, it is said, sold the copper with which she was to have been sheathed. Since the loss of the second bridge it has been proposed to form a communication between the main and this place by filling up the whole breadth of the river, except a narrow passage, with stone dropped into the water, and suffered to fall as chance may direct. One-third of the depth is said to be filled with the foundation laid for the bridges already mentioned. On the Tiverton side stone can be obtained in any quantities, and in the most convenient positions. Seventy thousand dollars, it is supposed, would cover the whole expense. When it is considered how

necessary this work is for the defence of the island; how desirable for the trade of the neighbouring inhabitants, and how convenient for the purposes of general intercourse, it is impossible not to wish success to such an undertaking.

In the year 1806, the proposed bridge, mentioned in the last paragraph, was finished. Masses of granite of various sizes were, according to the plan specified, brought to the spot, dropped into the water, and suffered to fall *ad libitum*. In this manner two vast heaps, with a passage between them, were raised to the low-water mark. Above this a bridge of the same materials was raised, of mason-work, to the proper height above high-water mark, when strong walls of stone were built at the sides, and the flooring covered with gravel. This is undoubtedly the best bridge which has been erected in the United States. The work was executed under the superintendence of Daniel Lyman, Esq., the gentleman mentioned above, and cost 70,000 dollars.

On the ferry we had a full view of Mount Hope, now Bristol, one of the residences of Massasoit, the celebrated sachem of the Wampanoags, and of his son Philip.

We lodged at Tiverton, and the next morning we rode to New-Bedford, eighteen miles, through Westport, nine.

Tiverton is the north-eastern corner of this state. On the south it has Little Compton, on the east, Westport in Massachusetts, and on the north, Somerset in the same state. The parts of this township, visible on the road, were generally rocky and lean. At some distance on both sides of the road the land, as we were informed, is good, yielding not unfrequently forty bushels of maize, and twenty of barley, per acre. On the shore near the ferry the hills are high, rocky, and barren. The only pleasant object on the land side is a small village, consisting principally of new and neatly built houses, the inhabitants of which carry on a little commerce.

Tiverton contained in 1790, 2,453 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,717; and, in 1810, 2,837.

The state of Rhode-Island is situated between $41^{\circ} 17'$, and 42° north latitude, and between $71^{\circ} 6'$ and $71^{\circ} 52'$ west longitude. On the north it is twenty-nine miles in extent; on the south forty-three; on the west forty-nine; and on the east thirty-nine. Almost the whole state lies on the western side

of Narrhaganset bay. On the east are the townships of Tiverton and Little Compton; and on the north, those of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington. The state of Massachusetts borders upon Pawtucket river, from the falls to the mouth of Providence bay, an extent of about twelve or fourteen miles, and includes the head of Mount Hope bay, into which Taunton river discharges its waters. Narrhaganset bay, formed by the influx of these rivers into the ocean, contains Rhode-Island proper, Canonicut, Prudence, Patience, Hog, Dutch, Gould, and Hope islands; together with several, which are still smaller. Block-Island, which lies off the coast of Charlestown, belongs also to this state. The whole number of islands contain about ninety square miles, Narrhaganset bay about two hundred, and the remaining part of the state about one thousand three hundred; in the whole about one thousand six hundred.

This state is bounded on the west by Connecticut, on the north and east by Massachusetts, and on the south by the Atlantic. The climate and seasons are the same with those of the neighbouring countries. The soil on the islands, and a narrow border on the bay and the ocean, is rich; the remainder is partly a lean sand, and partly a cold loam, replenished with stones and rocks, cultivated with difficulty, and yielding a slender reward to the labours of the husbandman.

There are no mountains in this state.

The principal rivers are Pawcatuck, in the south-west; Pawtucket, on the north-east; and Patuxet, in the middle; and these are only large mill-streams.

The state of Rhode-Island is divided into five counties, Providence, containing ten townships; Newport, seven; Washington, seven; Kent, four; Bristol, three.

In the year	The Number of Inhabitants was
1730	17,985
1748	34,128
1761	40,636
1774	59,678
1783	51,899*
1790	68,825
1800	69,122
1810	76,931

* This diminution was occasioned by the revolutionary war.

The inhabitants of this state are almost wholly descended from the English. The original planters were chiefly immigrants from Massachusetts; part of them led by Roger Williams, and a part by Mr. Coddington. The former settled at Providence, and the latter at Newport. The former division consisted principally of Baptists. Mr. Coddington, after having lived some time in Boston, became an Antinomian; and, having lost much of his influence, removed to Rhode-Island with several other persons of the same class. Both he and Mr. Williams were held in high estimation by their followers. The wars carried on by Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, against Philip and the Narrhagansets, which terminated in the reduction of both, secured Rhode-Island from the hostilities of the Indians, and probably from absolute ruin. From the circumstances of its early settlement, Rhode-Island became naturally the resort not only of such adventurers as harmonized with them in religious opinions, but of most of those who were discontented and restless. A gradual aggregation, originated by a great variety of incidental causes, spread over the state, and occupied the whole of its territory. No single or regular scheme of colonization, beyond what has been already mentioned, was pursued. No common object united the immigrants, and no common character could be traced through the mass. Of the number, who finally filled up its extent, were Calvinistic, Arminian, Sabbatarian, and Separate Baptists; constituting, together, the largest class of inhabitants; Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Moravians, Quakers, and Jews. Of most of these classes a considerable number are Nihilists. In such casual collections of mankind, it is an almost necessary consequence of their junction in society, that their peculiar religious opinions are held with less and less tenacity; that concessions are gradually and insensibly made by each to each; that each class respects its own doctrines less, and becomes more and more indifferent to those of others; and that all religious doctrines, imperceptibly perhaps, but really, lose their influence, until the community becomes dispossessed of that beneficent efficacy, which is ever to be expected from the Gospel, wherever it is cordially believed by an undivided body of men.

The inhabitants of this state, in opposition to the rest of their New-England brethren, have uniformly refused to sup-

port the public worship of God by law, or, in other words, to make a legal provision for the support of ministers and churches. A contract between a minister and his congregation, for his maintenance, they have placed on the same footing as contracts made at the gaming-table. Hence, except in their large towns, a minister liberally educated cannot often be found. Hence the places of such ministers are filled by plain, ignorant individuals. Ordinarily these are farmers and mechanics, who push themselves into the desk for two reasons; to avoid labour, and to display their gifts; or, in other words, from sloth and spiritual pride. In the desk, almost all such men vociferate in a manner which in every other place would be thought grossly indecent; distort doctrines and precepts; dishonour ordinances; pervert the meaning of the Scriptures, and murder arguments and language. They are destitute of dignity, propriety, and candour; coarse and clownish in their manners; uncouth in their elocution; and in their discourses clumsy and ridiculous. Next to a wicked ministry, the greatest evil which can befall the church is a weak ministry.

The churches in Providence and Newport I have already described. A large and handsome one has been lately erected at Providence. Those which I have seen in the country towns appear like badly built and decayed barns.

To remedy the evil which has been here specified, the sober and intelligent Baptists of this state founded Providence college, or, as it is now called, "Brown University." The design was honourable both to their heads and their hearts. A considerable number of young men of this persuasion have been educated, and have been destined to the ministry. But, although the number of Baptists in most of the states in the Union is considerable, and in the whole great, the places are not numerous to which such ministers can look for a living. In the cities and large towns several of them find a sufficient maintenance. Elsewhere, as they are generally obliged to look only to voluntary contributions, they must receive an imperfect support. Few of them therefore, as I believe, enter the ministry. This evil is radical; and, while men continue such as they have hitherto been, can never be remedied but by the interposition of government. Of such interposition in Rhode-Island there is, however, very little hope.

Schools usually go parallel with ministers and churches.

Here, certainly, they move in the same course. Exclusive of a few attempts which have lately been made to establish academies (of which I believe one, two, or three have succeeded), and some efforts which are made in the principal towns, schools in this state can hardly be said to exist. The gentlemen, with whom I conversed on this subject, expressed their mortification and their reprobation of the conduct of the state, in strong terms; but they seemed to be hopeless concerning a reformation. Without churches, men will be vicious of course; without schools, they will be ignorant; and ignorance and vice are sufficiently melancholy characteristics of the people in whom they are united.

It is not impossible, perhaps not improbable, that the energy awakened in this state by the diffusion of manufactures, may be productive of some beneficial consequences both to learning and religion. The wealth of the inhabitants is visibly increasing with rapidity, and will probably continue to increase through an indefinite period. Wealth, wherever it is spread, generates of course the desire of character, and this passion regularly stimulates mankind to the use of those means by which it may be gratified. The first step towards giving character to children is to give them at least a decent education, and this step is always taken whenever wealth begins to be diffused. The next is not uncommonly the building of churches; and the next, the settlement and support of ministers; such, I mean, as are qualified to discharge the duties of the sacred office. Should this be the course of events in Rhode-Island, it is hardly possible that the character of the inhabitants at large should not be essentially meliorated*.

The manners of the body of the people differ materially

* These observations were made in the year 1800. Since that time, the prediction of the writer has to a considerable extent been fulfilled. The manufacturing establishments of this state have been enlarged and multiplied, and the wealth of the inhabitants increased in a more rapid manner than in any other part of New-England. With the acquisition of property, the people, particularly in the large towns, appear to have acquired more liberal views concerning the importance of learning to the community. Within three years, also, preceding 1821, revivals of religion have taken place in a good number of towns and churches, refreshing the hearts of Christians, and elevating the moral and religious character of the state.—
Pub.

from those of Massachusetts and Connecticut, as you will easily determine from the observations already made. The vices of ignorant people are always low, vulgar, and almost always predominant. Horse-racing has for a long period been a favourite pursuit. This gross amusement turns polished men into clowns, and clowns into brutes.

The Sabbath with a great part of this people is merely a day of visiting and sport. Many of the inhabitants have customarily devoted it to labour. A considerable number of persons in the trading towns, Providence excepted, have been deeply engaged in the slave trade. Some of the missionary societies have in their proceedings considered Rhode-Island as missionary ground.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Helburne Woods. Westport. New-Bedford. Its Situation, Commerce, and Settlement. Attack on Fair-Haven by the British in 1778. Gallant Defence of the Place by Major Fearing. Rochester. Wareham. Proposed Canal across the Peninsula of Cape Cod. Sandwich.

DEAR SIR;

FROM Tiverton the road speedily entered a forest, called Helburne woods: a wild, rocky, dreary tract, with hardly a cheerful object in view. The road is stony, and miserably repaired; the soil is lean; the little agriculture, found in a few solitary spots, is wretched; and the scattering houses appear as if they were inhabited by persons, who knew not where else to find a shelter. Happily, they are supplied with one great necessary of life, fuel, on easy terms. This forest is composed almost wholly of oak.

The moment we entered Westport the scene was changed. At the very boundary the earth assumes a handsomer aspect. The surface is less hilly, and less rocky. The soil, also, and the husbandry, are sensibly better. All this tract is better fitted for grazing than for agriculture. Here we saw pines, both yellow and white; the former of which continued with little interruption to Race Point.

The houses in this township are decent farmers' habitations. Except a small trading village near the mouth of a creek, at some distance south of the road, the township is distributed into plantations. The inhabitants are principally Quakers; and furnish a considerable part of the daily supplies for the market of New-Bedford.

Westport was incorporated in 1787; and contained, in 1790, 2,466 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,361; and, in 1810, 2,585. The number of houses, in 1790, was 365.

New-Bedford is a town, situated on both sides of the river Acchusnutt*, the Indian name of the neighbouring country. The township, beside a collection of farms, contains three villages; the Town, or New-Bedford proper, on the western, and Oxford and Fair-Haven on the eastern side of the river.

The situation of New-Bedford proper is an easy declivity, sloping towards the river, which here forms a noble basin, about a mile in breadth. The surface is in some degree disfigured by rocks, but is otherwise handsome. The streets are either parallel, or at right angles with the river; being laid out with perfect regularity. Unhappily they are only forty feet wide. There are five of the former, and four of the latter. The houses are generally good, and some of them expensive and handsome. There are seven valuable mansions here, inhabited by the family of Rotch.

The township contains three Presbyterian churches; one at New-Bedford, one at Fair-Haven, and one in the interior. The first and last are supplied by a single clergyman. It also contains three Friends' meeting-houses.

The soil is hard, but well fitted for pasturage. Apples and several other fruits abound: but peaches, although they grow easily, and of good kinds, are much injured by the peach-worm.

The harbour is the basin mentioned above. The entrance is narrow, the anchorage good, and the depth sufficient to admit ships of four hundred tons to the wharfs, where they are sheltered from every wind.

Both the Town and Fair-Haven are busy, commercial villages. Fifteen thousand tons of shipping belong to this port; the great body of which is owned by the inhabitants. It is chiefly made up of large vessels, employed in the whale fishery about Falkland Islands, in the Pacific ocean, and elsewhere; or in a circuitous carrying trade. The business of all kinds done here, considering the size of these villages, is great; and, hitherto, has been almost uniformly profitable: but the duties collected are of no great importance. Yet the importations are probably smaller, when compared with the quantum of

* Written Acushnett by Mr. Colton, of Plymouth, 1674.

business done by the merchants, than perhaps those of any other place in the union.

The following is an abstract of the duties collected in this port for ten years.

Years.	Duties.
1801	Dollars, 58,964
1802	15,527
1803	13,824
1804	27,344
1805	35,163
1806	26,972
1807	40,018
1808	1,324
1809	6,306
1810	10,703

A bridge is begun across the Acchusnutt from the town of New-Bedford to Fair-Haven. The proprietors, that they might take the advantage of two small islands, lying in the river, and of a bar extending from one of them a considerable distance, have formed this structure in a circuitous manner. The abutments, islands, and bar, extend about 2,000 feet, and the bridge, 3,960, or three-fourths of a mile. The water in the channel is more than thirty feet deep. The expense, estimated at thirty thousand dollars, was defrayed by the inhabitants of these two villages.

New-Bedford and Fair-Haven were both settled in the year 1764. The ground, on which they are built, was formerly included in the township of Dartmouth, incorporated in 1664. Dartmouth originally included the present Dartmouth, and the whole of the townships of New-Bedford and Westport. New-Bedford was not incorporated until the year 1787: the same year with Westport. The ground, on which the town stands, was the property of a Mr. Russel; and was purchased of him by Mr. J. Rotch, a native of Nantucket. When the question concerning the name of the proposed settlement was started, Mr. Rotch observed, that Russell was the name of the Duke of Bedford; and that this spot, having been the property of a family having the same name, should be called Bedford. Fair-Haven received its name from the beauty of

its situation. Mr. Rotch speedily built a house, stores, and wharfs; and was joined by several associates.

In Nantucket he had become thoroughly acquainted with the whaling business; and had formed interesting connections, both with the merchants and fishermen of that island. With this knowledge, and these connections, he began the business advantageously. Mr. Rotch was a Friend, of a fair character, sagacious, and persuasive. By his peculiar address he procured first from the government of France, and then from that of Great Britain, the privilege of exporting oil to those countries duty free; and was thus enabled to carry on his own business with the highest profit, and essentially to befriend that of his neighbours. In consequence of these happy beginnings, and the industry and skill with which they were followed, the town instantly began, and with one exception has ever continued to be eminently prosperous. We were not in Fair-Haven; but its appearance was pleasant and handsome.

No events of any peculiar importance occurred in the history of this town until the year 1778. On Saturday evening, the 3d of September, the British under General Gray landed 4,000 troops upon Clark's Neck, the western boundary of the river at its mouth, and marched to the town. Here they burnt houses, wharfs, &c., to the amount of £11,241; and destroyed English and West-India goods, provisions, naval stores, shipping, &c., to the amount of £85,739; amounting in the whole to £96,980, or 323,266 dollars. From this place they marched around the head of the river to Sconticut Point, on the eastern side, leaving in their course, for some unknown reason, the villages of Oxford and Fair-Haven. Here they continued till Monday, and then re-embarked. The following night a large body of them proceeded up the river, with a design to finish the work of destruction by burning Fair-Haven. A critical attention to their movements had convinced the inhabitants that this was their design, and induced them to prepare for their reception. The militia of the neighbouring country had been summoned to the defence of this village. Their commander was a man far advanced in years. Under the influence of that languor, which at this period en-

feebles both the body and the mind, he determined that the place must be given up to the enemy, and that no opposition to their ravages could be made with any hope of success. This decision of their officer necessarily spread its benumbing influence over the militia; and threatened an absolute prevention of all enterprise, and the destruction of this handsome village.

Among the officers, belonging to the brigade, was Israel Fearing, Esq., a major of one of the regiments. This gallant young man, observing the torpor which was spreading among the troops, invited as many as had sufficient spirit to follow him, and station themselves at the post of danger. Among those who accepted the invitation was one of the colonels, who of course became the commandant; but after they had arrived at Fair-Haven, and the night had come on, he proposed to march the troops back into the country. He was warmly opposed by Major Fearing; and, finding that he could not prevail, prudently retired to a house three miles distant, where he passed the night in safety.

After the colonel had withdrawn, Major Fearing, now commander in chief, arranged his men with activity and skill; and soon perceived the British approaching. The militia, in the strictest sense raw, already alarmed by the reluctance of their superior officers to meet the enemy, and naturally judging that men of years must understand the real state of the danger better than Major Fearing, a mere youth, were panic struck at the approach of the enemy, and instantly withdrew from their post. At this critical moment Major Fearing, with the decision which awes men into a strong sense of duty, rallied them; and, placing himself in the rear, declared, in a tone which removed all doubt, that he would kill the first man whom he found retreating. The resolution of their chief recalled theirs. With the utmost expedition he then led them to the scene of danger. The British had already set fire to several stores. Between these buildings and the rest of the village he stationed his troops; and ordered them to lie close in profound silence, until the enemy, who were advancing, should have come so near, that no marksman could easily mistake his object. The orders were punctually obeyed. When the enemy had arrived within this distance, the Ame-

ricans rose, and, with a well-directed fire, gave them a warm and unexpected reception. The British fled instantly to their boats, and fell down the river with the utmost expedition. From the quantity of blood, found the next day in their line of march, it was supposed that their loss was considerable. Thus did this heroic youth, in opposition to his superior officers, preserve Fair-Haven, and merit a statue from its inhabitants*.

A wag, who had divined the true reasons of the colonel's retreat, followed him to the house where he lodged; and, finding by inquiry, that notwithstanding his original declarations to the contrary, he had concluded to take up his lodgings there for the night, resolved to be his sentinel. He therefore mounted the jaw-bone of a horse upon a pair of small wheels, instead of a cannon. This piece of artillery he charged and discharged, at regular intervals during the night, as the proper means of defence to his gallant commander; and had the satisfaction of seeing him safe and sound the next morning.

The township of New-Bedford extends from Dartmouth to Rochester, four miles, and from Buzzard's bay to Freetown, thirteen. In 1790, it contained 454 houses, and 3,313 inhabitants; in 1800, 626 dwelling-houses, and 4,361 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 5,651.

Thursday, November 25th, we left New-Bedford early in the morning, and rode to Sandwich, thirty miles; through Rochester, twelve; and Wareham, thirteen. On our way we visited a manufactory of twine at the head of the harbour, and about four miles from the town. It is the property of Mr. Rotch; and will cost, it is said, forty thousand dollars when completed. It contains five stands of quills, each of which spins thirty pounds of flax per day; and a twisting machine, which easily twists all that is spun. One hundred and fifty pounds of flax, therefore, are converted daily into twine at this manufactory, or 46,950 pounds in twelve months. Sewing twine only is spun at present, and is said to be of a good quality; but it is intended soon to spin that, which is designed for netting. The flax is chiefly imported from Con-

* This account of New-Bedford I had from Edward Pope, Esq., from whom I received many civilities.

necticut. This was an application of water machinery to the convenience of man, which I have not before seen.

Soon after we passed the Acchusnutt we entered upon the great sandy plain, which forms the south-eastern region of Massachusetts. Between New-Bedford and Rochester it is tolerably firm. Thence to Wareham it becomes lighter, and the road heavier. From Wareham to Sandwich the horse may be said to wade. The forest throughout this region is principally formed of yellow pines. Oaks are however interspersed in New-Bedford and Rochester. The soil in Rochester is principally hard, and furnishes a good road.

Rochester consists of scattered plantations. The soil, so far as we had opportunity to see it, is thin and indifferent. Around a decent church we saw several well-looking houses, and a number of others in different parts of the township.

Rochester was incorporated in 1686; and contained, in 1790, 2,644 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,546; and, in 1810, 2,934.

Wareham, on the road, is almost merely a sandy plain, except a few spots lying chiefly along the streams. The soil, which is light and thin, lies immediately upon a stratum of white sand, from half an inch to eight or ten inches in thickness. Beneath this lies another stratum of yellow sand, descending below any depth to which it has been explored. As all this country is formed in the same manner to Province Town, with few and small interruptions, I shall have occasion hereafter to resume this subject.

The congregational church in Wareham is decent; but neither this, nor the church in Rochester, has a steeple.

The lands in this township, near the ocean, are said to be much better than those on the road.

Wareham was incorporated in 1739; and, in 1790, contained 854 inhabitants; in 1800, 770; and, in 1810, 851.

Between Wareham and Sandwich we crossed the neck, or isthmus, which connects the peninsula of Cape Cod with the main. Two streams from this peninsula empty their waters into Barnstable-Bay on the east, and Buzzard's-Bay on the west, whose head-waters are very near to each other. A scheme has long since been projected, and often been brought up to the view of the public, for making a canal, to connect

these two waters, of sufficient depth to admit vessels of considerable burthen, and thus save them the voyage round Cape Cod, which at some seasons of the year is not a little hazardous. The design is accompanied by the following very serious difficulties. The expense, as estimated by several successive surveyors, will be very great. There is no harbour at the entrance in Barnstable-Bay, to secure vessels aiming at the canal in tempestuous weather. This evil is radical, and can be remedied only by an expensive mole at this spot. If the canal should be guarded with locks, it would in the winter be frozen, and thus preclude all navigation at the time of the greatest exposure. If the canal should be left open, it is believed that a sand bar would be formed at one of the entrances. The importance of this work, however, is so great, that it will probably be one day attempted. During five months out of the nine, in which it would be open, easterly storms more or less prevail. Many vessels are lost; and a great mass of property is sunk in the ocean. The commerce of Boston, and other towns on the eastern shore of Massachusetts, would also be rendered so much safer and easier, that it could not fail of being greatly increased. Perhaps there never was a spot, in which such a work was more necessary, or in which it would be more useful to mankind, than in this. The distance between the navigable waters of these two bays is five miles.

The soil of Sandwich is much better than that which we saw at Wareham. The surface is an interchange of hills and valleys; which, though not beautiful in themselves, were particularly agreeable to us, after having languished over so extensive a plain. These, to a considerable extent, are moderately well covered with earth. The meadows were often brilliant. The arable land bears good crops of the grains common to the country, and among them of wheat, which not uncommonly yields well. The maize was small; but the season had been very dry, and stunted its growth. Generally the crop is good. A stranger surveying this ground would suppose, from its appearance, that vegetation of every kind must be greatly inferior to that which really exists. There are several good orchards in this town, and one cider-mill, the only one on the peninsula.

The town of Sandwich is built on the northern, or, as it is commonly called, the western side of the isthmus, on a hill of considerable height. The most compact part of it surrounds a clear, pleasant-looking pond. From this water runs a handsome stream, on which stands a grist-mill. The church is an ancient building, as are also many of the houses.

A considerable salt marsh along the shore of the bay yields the inhabitants a large quantity of hay, which is valuable both as fodder and as manure. Near it is a small harbour, called the Town harbour, where, and in some other inlets belonging to the township, about thirty vessels are employed in the coasting business, especially in carrying wood to Boston.

The general appearance of Sandwich is not unpleasant; and from the high grounds there is a fine prospect of the bay, and of the neighbouring country. There is a small academy, containing at this time a considerable collection of students.

Sandwich is divided into two parishes. It was incorporated in 1689; and, in 1790, contained 1,991 inhabitants; in 1800, 296 dwelling-houses, and 2,024 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,282. There is one society of Friends, and another of Methodists, in this township.

The inhabitants of Sandwich have very civil, decent manners. Since we were on this ground there has been a considerable revival of religion in the congregation of the Reverend Mr. Burr.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IX.

Country between Sandwich and Barnstable. Barnstable. Yarmouth. Salt Works of Cape Cod. Observations on the Extent of this Manufacture. Difficulties of Christianizing the Indians. Dennis. Harwich. Orleans.

DEAR SIR;

MONDAY, September 29th, we left our friends in Sandwich, and rode to Orleans, thirty miles; through Barnstable, twelve; Yarmouth, sixteen; Dennis, twenty-one; and Harwich, twenty-five.

The country from Sandwich to Barnstable is hilly, and in a great degree bare, bleak, and desolate, the inhabitants having universally cut down their forests and groves, and taken no measures to renew them. The soil is thin and unproductive, and furnishes very little that is sprightly to enliven the scene. The road is in many places worn through the soil down to the yellow sand, and is deep and very heavy. The hills succeed each other so rapidly, and the acclivities and declivities are so sudden as to render the travelling very laborious. It ought to be mentioned, however, that in the vallies, and towards the bay, a number of meadows alternate the prospect pleasantly. The views from the heights are frequently extensive and interesting. The streams are few and small. The houses on the road are neither numerous, nor, except in a very few instances, of much value.

Barnstable lies at the bottom, or the southern extremity of Massachusetts'-Bay. The township extends across the peninsula, which here is from five to nine miles wide, and about eight miles from Sandwich to Yarmouth. A noble prospect is seen from the high grounds, consisting of the town and neighbouring country. A very extensive salt marsh, at that time co-

vered with several thousand stacks of hay; the harbour, a mile wide, and four or five miles long; a long, lofty, wild, and fantastical beach, thrown into a thousand grotesque forms by the united force of winds and waves; and the bay, bounded on the north only by sky, on the east by the peninsula of Cape Cod, and on the west by the eastern shore of Massachusetts; Plymouth Point, a very long beach running several miles into the bay, and Duxborough Point, another beach of considerable extent, and lapping upon that of Plymouth, are conspicuous and very pleasing objects in this view.

The soil in Barnstable is plainly richer, as the situation is better, than that of Sandwich. The forest growth in both townships is chiefly oak and yellow pine. The land produces good crops of maize, rye, and other grains, a good deal of flax, and a great quantity of onions. On some grounds, and in favourable seasons, wheat grows well. Salt hay is furnished by the marshes in abundance.

The town is built on the northern declivity of a range of hills, running near the middle of the peninsula. The greater part of the houses stand on the road: taken together they are superior to those of Sandwich. Many of them are neat, and several exhibit proofs of wealth and taste. The public buildings, which we saw, were a Presbyterian church and a court-house; the latter decent and well repaired; the former disagreeable to the eye. The church is unusually low, while the tower of the steeple is disproportionately high, appearing as if made for some other building, and by accident annexed to this.

Barnstable was incorporated in 1639, and is the shire town of the county, which bears this name. This distinction it acquired in 1635, and, although situated near the western end of the peninsula, has quietly retained it ever since. From this source the manners of the inhabitants have received some degree of polish, and their morals some injury. Many of the inhabitants are seamen, and a greater part farmers.

Barnstable includes two parishes, and three congregations; two Presbyterian, and a small Baptist. In 1790, the number of inhabitants was 2,610; in 1800, 2,964; houses 406; and, in 1810, 3,646.

From Barnstable to Yarmouth the road is deep and heavy, like that last described.

The soil of this township is inferior to any which we had seen, except some parts of Wareham. Here we were first witnesses of that remarkable phenomenon, so interesting to the inhabitants of this peninsula, the blowing of the sand. I shall describe it hereafter.

The houses in Yarmouth are inferior to those in Barnstable, and much more generally of the class, which may be called with propriety Cape Cod houses. These have one story, and four rooms on the lower floor; and are covered on the sides, as well as the roofs, with pine shingles, eighteen inches in length. The chimney is in the middle, immediately behind the front door; and on each side of the door are two windows. The roof is straight. Under it are two chambers; and there are two larger and two smaller windows in the gable end. This is the general structure and appearance of the great body of houses from Yarmouth to Race Point. There are, however, several varieties, but of too little importance to be described. A great proportion of them are in good repair. Generally they exhibit a tidy, neat aspect in themselves, and in their appendages, and furnish proofs of comfortable living, by which I was at once disappointed and gratified. The barns are usually neat, but always small.

At Yarmouth also may be said to commence the general addiction of the people on this peninsula to fishing. Born and bred at the verge of the water, they are naturally tempted to seek for plenty and prosperity on the waves, rather than glean a pittance from the field. From this source is derived their wealth, and much of their subsistence.

In Yarmouth we first found the salt-works, which are now beginning to engross the attention of the people on this peninsula.

During the revolutionary war, many persons, here and elsewhere along the coast, applied themselves to the business of making salt. The process consisted in evaporating sea water from large boilers by fire. The quantity obtained in this manner was necessarily small, and the consumption of fuel great. It was therefore given up at the ensuing peace; but

the subject was not absolutely forgotten. A Mr. Kelly, having professedly made several improvements in the means of accomplishing this business, obtained a patent about two years before this journey was taken, for making salt works on the plan now generally adopted in this region. Of these the following is a description.

Vats, of a number suited to the owner's design, twenty feet square and ten or twelve inches in depth, are formed of pine planks, an inch and a half thick, and so nicely joined as to be water-tight. These are arranged into four classes. The first class, or that next to the ocean, is called the water-room; the second the pickle-room; the third the lime-room, and the fourth the salt-room. Each of these rooms, except the first, is placed so much lower than the preceding, that the water flows readily from it into another in the order specified. The water-room is filled from the ocean by a pump, furnished with vans or sails, and turned by the wind. Here it continues until of the proper strength to be drawn into the pickle-room, and thus successively into those which remain. The lime, with which the water of the ocean abounds, is deposited in the lime-room. The salt is formed into small crystals in the salt-room, very white and pure, and weighs from seventy to seventy-five pounds a bushel. The process is carried on through the warm season.

After the salt has ceased to crystallize, the remaining water is suffered to freeze. In this manner a large quantity of Glauber's salt is obtained in crystals, which are clean and good. The residuum is a strong brine, and yields a great proportion of marine salt, like that already described.

To shelter the vats from the dews and rains, each is furnished with a hipped roof, large enough to cover it entirely. The roofs of two vats are connected by a beam, turning upon an upright post, set firmly in the ground, and are moved easily on this pivot by a child of fourteen, or even twelve years. To cover and uncover them is all the ordinary labour.

The marine salt, made here, is sold for seventy-five cents a bushel, and the Glauber's salt, at from six to ten cents a pound. At these prices the salt works were supposed, by the several persons with whom we conversed, to yield an annual profit of 25, 26, 27, 30, and 33½ per cent. on the principal employed.

If this estimate is not excessive, the business must certainly be better than most others. It is useful, permanent, liable to few accidents, secure of a market, incapable of being overdone, and unattended with any material expense, either for labour or repairs. In ordinary cases a child can perform the labour of a considerable establishment, and the repairs are almost confined to the roof, and the pieces of timber by which the works are supported. If these were smeared with oil and Spanish brown, or lampblack, they would last a long time. The brine itself secures the vats from decay.

The people of Dennis, the town immediately east of Yarmouth, began this business. The improvements of Mr. Kelly were represented to me as contested and doubtful. Whatever the truth may be concerning this part of the subject, the people of Dennis have the merit, and ought unquestionably to have the honour of commencing efficaciously this useful employment.

The sight of these works excited in my mind a train of thought, which others, perhaps, will pronounce romantic. I could not easily avoid thinking, however, that this business might one day prove the source of a mighty change in the face of this country. The American coast, as you know, is chiefly barren, and of course thinly inhabited. It is, also, almost everywhere low and level; and, therefore, while it is unsuited to most other employments, is remarkably fitted to this. Why, then, may it not be believed, that many thousands of persons may one day be profitably employed in making salt along the immense extent of our shore. Why may not comfort, and even wealth, be easily, as well as usefully obtained here by great multitudes, who otherwise might hardly earn a subsistence. For aught that appears, this business may be followed with success and profit, to an extent which it would be very difficult to define. A small capital is sufficient to begin the employment with advantage. The demand for salt is at present very great, and is every year increasing. There are (1811) seven millions of inhabitants within the United States: within a moderate period there will be seventy. The West-Indian sources, from which we principally derive this necessary article of life, are now more than sufficient. The time is near, in which the demand will exceed the supplies.

from that quarter. To what means can the inhabitants of this country so naturally betake themselves, as to those which I have specified. Will they not of course erect works of this nature, in succession, from St. Mary's to Machias? Will not comfort, therefore, and even affluence, spring up on sands and wastes, which now seem doomed to everlasting desolation? Will not towns and villages smile in tracts, which are now condemned to gloom and solitude? May not multitudes, who habitually spend life in casual and parsimonious efforts to acquire a bare subsistence, interluded with long periods of sloth and drunkenness, become sober, diligent, and even virtuous, and be formed for usefulness and immortality?

About forty years since, there stood within the limits of Yarmouth an Indian church, in the neighbourhood of which, called Indian Town, resided a small congregation of praying Indians, of the Paukunnakut, or Wampanoag tribe. This was among the last relics of the efforts successfully made by our ancestors for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity. From the obstinate belief which extensively prevails, that these people can never become Christians until they shall have been first civilized, one would naturally suppose the trial never to have been made, or to have been made without any success; yet history informs us, that our ancestors spread the religion of the Gospel among them, with as few obstacles and as happy effects as were, perhaps, ever known to attend efforts of the like nature among any barbarians since the early days of the church.

From Major-General Gookin, a perfectly unexceptionable witness, we learn with certainty, that in the colony of Massachusetts'-Bay there were, in his time, eleven hundred praying Indians in fourteen villages. In the colony of Plymouth there were at the same time, including those of all ages, not far from six thousand. In Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket there were, perhaps, fifteen hundred more. When to these we add those in Connecticut, the number may be estimated at not far from ten thousand. These facts perfectly refute the opinion, that there is some peculiar difficulty attending the conversion of Indians, which is inherent in their character or manners. It cannot, however, be denied, that the attempts which have been made in modern times to spread the influence of the

Gospel among them have in a great measure been unavailing. Two great causes have, in my apprehension, produced this effect. The first of these was the general persuasion, excited by Philip, that the English were enemies to the Indians, and were embarked in a general design to possess themselves of their lands. This persuasion appears to have spread, by the agency of that sagacious chieftain, throughout the greater part of New-England, in a manner remarkably rapid and efficacious. So firmly were the Indians satisfied of the hostile and sinister designs of the colonists, that the impression has never been effectually erased. Whenever our people approach them, therefore, they are met with apprehension and distrust, strongly cherished by the sense of their own inferiority and diminution, and of the population and power of the Americans. The other cause of this difficulty is found in the character and conduct of those who are called Indian traders. These are a class of men, who, for a long period, employed themselves in exchanging coarse European goods and ardent spirits, musket powder and ball, flints, hatchets, knives, and some other commodities, with the Indians, for furs and peltry. Sometimes they resided among them permanently, and sometimes occasionally, and in either case acquired often considerable ascendancy over them. Generally they were men of loose lives as well as of loose principles. In their trade they were greedy and oppressive, and in their ordinary conduct licentious. The great part of their gains arose from the sale of ardent spirits, a business, to the success of which the vice, particularly intemperance, of the Indians was indispensable. Against Christianity and its missionaries, therefore, these men array themselves, and made on the minds of their customers the most unfavourable impressions concerning both. At the same time, they themselves were white men, and in the view of the Indians were of course Christians. With Christianity, therefore, these ignorant people almost necessarily connected the unprincipled and profligate lives of the traders, as being the only, and always the prominent, examples of what they supposed to be the proper effects of the Christian religion.*

* The same effects are produced in the minds of the Hindoos, by the loose lives of the British inhabitants of Hindostan. The most solid, most operative, objection brought by them against the Christian reli-

To these great causes must, in certain cases, be added a third, which sometimes was not inferior to either in its efficacy; I mean the very censurable character of that class of men, who usually plant themselves upon the frontier of the English settlements, a class composed principally of the foresters heretofore described. These men almost of course alienate the minds of the Indians from every thing adopted by the colonists.

Independently of these causes, there is nothing in the Indian character, which can rationally discourage efforts for their conversion. They are savages, it is true, and a savage life is hostile to religion; but how often has Christianity triumphed over this obstacle. What I especially intend is, that there is nothing of a peculiar nature in their circumstances, which would make their conversion more hopeless and difficult than that of other savages. Of this decisive proof is furnished in the facts which have been already stated. A strong illustration of the same proof is also exhibited in the remarkable success of the excellent Brainerd, who, at Cross-week-sung, converted by his preaching, so far as the human eye can judge, seventy-five Indians, out of one hundred, to the faith and obedience of the Gospel, within twelve months. What minister can boast of greater success in any congregation of civilized life! Such a fact is a flaming proof, that the difficulty here complained of does not lie in the mere character of these people.

Yarmouth was incorporated in 1639. In 1790, it contained 2,678 inhabitants, Dennis being then included within its limits. In 1800, Yarmouth alone contained 1,727; and, in 1810, 2,134. Of Dennis we saw little, except the ground on which we rode, and occasional extensions of our prospect over the neighbouring country. Of the houses and inhabitants we saw few, and those distinguished by no peculiarity. A considerable part of the road from Yarmouth to Orleans, where we

and that which is obviated with the greatest difficulty, has been derived from this source. The Mexicans made the same objection, and as they thought irresistibly, against the religion that was taught them by the Spaniards. The inhabitants of Tanjore, after having been a short time witnesses of the life of Schwartz, never thought of questioning either the reality or the excellence of his religion.

lodged, is hilly and unpleasant. The soil is principally le the verdure faded prematurely; the forests, which in Del extend along the road in one place three miles, are low-unthrifty; and the surface, though sufficiently varied, de tate of beauty. The views of the bay, and the tidy, comf able appearance of the houses, are here almost the objects which can gratify the eye of a traveller. On northern shore the soil is said to be better. Rye, Im corn, and onions are said to grow well; and are cultivated greater quantities than are necessary for the consumption the inhabitants.

The highest land in the county of Barnstable is Sea hill, in this township.

The following account of the salt works in Barnst county is taken from the collections of the Historical Soc of Massachusetts, vol. viii, page 138.

	Number of Works.	Number of Feet.
In Dennis	47	33,800
Yarmouth	4	16,630
Barnstable	14	11,717
Sandwich	4	2,702
Falmouth	4	1,900
Harwich	21	18,600
Chatham	6	11,500
Orleans	11	3,080
Eastham	12	9,100
Wellfleet	2	180
Truro	1	700
Province Town	10	11,404
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	136	121,313

You are to be informed, that these feet denote the are the several vats contained in each salt work; and that a has here a singular meaning, and denotes ten actual feet. real amount of the whole area of the vats erected on peninsula, was, in the year 1802, 1,213,130 square feet. was calculated, that these works would yield annually 40, bushels of marine salt, and 181,969 pounds of Glauber's

worth in the whole 41,701 dollars, 56 cents; of which the marine salt, valued at 75 cents a bushel, amounts to 30,328 dollars, 50 cents; and the Glauber's salt, valued at 6½ cents per lb. to 11,373 dollars, 06 cents.

Captain John Sears, of Dennis, was the first and principal author of this method of manufacturing salt, and is to be considered as one of the benefactors of his country; particularly as he persevered in bringing the design to perfection, in spite of the sneers and ridicule of his neighbours; weapons often employed in a very shameful, though successful, manner to discourage useful inventions.

There is a flourishing village on Bass river; running between Yarmouth and Dennis, on the south side of the peninsula.

Dennis was incorporated in 1793. In 1800, it contained 188 dwelling-houses, and 1,408 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,739.

Harwich presents a handsomer aspect than any other town after Barnstable. It is situated on an easy declivity towards the south, and has a tolerably good soil. The verdure was more vivid, and the agriculture more successful. The houses are generally such as have been already described*.

Orleans is not greatly distinguished by any thing from Harwich, except that it is much inferior in pleasantness of appearance. The soil also is lighter, and apparently less productive. On Pocket neck, however, lying upon the south, it is much better than in the main body of the township; and on Pocket island, in Pleasant bay, is still better. In the body of the township twelve bushels of maize, and eight of rye, are the average crop; on the neck, from fifteen to twenty of maize, and from eight to twelve of rye; and on the island twenty bushels of maize, without the aid of manure. Old men and boys are principally the husbandmen; the middle, aged, and young men are chiefly employed in fishing. Clams are the

* In the year 1803, the township of Harwich was divided, and the first parish incorporated by the name of Brewster. This is the part through which we travelled. In the year 1790, the township contained 2,392 inhabitants; and, in 1800, 2,987; in the year 1810, the present Harwich contained 1,942, and Brewster 1,112; total 3,054.

bait used by the fishermen, of which from six hundred to a thousand barrels are collected here in a single season. In this business many poor people find employment and subsistence. Very little wood grows in this township. Imported wood and peat are the fuel of the inhabitants. The township is divided into scattered plantations.

Orleans was formerly a part of Eastham, and was incorporated in 1797. In 1800, it contained 1,095 inhabitants; and in 1810, 1,248.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER X.

Truro. Province Town. Beach Grass, its utility. Soil very thin, and blown away from the White sand beneath. Manners and Habits of the Inhabitants of Province Town. Its Fisheries and Harbour. Wellfleet. Return to Harwich. Innkeeper.

MR SIR;

WE left our comfortable inn in Orleans, September 1st, and rode to Province Town, through Eastham, Wellfleet and Truro: thirty miles. When we had proceeded half our journey the road turned to the north, and thence north-west, this spot being the elbow of the peninsula. At Eastham the surface became a perfect plain; and the peninsula so narrow, that we had a full view of Massachusetts' Bay and the Atlantic at the same time. The bay was every where magnificent, and on the north was like the ocean, without interruption. We were, therefore, presented with the prospect of two immense oceans, separated only by a strip of land, thirty miles in breadth. Few spots on a continent unite two objects in a single view.

At Eastham the cultivation of the earth was a point of very less consequence than in Orleans. The soil was much more barren; the fields were large, as if owned in common by many proprietors; the fences were low, as if little was apprehended from cattle; and large tracts were uninclosed. All these appearances increased, until, at the distance of perhaps six miles from Orleans, we entered a forest composed at first of oaks, and afterwards of oaks and pines still lower and leaner than any which we had seen before. This forest lasts, without intermission, to Wellfleet, and very little to the borders of Truro. At first the ground

is high, but level. After we had travelled a few miles, it became broken into hills and vallies. On the eastern side of this township, however, there is a tract of very good land, containing about two hundred acres, probably the best in this county; yielding, when well manured, from thirty to forty-five bushels of maize, and from twenty to thirty bushels of rye. Generally, the land on the eastern side is better than that on the western. More than one thousand bushels of maize are annually sent to market by the farmers.

Eastham was incorporated in 1646; and, including Orleans, contained, in 1790, 1,834 inhabitants; in 1800, Eastham alone contained 659, and both townships 1,764; and, in 1810, Eastham contained 751.

Our journey through the forest mentioned above was disagreeable. The surface was unpleasant, and the trees were destitute of thrift and beauty. The road, also, became within a few miles a mere bed of deep sand, through which our horses moved with excessive difficulty. Yet even in this forest we saw planted, at considerable distances, tidy, snug houses, usually surrounded by a fence, inclosing a small piece of ground. On most of these were orchards of apple-trees, defended from the sea winds by a barrier of cherry-trees, or locusts. Under these trees we had from time to time the pleasure of seeing patches of verdure, not indeed very brilliant, yet very agreeable to us; accustomed, as we had now been for a great distance, to fields covered with a melancholy russet. These houses are almost all built in vallies, surrounded by hills of considerable height, and defended by the forests which cover them. A small barn is commonly built near the house, in which is lodged the salt hay, destined to be the food of one or more cows. These animals, having never known better food, will, it is said, live well on this fodder.

Our road passed Wellfleet on the right, at such a distance, that we saw little of this town until our return.

Truro, *i. e.* the town, lies on the western side of the peninsula; being built, like most of those through which we had passed, upon the harbour. The principal concern of these people, you will remember, lies with the ocean. The villages of Truro and Wellfleet, and the houses scattered through these townships, are almost entirely stationed in vallies; one of

which, towards the northern part of the township, runs across, or nearly across, the peninsula. On these low grounds they find a better soil, and security from the violence of the winds. The hills, contrary to what is found almost everywhere else in New-England, are dry, sandy, and barren.

The general aspect of the township, and of the buildings which it contains, differs in nothing remarkable from those, which have been already described. It includes two villages, one of about forty, and the other of about thirty houses; together with several hamlets, and a number of scattered habitations. The houses have the same tidy, comfortable appearance, which has been heretofore remarked; but are painted in fewer instances than in Yarmouth, and some other places. The church is large and decent, but without a steeple. From the ground, on which this building stands, there is a noble prospect of the bay and the ocean. This view is frequently repeated in the way to Province Town.

In passing through this township we saw a few melancholy corn fields, particularly towards the northern limits. The corn hills, formed by the hoe, were all standing, as if the fields had yielded their last crop, and were finally forsaken. The fences appeared to have been designed rather to mark the boundaries of the fields, than to defend them against the intrusion of cattle. Yet these lands are said, in ancient times, to have produced fifty bushels of maize to the acre, and from fifteen to twenty bushels of wheat.

Truro contained, in 1790, 1,198 inhabitants, and 165 dwellings; in 1800, 1,152 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,209.

From Truro to Province Town our road lay chiefly on the margin of a beach, which unites it with Truro. The form of the township, exclusively of Long Point, is not unlike that of a chemical retort: the town lying in the inferior arch of the bulb, and Race Point on the exterior, and the beach being the stern. Immediately before the town is the harbour, commonly styled Cape Cod harbour; the waters of which extend round the north end of Truro a considerable distance, and are there terminated by an extensive salt marsh, which reaches some distance into the last mentioned township. Between this marsh and the waters of Province Town harbour on one side, and the Atlantic on the other, runs the beach. From

observing it in various places along the road from Eastham, I was induced to believe, that it borders the ocean from Race Point to the Elbow, and perhaps reaches still farther.

This remarkable object is an enormous mass of sand, such as has been already described ; fine, light, of a yellowish hue, and the sport of every wind. It is blown into plains, valleys, and hills. The hills are of every height from ten to two hundred feet. Frequently they are naked, round, and extremely elegant ; and often rough, pointed, wild, and fantastical, with all the varied forms, which are seen at times in drifts of snow. Some of them are covered with beach-grass : some fringed with whortleberry bushes ; and some tufted with a small and singular growth of oaks. The variety and wildness of the forms, the desolate aspect of the surface, the height of the loftier elevations, the immense length of the range, and the tempestuous tossing of the clouds of sand, formed a group of objects, novel, sublime, and more interesting than can be imagined. It was a barrier against the ambition and fretfulness of the ocean, restlessly and always employed in assailing its strength, and wearing away its mass. To my own fancy it appeared as the eternal boundary of a region, wild, dreary, and inhospitable, where no human being could dwell, and into which every human foot was forbidden to enter. The parts of this barrier, which are covered with whortleberry bushes, and with oaks, have been either not at all, or very little blown. The oaks, particularly, appear to be the continuation of the forests originally formed on this spot. Their appearance was new and singular. Few if any of them rose above the middle stature of man ; yet they were not shrubs, but trees of a regular stem and structure. They wore all the marks of extreme age ; were in some instances already decayed, and in others decaying ; were hoary with moss, and were deformed by branches, broken and wasted, not by violence, but by time. The whole appearance of one of these trees strongly reminded me of a little, withered old man. Indeed, a Lilliputian of threescore years and ten, compared with a veteran of Brobdingnag, would very naturally illustrate the resemblance, or rather the contrast, between one of these dwarfs and a full-grown tenant of our forests.

This stunted vegetation is partially, and perhaps justly, at-

tributed to the influence of the sea winds. The chief cause, however, is undoubtedly the sterility of the soil. Throughout the whole of this peninsula the forest trees, and all others, even those in the most favoured spots, are unusually small. You will remember, that with the exception of a thin soil, and a few spots of salt marsh, it is formed entirely of sand. In such ground no forest tree can grow, either with rapidity or vigour. All the trees, and all their branches, are blunt and unthrifty in their appearance, and humble in their stature. The water, which nourishes them, is received upon a mere sieve, which retains it but for a moment, and supplies them with a scanty, parsimonious nurture. Accordingly, the trees are in the literal sense starved. On the beach this evil exists in a peculiar degree. The hills, on which these remarkable vegetables stand, are of very small compass; and the water runs down their sides, and oozes from their declivities. Hence, the supply of nutriment is still less, and the growth more stunted, than on the body of the peninsula.

On the driest and most barren of these grounds grows a plant, which I had never before seen, known here by the name of beach-grass. This vegetable bears a general resemblance to sedge; but is of a light bluish green, and of a coarse appearance. On these sands, sterile as they appear, it flourishes with a strong and rapid vegetation; and, I believe, not at all, or very rarely, on any other ground; and here, one would naturally think nothing could grow.

From a Mr. Collins, now an inhabitant of Plymouth, and formerly of Truro, I received the following information. When he lived at Truro the inhabitants were, under the authority of law, regularly warned in the month of April, yearly, to plant beach-grass, as in other towns of New-England they are warned to repair highways. You will observe, that it was required by the laws of the state, and under the proper penalties for disobedience, being as regular a public tax as any other. The people, therefore, generally attended, and performed the labour. The grass was dug in the bunches, in which it naturally grows; and each bunch divided into a number of smaller ones. These were set out in the sand at distances of three feet. After one row was set, others were placed behind it in such a manner, as to shut up the inter-

stices ; or, as a carpenter would say, so as to break the joints. It was placed in this manner, in order to prevent the wind from having an open course through the grass in any direction, lest it should drive the sand away. When it is once set, it grows of course, and spreads with rapidity. Every bunch enlarges ; and, with its seeds, plants new ones around it. The seeds are so heavy, that they bend the heads of the grass ; and, when ripe, drop directly down by its side, where they immediately vegetate. Thus in a short time the ground is covered.

Where this covering is found, none of the sand is blown. On the contrary, it is accumulated and raised continually, as snow gathers and rises among bushes, or branches of trees, out and spread upon the earth. Nor does the grass merely defend the surface on which it is planted ; but rises, as that rises, by new accumulations ; and always overtops the sand, however high that may be raised by the wind.

Within the memory of my informant the sea broke over the beach, which connects Truro with Province Town (the eastern end of which, for three miles, is within the limits of the former township) ; and swept the body of it away for some distance. The beach-grass was immediately planted on the spot ; in consequence of which the beach was again raised to a sufficient height, and in various places into hills.

The wisdom and goodness of the Creator, exhibited in the formation of this plant, in this place, certainly claim the admiration and gratitude of man. But for this single, unsightly vegetable, the slender barrier, which here has so long resisted the ravages of the ocean, had, not improbably, been long since washed away. In the ruins, Province Town, and its most useful harbour, must have been lost ; and the relief, which the harbour, and the inhabitants, furnish to multitudes of vessels in distress, and which no other place or people could possibly furnish, must have been prevented. No other plant grows on this sand. The purpose for which it seems to have been created, it answers easily, permanently, and perfectly. Perhaps at some period, at a more advanced state of knowledge, when war shall have become less, and the advancement of happiness more the object of human pursuit, uses of similar importance may be found for most, possibly

for all other objects, however useless they may be thought at present, and however neglected in the inquiries of man.

The benefit of this useful plant, and of these prudent regulations, is however in some measure lost. There are in Province town, as I was informed, one hundred and forty cows. These animals, being stinted in their means of subsistence, are permitted often to wander, at times in search of food. In every such case they make depredations on the beach grass, and prevent its seeds from being formed. In this manner the plant is ultimately destroyed.

It has been a frequent opinion, that this beach, and not im probably the whole township of Province Town, will one day, and that at no distant period of time, be swept away by the ocean. I was not able to obtain satisfactory information concerning this subject, particularly as judicious persons differed entirely both as to facts and probabilities. Some averred, that the beach has been greatly diminished within a moderate period. Others, particularly one, a discreet man, insisted, that what it lost on one side it regularly gained on the other. It is now a mere line of sand, in several places not more than one hundred yards wide, and appears to the eye of a stranger, as if every vestige of it might be easily swept away within two or three years.

From Truro to Province Town the road and the scenery are both singular. Beside the beach and the salt-marsh already described, the high grounds of Truro, on the south-west, exhibit a prospect entirely peculiar. Bleak, barren, and desolate, as if never designed to be the residence of man, they are nevertheless divided into fields, inclosed in the low, slender manner mentioned above, and covered with short grass, now russet and melancholy. The soil, here scarce an inch thick, has, in spots spread over all these fields at little distances, been either blown or washed away, and left the white sand immediately beneath it bare. These spots exactly resemble the remains of a light snow chiefly melted and vanished, yet still whitening the ground in many places, and with perpetually differing gradations of lustre.

The road, except when the tide has declined, lies along the south-western margin of the beach in a mass of sand, through which a horse wades with excessive fatigue. When the tide

has sufficiently fallen, a path is furnished by that part of the beach which has been washed, better in our opinion than almost any which we had found after we had left Rochester. The only objects in this tract, which can be called beautiful, except the water, are the naked hills of sand. These in many instances are perfectly regular, graceful swells, highly ornamented with fine waving figures of great elegance, wrought in the sand by the various motions of the wind.

Province Town stands on the end of the peninsula, and near the western limit of the beach. Race Point, the northern termination of the peninsula, lies three miles farther north; and Long Point, a hook extending from its western border, shoots out towards the south four and a half. Between this hook and a beach, connected with the north-western corner of Truro, winds the entrance of the harbour, which is thus completely land-locked, and perfectly safe. The town is built on the north side of the harbour, and on the southern margin of the beach. When we were on the ground, it contained 140 houses; all, as far as we saw them, of one story. They were new, neat, and comfortable; but are built on a bed of deep sand, and set upon blocks of wood. They are built in rows, the first of which is complete; the second, immediately behind it, broken with interstices; and the third, short and broken also. All, or nearly all of them face toward the harbour. There are a few court-yards, but no other inclosures of any kind. Cellars, where they exist, are built of bricks in a circular form, to prevent the sand from forcing in the walls by its pressure. It is said, that there are two or three gardens at some distance from the town; and some of the inhabitants cultivate a few summer vegetables in their court-yards. Almost all their food, except fish, is imported from Boston. Fish is the only commodity of domestic use with which they supply themselves.

The earth is here a mere residence, and can scarcely be said to contribute at all to the sustenance of man. All his support, and all his comforts, are elicited from the ocean. To the ocean he betakes himself as the only field of his exertions, and as if it were his native element. The little children were wading as familiarly in the harbour, as elsewhere they are seen playing in the streets. Their sports, and their serious occupa-

tions, are alike found there. Little boys managed boats of considerable size with the fearlessness, and apparently with the skill, of experienced boatmen. Every employment, except within doors, seemed to be connected with the water, and intended for the sea. To fish in every various manner, to secure that which had been caught, to cure fish, to extract oil, and to manage different sorts of vessels, from the canoe to the ship, engrossed apparently the whole attention of the inhabitants.

The manners of all those whom we saw, of every age and of both sexes, were very becoming, plain, frank, obliging, and obviously sincere. Nothing was perceived of the roughness which I had expected from a mere collection of fishermen and sailors. The inn, in which we lodged, was kept by a respectable man, who, with his whole family, did every thing which we could wish for our accommodation.

All these people appear to be industrious and enterprising. They are said to be excelled by no seamen in their resolution, skill, and activity. Many of them command ships belonging to Boston, and the other trading towns in its neighbourhood. Many of them also are said to amass wealth to a considerable degree; and some of them retire into the interior, where they purchase farms of their less industrious and less prosperous countrymen.

The fishery of Province Town is an important object. For some years the scarcity of whales has been such as to discourage the whale fishery; but as they have now become more numerous, they are beginning to be objects of more attention. The cod fishery is pursued with great spirit and success. Just before we arrived, a schooner came in from the great bank with 56,000 fish, about 1,500 quintals, taken in a single voyage; the main deck, as I was informed, being, on her return, eight inches under water in calm weather. They also fish for sharks, and take great numbers of them; for mackarel, horse mackarel, haddock, &c. Herrings are also taken in prodigious quantities.

The harbour of Province Town is very capacious, secure, open at all times, and of good bottom. Its depth is sufficient for ships of any size, and it will contain more than three thousand vessels at once. Its importance is incalculable. The

exterior coast of the peninsula is peculiarly hazardous. The storms, which prevail on the American coast, generally come from the east; and there is no other harbour on a windward shore within two hundred miles. A vast number of vessels are always plying in this commercial region; and thousands have found safety here, which would otherwise have perished.

About 37,000 quintals of cod fish, and about 5,000 barrels of herrings, are annually caught by the people of Province Town. The herrings are about four dollars a barrel, and cod fish about three dollars and a third, or twenty shillings a quintal.

Within this township there are two horses, ten yoke of oxen, and one hundred and forty cows. These, except when they purloin the beach grass, are fed from the marsh in the neighbourhood.

All the inhabitants whom we saw, of every age, were well clad; and no marks of poverty were discerned by us.

Province Town contains a Presbyterian church. Mr. P——, the present minister, is much and deservedly respected by his people; and his public labours are very generally attended. This, undoubtedly, is a prime source of the sobriety and decency conspicuous among the inhabitants. He was settled, as we were told, when there were only seventeen families on the spot; the town having been in a great measure deserted during the revolutionary war.

A stranger, born and educated in the interior of New-England, amid the varied beauties of its surface, and the luxuriant succession of its produce, naturally concludes, when he visits Province Town, that the inhabitants and the neighbours also must possess a very limited share of enjoyment. Facts, however, refute this conclusion. For aught that we could discern, they were as cheerful, and appeared to enjoy life as well, as any equal number of their countrymen. This, indeed, is easily explicable. Food and clothing, houses, lodging, and fuel, they possess of such a quality, and with so much ease in the acquisition, as to satisfy all the demands of that middle state in life, which wise men of every age have dignified by the name of golden. Nature and habit endear to them the place in which they were born and live, and prevent them from feeling what would be serious inconveniences to a

stranger. Their mode of life is naturally not less pleasing than that of the farmer or mechanic; for no people are more attached to their employment than seamen. The enterprise, which this life requires, and the energy which it supplies, render it less even and dull, and are probably as well suited to the natural taste of man, as arts or agriculture. The situations of others they rarely see, and are therefore rarely led to make irksome comparisons. The lawn, the meadow, the orchard, and the harvest, excite in their minds, neither wishes nor thoughts. The draught of herrings, the fare of cod fish, the conquest of a shark, and the capture of a whale, prompt their ambition, engross their care, and furnish pleasures, as entirely unknown to the farmer, as the joy of harvest is to them. To solitude they are strangers. An active, enterprising life is scarcely molested by ennui. Almost every day strangers visit Province Town from different parts of the world; for there is hardly any spot, except great trading cities, which is more frequented by vessels of all descriptions than this. By these they are furnished with business and intelligence, and with not a few of those little varieties in thought and feeling, which contribute so much to the cheerfulness of life. Nor do they feel of enjoying a conscious uninterrupted superiority over mere handsmen. While most of their countrymen have been chained to a small spot of earth, they have traversed the ocean. While the husbandman has followed the plough, or brandished the sickle, the inhabitant of Province Town has coasted the shores of Greenland, swept the Brazilian seas, or crossed the Pacific ocean, in chase of the whale. Who, that has circumnavigated the globe, will not look down on him, who has scarcely travelled out of his native county, or spent life on his own farm?

The truth is, a great part of human happiness or misery arises from comparison merely. Our misfortunes spring not from our poverty, for we are rarely poor in such a sense as to suffer, but from a perception that we are not so rich as others. To this spirit there are no bounds. Alexander would have been contented with Macedon, had there been no Persia, with Persia, had the Indus and the ocean limited the Asiatic continent, and with the station of a man, had there been in his apprehension no gods. Where objects of superiority and com-

parison do not exist, the pain arising from this source is not felt. Such, in a good degree, is the situation of these people. Their lot is the lot of all around them. They have little to covet, because they possess most of what is seen and known. Happily, Providence has, in cases of real importance, conciliated us, partially at least, to the sources of our enjoyment. Were we naturally and generally prompted to an universal comparison of our condition with that of others, how many, who are now satisfied, would make themselves miserable, because they were not seated on thrones and wielding sceptres. How many would pine, that they were not to glitter on the page of the historian and the poet. How many would spend life in sighing for the fine enthusiasm of Spenser and Beattie, the exquisite elegance of Addison and Virgil, or the sublime raptures which thrilled in the bosom of Homer, Milton, or Isaiah.

Province Town, in 1790, contained 434 inhabitants; in 1800, 812; in 1802, there were 198 families, and, by a proportional calculation, 946 persons; rather less than five to a family; and, in 1810, 936.

Wednesday, September 30th, we left our hospitable and friendly inn, and rode to Harwich; thirty-five miles. We began our journey at an early hour, in order to take the benefit of a hard path, furnished by that part of the beach which is covered by the tide at high-water. For several miles we were presented with a fine view of the Atlantic, now rolling against the shore under the pressure of a strong wind with inexpressible grandeur. After we had ascended the high ground on which stands the church of Truro, I was struck with the resemblance between this spot and some parts of Scotland, as they are often exhibited in description. "Bleak and barren," like "Scotia's Hills*," the country seemed to forbid the cultivation and the hopes of man. Providence appeared, in the very formation of the ground, to have destined it to accidental visitation, or eternal solitude. In spite of facts the imagination irresistibly asked, Who, that could make his retreat, would fix his residence here?

On this ground there is a handsome lighthouse, stationed

* Beattie's Minstrel.

upon a mass of clay remarkable for its firmness, and not less so for being found here. General Lincoln, a gentleman to whom his country is indebted for many important services, superintended its erection; and it is said to be contrived in a manner uncommonly useful.

On our way we passed through the town of Wellfleet; and found the houses generally like those heretofore described, but with more appearances of attention and taste.

Here we saw a collection of sand-hills surrounding the harbour. They were of different sizes, and, in some degree, of different figures; but were all obtuse cones, smooth, regular, and elegant. Such a number, adorning a handsome piece of water, winding beautifully until it opened with a vista-like passage into the bay, were, after all the similar objects which we had seen, new and interesting. No mass of earth is comparable to these hills for regularity and elegance of figure and surface. Were they as cheerful as they are regular, were they dressed with the verdure which so generally adorns New-England, they would be among the most beautiful objects in nature.

At Wellfleet formerly lived Colonel Elisha Doane, who amassed in this spot an estate of £120,000 sterling.

In 1790, Wellfleet contained 1,118 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,207; and, in 1810, 1,402.

At Eastham we changed our road a few miles before we reached Orleans; and, after passing by the church, an ordinary building in indifferent repair, entered a large sandy waste, lying towards the bay. Here about one thousand acres were entirely blown away to the depth, in many places, of ten feet. Nothing can exceed the dreariness and desolation of this scene. Not a living creature was visible; not a house; nor even a green thing, except the whortleberries, which tufted a few lonely hillocks, rising to the height of the original surface, and prevented by this defence from being blown away also. These, although they varied the prospect, added to the gloom by their strongly picturesque appearance, by marking exactly the original level of the plain, and by showing us, in this manner, the immensity of the mass which had thus been carried away by the wind. The beach grass had been planted here, and the ground had been formerly inclosed; but the gates had

been left open, and the cattle had destroyed this invaluable plant. The inhabitants were, I presume, discouraged, and yielded up their possessions to ruin. When and where this evil will stop, cannot easily be calculated; for the sand spreads a perfect sterility in its progress, and entirely desolates the ground on which it falls. The impression made by this landscape cannot be realized without experience. It was a compound of wildness, gloom, and solitude. I felt myself transported to the borders of Nubia, and was well prepared to meet the sandy columns so forcibly described by Bruce, and after him by Darwin. A troop of Bedouins would have finished the picture, banished every thought of our own country, and set us down in an African waste.

The day had now become very warm; the wind blew from behind us; the sand was very deep; and our horses were obliged to move slowly, and with extreme difficulty. Nothing could better elucidate the strength and beauty of that fine image of Isaiah, "A weary land;" and to us "the shadow of a great rock" would have been inexpressibly delightful.

The rocks on this peninsula terminated, upon our road, in Orleans. They are the common, grey granite of the country.

We lodged at Harwich with a Captain A. This man had been thirty years at sea, and, as he informed us with emphasis, had seen the world. Now he was the principal farmer in Harwich, and cut annually from four to eight loads of English hay*; a greater quantity, as he told us, than was cut by any single farmer further down the Cape. A farmer in the interior, who cuts annually from one to two hundred tons, may perhaps smile at this story.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Spear grass.

LETTER XI.

Return to Sandwich. Mission among the Indians at Massapee. Visit to the Rev. Gideon Hawley, the Missionary. Description of the Peninsula of Cape Cod. Its Soil, Population, &c.

DEAR SIR ;

THE next morning, Thursday, October 1st, we rode to Yarmouth, nine miles, to breakfast ; and spent a considerable time in examining the salt works of Peter Thatcher, Esq. Hence we proceeded to Marshpee, or Massapee, fifteen, to dinner. In the evening we returned to Sandwich, twelve ; in all, thirty-six miles. Our road was better than on the three preceding days.

Massapee is one of the few tracts in the populous parts of New-England, which are still occupied by the aborigines. A missionary has been regularly supported here, with small interruptions, from the establishment of this Indian colony, by the efforts of Mr. Richard Bourne, the first missionary. This gentleman, with a disinterestedness and piety highly honourable to him, obtained, in the year 1660, a deed from an Indian, named Quachatisset, and others, to the Indians of Massapee ; or, as they were then called, " the South Sea Indians," covering the tract which bears this name. The instrument was so drawn, that the land could never be sold without the consent of every Indian belonging to the settlement. On this foundation he began a mission to this place, and was ordained as a missionary in 1670. In 1685, he died ; and was succeeded by an Indian preacher, named Simon Popmonet, who lived in this character about forty years ; and was succeeded, in 1729, by Mr. Joseph Bourne, a descendant of Richard. This gentleman resigned the office in 1742 ; and was followed by a second Indian missionary, a regular minister, and a good,

sensible preacher. During his life two gentlemen were successively candidates for the office ; but, being powerfully opposed, neither of them was inducted. In 1758, the Rev. Gideon Hawley was installed as the pastor of these people.

Massapee is peculiarly fitted to be an Indian residence. It lies on the Sound ; is indented by two bays ; and shoots into several necks, or points of land. It is also watered by several streams and ponds. From these circumstances, the inhabitants derive abundant opportunities of supplying themselves with fish. It is well covered with a forest ; and, therefore, has long retained the game, which was the second source of their subsistence. It is also sequestered, in a great measure, from that correspondence with the whites, which has been usually fatal to Indian settlements in this country.

The face of this tract is not unpleasant. It is composed of plains, vallies, and hills, but is less unequal than Sandwich or Barnstable. On our road we saw several English houses ; all of which were good buildings, and exhibited proofs of prosperity. I have nowhere seen quinces in such abundance.

The inn at which we dined was kept by a respectable family, who entertained us with great civility and kindness. After dinner, one of my fellow-travellers accompanied me to the house of Mr. Hawley, with whom we had an interview, more interesting than words can describe.

This gentleman was a most intimate friend of my parents. From his youth he had sustained as amiable and unexceptionable a character as can perhaps be found among uninspired men. He was pious and benevolent, zealous and candid, firm and gentle, sedate and cheerful, with a harmony of character equally uncommon and delightful. Naturally, I believe, his disposition was ardent, his conceptions strong, and his susceptibility exquisite. The points, however, were worn down and smoothed by an excellent understanding, and a peculiar self-government. Equally removed from the phlegm of insensibility, and the vehemence of passion, his feelings were warm, and yet temperate. Me, whom he had not seen since I was a youth of eighteen, he regarded with personal affection. To this he added the peculiar attachment, which he was prepared to place on me, as a representative of my parents and my grand parents on both sides, all of whom he remembered with

the strongest emotions of friendship, whom he had not seen for thirty years, and whom he expected never to see on this side of the grave. The expressions of genuine and virtuous attachment paint the heart at once, in a manner perfectly understood, and exquisitely felt, but they cannot be copied. Perhaps they were never more happily exhibited, nor by a mind which felt more, or in a manner more amiable and dignified.

Mr. Hawley had a favourite son ; a young gentleman of the greatest hopes, possessed of superior talents and learning, of elegant manners, distinguished piety, and the best reputation. He had lately come from the tutorship in Cambridge, and had been just ordained to the ministry.

By all who knew him he was beloved and honoured, and most by those who knew him best. In the room over our heads he lay on his dying bed, and had been expected to expire the preceding night. For death he was, however, eminently prepared ; and looked forward through the curtains, which hide the invisible world, to scenes of a higher and more refined nature, scenes suited to the elevated taste of an enlightened Christian, with a serenity and confidence more dignified than the loftiest conceptions of proud philosophy, and the sublimest dreams of sceptered ambition.

The pleasure, with which the father of this good man received me ; the sympathy, with which he recalled the friends of his youth ; the sorrow, awakened by the situation of his expiring son ; and the setting of his fond, luminous hopes in the night of the grave ; the lustre, which played and trembled over this melancholy scene from the mind of that son, brilliant with lucid hopes of immortal glory ; exhibited in their union and their alternations a picture, wholly singular, beautiful, solemn, and sublime. I beheld it with a mixture of wonder and delight. To describe it is beyond my power. Into all these subjects he entered familiarly, and at once ; and appeared equally ready to go with his son, or stay behind with his remaining friends ; to protract his toil a little longer, or to be summoned to his account, and the reward of his labours, as it should please his Employer. He felt deeply, but with a serene submission. He knew that he was chastened, but found high and sufficient consolation for his sufferings in the character of

Him, from whom the stroke came. To me he showed, in such a manner as to put suspicion out of countenance, the affection of a father, and when we parted he gave me a father's blessing.

If I may be permitted to judge, the emotions which he discovered, and even those which he excited, were such as an infidel, or any other worldling, if he could enjoy or understand them, would deeply envy. They were such as he would of necessity confess to be as much brighter, nobler, and better, than any thing which he had ever imagined before, as the golden visions of enraptured poetry are superior to the dull, cold realities of this untoward life.

The young gentleman, who accompanied me on this visit was educated in the gay world, and, as himself declared, sufficiently addicted to its enjoyments; but he was entirely overcome by the scenes of this interview. After we had left the house, he burst into a flood of tears, which he had with great difficulty suppressed until that time, and was unable to utter a word, until we had almost reached the inn. In broken accents he then declared, that he had never been so deeply affected in his life; that although he had not before been accustomed to think lightly of Christianity, he had now acquired new ideas of its excellence, and that should he ever lose them afterwards, he should esteem himself guilty as well as unhappy. Yet the whole conversation had been rather cheerful, and every thing, which it involved of a melancholy nature, had been gilded and burnished by serenity and hope*.

* As this excellent man died a few years after the time here mentioned, I will add those particulars concerning him which I have been able to collect.

In a letter to the author, dated April 29, 1801, Mr. Hawley observes:—

“When you honoured me with a visit on the 2d of October ult., my son, my son James, the son of my old age, the hope of my declining years, was in the last stage of life, and he only survived until the 8th, at evening, when he expired. May my other children live as he lived, and when they come to die, may they die as he died. A number of his church and congregation came forty miles to be present at his funeral, which was attended by all the vicinity of ministers. The Rev. Mr. L. of Falmouth kept sabbath with us on the day after his funeral, and delivered a very suitable discourse on the occasion. James died at a time of life when men are generally lamented, in case their characters are good.”

When we arrived at the inn, we found two of our companions had set out for Sandwich soon after dinner. It was near sun-set when we followed them. The evening was calm and beautiful; the country through which we passed was a forest, still and solitary, and the moon, whose unclouded beams darted, at momentary intervals, through the pines, bordering our road, prolonged the serene solemnity awakened in our minds during the afternoon, and formed a happy conclusion of the affecting scenes which I have described. After a delightful ride of twelve miles, we arrived at Mr. B.'s, and were received with every proof of politeness and affection.

On the afternoon of the succeeding day, Friday, October 2d, we left this hospitable family, and, accompanied by Mr. D., rode to Plymouth; eighteen miles. At the house of Mr. H.

In a letter of September 2, 1802, he says:—

"I have rather declined since I had the honour and satisfaction to see you at my house, in October 1800, a few days before my late James' death. I am yet upon duty—may I be faithful unto the death—the time is short; and the time of my departure is at hand. My coevals are dead."

"For a man of seventy-five I have very few complaints. In the early part of life my labours and sufferings were many and hard, and I did but just survive my services (among the Indians and in the army) in the year 1756. I came down to this place in 1757, expecting soon to end my days; but was so far recovered as to be on my western mission in 1761—and as far as Chenango.

"I have lately written to your kinsman, the only surviving son of your late uncle, the president of Union college, deceased, concerning his father in his puerile years, when with me in the Indian country, and how we came off in the dead of winter. I was six days in passing from Onecho Yunghe to Cherry Valley with my two boys; and the four last days with only ourselves, my Indians (not through disaffection, but fatigue) having given out by the way. An Indian will hardly endure three days fatigue in succession."

This eminent and faithful servant of the Lord died on the 3d of October, 1807, in the eighty-first year of his age, and fifty-sixth of his missionary labours. "On his death bed he appeared perfectly rational and tranquil. Speaking of his approaching dissolution and his prospects of futurity, he observed, 'I have hope of acceptance, but it is founded wholly on free and sovereign grace, and not at all on my own works. It is true my labours have been many, but they have been so very imperfect, attended with so great a want of charity, humility, &c., that I have no hope in them as the ground of my acceptance.'"—*Pub.*

* See Panoplist, 1807.

the same polite and friendly reception, which we had experienced at Sandwich, was repeated.

As I have now bidden adieu to the peninsula of Cape Cod, I will close my account of it with a few general observations.

This singular piece of land extends from the isthmus, which connects it with the Main, to Race Point, as measured on the road, sixty-eight miles. About half this distance it runs eastward, and the remaining half principally north-westward. At Sandwich, where it is widest, it is about seventeen miles in breadth, or, if measured to the south-western extremity of Falmouth, about twenty. At Harwich it is about eleven, or, if measured to the southern point of Cape Malabar, about nineteen. The basis of this peninsula, constituting almost the whole mass, is a body of fine yellow sand. Above this is a thin layer of coarser white sand, and above this another layer of soil, gradually declining from Barnstable to Truro, where it vanishes. A considerable part of the peninsula is still forested. Many of the inhabitants, within the Elbow, are seamen; beyond it almost all. They are generally, perhaps as generally as in any other part of the United States, in comfortable, and even in thrifty circumstances. Few decayed, or unrepaired houses were visible to us, and no peculiar marks of poverty. The inhabitants are industrious and orderly. The vice principally complained of to us was intemperance, and this chiefly in the western division. Every town has at least one church, and, so far as I was able to learn, divine service is, with few exceptions, generally and respectfully attended. Their intercourse with each other by land is confined. There are no more enterprising, active, skilful seamen, perhaps, in the world. Upon the whole, this unpromising tract sustains more inhabitants, and furnishes them with more comfortable means of subsistence, than a stranger would be easily induced to imagine. In 1790, the county of Barnstable contained 17,354 people; in 1800, 19,293; and, in 1810, 22,211; a great part of whom are like beavers, gaining their subsistence from the water, and making use of the land chiefly as a residence. Those who live beyond the Elbow have been heretofore accused of plundering the vessels wrecked on their coast, and treating the seamen who escaped with inhumanity. Instances of this nature may have happened. I am well assured, that

the contrary character is to be attributed to them generally, and that they have often exhibited the most humane, as well as undaunted spirit, in relieving their suffering countrymen, and in aiding them to preserve the remains of their shipwrecked property.

The country from Sandwich to Plymouth is a continued forest, with a few solitary settlements in its bosom. The surface is, principally, a plain; but at times swelling into hills. Wherever the road lies on the shore the prospects are romantic, but wild and solitary. The forest is, generally, composed of yellow pines; the soil is barren, and the road almost universally sandy; but less deep than that, which has been heretofore described.

We passed several places, which in this region have been kept in particular remembrance from an early period. Among them is a rock, called Sacrifice Rock, and a piece of water, named Clam-pudding Pond. On the former of these the Indians were accustomed to gather sticks, some of which we saw lying upon it, as a religious service, now inexplicable*. On the shore of the latter the early colonists of Plymouth held an annual festival, and made this food a part of their entertainment. A great part of the tract is in the township of Plymouth.

I am, Sir, &c.

* This seems to have been customary among the aborigines of New-England.

LETTER XII.

*Plymouth; the first Town settled in New-England.
on which the Colonists first landed. Their Ceme-
Reflections on the care of Divine Providence over
Fisheries and Commerce of Plymouth.*

DEAR SIR;

PLYMOUTH, the cradle of New-England, is sit at the bottom of a harbour, on the south-western part of Massachusetts'-Bay, forty-two miles south-east of Boston and thirty north-east from Barnstable. It is built on the edge of a declivity, beneath the brow of an extensive plain. The declivity is about a fourth of a mile in breadth and from a mile and a half to two miles in length. Its aspect is generally handsome, and its soil excellent. The soil of the plain is of little value. Main Street runs irregularly on the edge of the declivity, parallel with the shore. Several others run in the same direction, and these are irregularly crossed by streets nearly at right-angles. The houses are in many instances of a decent, and a considerable number are of a still better appearance. The town is compactly built, and has an air of respectability; but cannot be called handsome. I found it improved in its appearance; and still more so when I visited it in 1807. The public buildings are two churches, a court house, and a gaol; neither of them distinguished by beauty.

Plymouth was the first town built in New-England by civilized men, and those, by whom it was built, were inferior to no body of men, whose names are recorded in history during the last seventeen hundred years. A kind of veneration, arising from these facts, attaches to this town, which is termed a prejudice. Still it has its foundation in the r

of man, and will never be eradicated either by philosophy or ridicule. No New-Englander, who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the rock, where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions, entirely different from those, which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New-Englander could be willing to have that rock buried and forgotten. Let him reason as much, as coldly, and as ingeniously, as he pleases, he will still regard this spot with emotions, wholly different from those, which are excited by other places of equal, or even superior importance.

For myself, I cannot wish this trait in the human character obliterated. In a higher state of being, where truth is universally as well as cordially embraced, and virtue controls without a rival, this prejudice, if it must be called by that name, will probably become useless, and may, therefore, be safely discarded. But in our present condition every attachment, which is innocent, has its use, and contributes both to fix and to soften man. The fierce, and the roving spirit of our race, are alike dangerous; and where a ruling principle of a higher nature cannot be certainly established, nor its efficacy safely relied on, a wise man will press into the public service every harmless emotion, every useful tendency of the human heart, and secure to himself, and to the world, the benefits, which, experience assures him, will be derived from its influence. Nor will he foolishly lessen the attachment to country, nor discourage its desirable exertions, by coldly scrutinizing its metaphysical nature, doubting its propriety, or stigmatizing it with the names of prejudice and weakness.

An admiral would be ill employed, on the eve of a naval engagement; in teaching his sailors, that the enthusiasm, with which they felt the honour of their country, was contrary to good sense, and founded only in the foolish prejudices of a narrow education. A parent would be miserably occupied in persuading his child, if he could persuade him, that the house, in which he was born, had nothing which recommended it to his attachment, beyond any other house in the neighbourhood, except the feelings, which were produced, as well as cherished, by weakness and error. Probably there is not a

Christian in the world, however ardent, refined, or sublime, may be his emotions, to whom Heaven is not additionally endeared, whenever he thinks of it in the character, or gives it the appellation, of his final home. Such prejudices are more honourable to the heart, and more useful to the interests of man, than all the frosty feelings, and all the wire-drawn disquisitions, with which a false philosophy has benumbed and perplexed the world.

On Saturday morning, accompanied by I. L., Esq., and Mr. H., we visited the consecrated rock, on which the first fathers of New-England landed. Hence we proceeded to the original burying ground, where several of the first colonists, whose names are now unknown, were interred. Two of the cannon, originally brought hither, lie on this ground. From this place we proceeded to the spot, where the first English dwelling-house was erected; and saw the first well which was dug in New-England.

We next proceeded to the common cemetery, and examined the names on a great number of the monuments; many of which had already been rendered familiar to us by history.

Had the persons, anciently buried here, been distinguished for nothing but being the the first planters of New-England, they would, according to the dictates of my own mind, have been entitled to a consideration, in some respects peculiar, and could not have been blended by memory with the herd of those who are gone. But when I call to mind the history of their sufferings on both sides of the Atlantic; when I remember their pre-eminent patience, their unspotted piety, their immoveable fortitude, their undaunted resolution, their love to each other, their justice and humanity to the savages, and their freedom from all those stains, which elsewhere spotted the character even of their companions in affliction; I cannot but view them as a singular band of illustrious brothers, claiming the veneration and applause of all their posterity. By me the names of Carver, Bradford, Cushman, and Standish, will never be forgotten, until I lose the power of recollection.

On this ground stood the first fort, ever erected in this country. The figure of the work is still distinctly visible. It

was a round, irregular structure, conformed to the shape of the ground. No other place could have been so well chosen, either for discovering the approach of savages, or for defending the town against their incursions.

A noble prospect is presented to the eye on this spot. Immediately beneath it lies the town; and beyond this the harbour, and its shipping. The harbour is a beautiful piece of water, bounded on the south by Plymouth Point, a long arched beach, and on the north by that of Duxborough; the end of which is called the Gurnet, and sustains the lighthouse. These points, together with the opposite shores, completely enclose the harbour. Between them is seen Clark's Island; named from the mate of the vessel, which brought the first settlers, and the first white man that landed on this ground. Over these points opens the great bay of Massachusetts; limited at the southern extremity by the peninsula of Cape Cod, with its finely gilded shore of yellow sand, extending more than sixty miles; and spreading boundlessly to the north-east. On the north appears the town of Duxborough*, shooting far into the bay its beautiful shore, ornamented by a handsome conical hill, called Captain's Mount, the property and the residence of the gallant Standish. A more magnificent assemblage is not often seen; and none is so endeared to a New-Englander, by the remembrance of what has passed in former periods of time.

Governor Carver was buried in the first burying ground, and is without a monument. This is dishonourable to the citizens of Plymouth; but will, I hope, not long remain so. The true character of their ancestors is becoming better and better understood by the people of New-England; and their attention to the persons and facts, mentioned in the early history of their country, is continually increasing. The inhabitants of Plymouth, who, in this respect, hold the first station among their countrymen, will, I trust, feel the propriety of honouring, with so becoming a tribute, the memory of a man, to whom they are so greatly indebted. The re-

* This town was named in honour of Captain Standish, the *dur*, or military leader of the colony.

mains of Governor Bradford were interred, without a doubt, in the other burying ground, near those of his son ;

But " not a stone
Tells where he lies."

Bradford and Carver were the fathers of the colony at a time, and in circumstances, when few of our race would have hazarded or suffered so much, even for the promotion of religion itself. Their patience and constancy were primitive, and their piety and benevolence would not have dishonoured an apostle.

I could not but feel, with great force, the peculiar care of Divine Providence over these colonists, in conducting them to this spot. The savages in the neighbourhood had, during the preceding year, been entirely destroyed by an epidemic* ; and the country was, therefore, become, throughout a considerable extent, entirely useless to its owners. Hence they were willing to sell it to the colonists. Besides, the disease had so much reduced their numbers, that they were endangered by the formidable power of their neighbours, the Narrhagansets. Instead of regarding the English, therefore, with that jealousy, which is so universal and so important a characteristic of savages, they considered them as seasonable allies, by whom they might be secured from the hostilities of their neighbours. Hence they welcomed the English with kindness and hospitality. The friendship, begun between Massasoit and the colonists, continued, through his life ; and, although at times, and in small degrees, weakened by the arts of his neighbours, was in full strength at his death.

The place, where they landed, was furnished with a safe harbour, of sufficient depth to admit their own commercial vessels, and yet too shallow to receive vessels of force. The soil, on which they planted themselves, was, to an extent sufficient for all their purposes, excellent. This ground bordered the ocean, and on that side, therefore, was safe. On

* Gookin says, " doubtless it was some pestilential disease. I have discoursed with some old Indians, that were then youths ; who say, that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they showed me, both before they died, and afterward."

the land side it was easily and entirely defended by a single fort. The barrenness of the interior prevented them from wandering, to which almost all colonists have a strong propensity. Excursions into the country would have awakened the jealousy of their neighbours, and subjected the colonists to a most capricious hostility, from individuals at least, if not from the tribe; a hostility against which savage principles could furnish no security, and savage government no protection. The settlers of Plymouth were by this fact retained in a cluster; and were thus preserved from probable destruction. Here, also, they found water at their doors in springs, and in a fine mill-stream of the best quality.

The climate, notwithstanding the mortality experienced the first year, was eminently healthy. The bay furnished them with fish in abundance for food and for commerce, both at the time indispensable; and opened an extensive trade with the Indians of the coast, for articles of great demand in their native country. In this manner they were enabled to pay their debts, and supply many future wants. Here they found, what was of incalculable importance to them at the commencement of their settlement, an Indian, named Tisquantum, or Squanto; who by accident had contracted a friendship for the English, and became at once, and throughout his life continued to be their friend. This man, more mild and generous than most of his countrymen, was very useful to them in many particulars of great importance. He became their interpreter; he taught them how to plant, to manure with fish, and to preserve maize; a plant, indispensable to their subsistence, and the means of their preservation, at various times, from famine and death. He also conciliated to them the good will of his brethren; and gave them repeated and timely information of danger from the savages, even at the hazard of his life.

In no other place could these advantages have been found; but all these they enjoyed here, until their numbers, wealth, and knowledge of the country enabled them to extend their settlements with safety and success.

They were originally destined to Hudson's river; but the captain, bribed by the Dutch government, conducted them to New-England. Notwithstanding the baseness of this conduct,

and notwithstanding the superior advantages, possessed by the city and state of New-York at the present time, it is, I think, clearly evident, that they landed in a place incomparably better suited to the nature of their enterprise, their wants, and their welfare. The Dutch settlers were aided by their own government in Europe, and were yet hardly able to preserve themselves from ruin. The colonists of Plymouth had no such aid; and would probably have perished by famine, or been cut off by war, soon after they had reached the shore.

The institutions, civil, literary, and religious, by which New-England is distinguished on this side of the Atlantic, began here. Here the manner of holding lands in free socage, now universal in this country, commenced. Here the right of suffrage was imparted to every citizen, to every inhabitant, not disqualified by poverty or vice. Here was formed the first establishment of towns; of the local legislature, which is called a town meeting; and of the peculiar town executive, styled the select-men. Here the first parochial school was set up; and the system originated, for communicating to every child in the community the knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Here, also, the first building was erected for the worship of God; the first religious assembly gathered; and the first minister called and settled by the voice of the church and congregation. On these simple foundations has since been erected a structure of good order, peace, liberty, knowledge, morals, and religion, to which nothing, on this side of the Atlantic, can bear a remote comparison.

The genteel people in Plymouth have the same characteristics with those of the same class along this coast. The middle class, composed of fishermen and mechanics, are respectable for good morals, and civility of deportment. To the inhabitants the fishery is an object of primary importance. To some it is a source of wealth, and to multitudes of a comfortable, cheerful living. The most valuable branch of it is the cod fishery: the next, those of mackarel and herrings. All these are sold in Spain and Portugal, or on the islands belonging to these countries. Formerly, they were carried to the Boston market. Mr. H. commenced the business of exporting them to foreign countries in his own vessels. His fellow citizens have followed this profitable example.

The commerce of Plymouth may be estimated from the following abstract of duties.

Years.	Duties.
1801	Dollars, 21,754
1802	19,223
1803	30,305
1804	34,417
1805	63,411
1806	98,511
1807	62,592
1808	21,994
1809	32,575
1810	29,224

The mode of curing fish on the flakes is a curiosity to a stranger. A fish flake is a platform, made in this manner. Posts are set upright in the ground, about two and a half feet high. A rail, inserted in holes made in these posts, connects them as in field fences. These are multiplied to such an extent as the business demands; and are covered with a matting of alders, woven so closely as to support the fish. In a field, belonging to Mr. H., about three acres were covered with these flakes. The level margin of the ocean, for about two miles above and below the town, is, during the proper season, wholly devoted to this business.

When the codfish are opened, and cleansed, which is done in sea-water, they are salted, packed, and suffered to lie a short time. They are then carried to the flakes, where they are spread in the sun to dry. When rain is approaching, they are always housed; and in cloudy days are not carried out. After they are sufficiently dry, they are longed in stores, and packed for exportation. The present year has been propitious to the fishermen. The number caught is great, and the market good.

On the mill-stream, mentioned above, which is called Town Brook, and has its source in a small lake, named Billington's sea, there is erected a rolling and slitting mill, together with several other water-works. The mill is said to be very productive property, and is plentifully supplied with water round the year.

In the town clerk's office we saw the earliest records of the

colony; and its original charter, in the box in which it has been kept from the beginning.

On Sunday we found a large and very decent congregation in the old church. A singular custom was here exhibited to us. More than fifty bills were read by the clergyman, desiring the prayers of the congregation for families in affliction. They were principally occasioned by the death of nine inhabitants, almost all of them at sea, which had either happened, or been first heard of during the preceding week. In such a case, it seems, a bill is presented for every branch of a family, which is particularly interested in the melancholy event.

The township of Plymouth includes three Presbyterian congregations. In 1790, it contained 2,995 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,524; and, in 1810, 4,228.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Kingston. Marshfield. Scituate. Hingham. Weymouth. Braintree. Quincy. Milton. Dorchester. Its early Settlement. Fortifications erected by General Washington. Roxbury. Reverend John Elliot, the Apostle of the Indians.

DEAR SIR;

ON Monday, October 5th, I set out with one of my companions for Boston, the other two having gone forward on Saturday. A rain, which fell on Sunday evening, left us a delightful day. We rode through Kingston, four miles; Marshfield, six; Scituate, twelve; Hingham, six; to Weymouth, four: thirty-two. During an early part of our journey we lost our way, in consequence of the removal of a post-guide.

I ought to have mentioned, that on the mill-stream which runs through Plymouth are erected two grist-mills, an oil-mill, a rolling-mill, a slitting-mill, and a mill for plating iron shovels. The stream, which originates in a large pond, descends rapidly, and furnishes always an abundance of water.

The road from Plymouth to Kingston is generally sandy, but tolerable. Near Kingston it becomes hard, on a loam mixed with gravel. The soil here is fertile, and the surface pleasant. The town contains several well-appearing houses; and the whole aspect of the country is sprightly and agreeable. Among the pleasing objects which it presented, the reappearance of thrifty New-England forest trees was not the least inviting.

Kingston contained, in 1790, 1,004 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,037; and, in 1810, 1,137.

In this town lived the Honourable William Seaver, one of the most respectable men whom I ever knew.

From Kingston to Scituate the road was better and harder than any we had ever seen since we had left Rochester.

We passed through the western parish of Marshfield, which contains a village of moderate size, compactly and tolerably well built, but with few marks either of thrift or poverty. The houses were of long standing, and imperfectly repaired.

In 1790, Marshfield contained 1,269 inhabitants; in 1801, 1,256; and, in 1810, 1,364.

As we came near Oakman's ferry, where we crossed North river, we were gratified by a succession of undulating grounds, covered with an excellent soil, and exhibiting the full New-England verdure, for the first time since we had left Rhode-Island. Several well-looking houses showed that the inhabitants had availed themselves of their advantages; and, together with a collection of thrifty groves, yielded a prospect very pleasing to us.

We crossed the river in a small, clumsy boat, rowed by a little boy; and, although it was no more than forty or fifty yards wide, experienced very serious anxiety. This stream rises in Pembroke; and, although it runs only between twenty and thirty miles, is so deep as to permit ships of three hundred tons to descend into Massachusetts'-Bay; eighteen miles distant.

Scituate, where we dined, is a collection of scattered plantations. The houses are generally decent; but the whole region wears remarkably the appearance of stillness and retirement, and the inhabitants seem to be separated in a great measure from all active intercourse with their country.

Scituate contains three congregations; two Presbyterian, and one Episcopal. The number of its inhabitants, in 1790, was 2,856; in 1800, 2,728; and, in 1810, 2,969.

Hingham is a pretty village, neatly built around a handsome church, and exhibiting proofs of wealth and taste. The ground on which it stands is however unpleasantly broken by several small elevations, formed by collections of rocks, some of them very large and unsightly, thrown together in a disagreeable confusion. It is built at the head of a bay, which is an arm of the great bay of Massachusetts. The township is about four miles square, and includes two parishes and three congregations. In 1790, it contained 337 houses, and 2,065 inha-

bitants : in 1800 the number of inhabitants was 2,112 ; and, in 1810, 2,382.

We arrived at Weymouth a little after sunset, and found tolerable accommodations, at a very handsome price. At the inn where we lodged, a considerable number of men and women of different ages from the neighbourhood had assembled around a table, and were employed in playing at cards. Our first parents themselves, with all the advantages of innocence and solitude, were scarcely less anxious to be concealed from inspection, or more perfectly at their ease, while pursuing the employments of Paradise. The prospect, however, was I presume singular ; for in the numerous inns at which I have had occasion to lodge, while travelling more than fifteen thousand miles, I have never in any other instance seen such a collection so employed.

Weymouth, originally named Wessagusset, was first planted by Mr. Weston, an English merchant, in 1622 ; but the settlement being soon broken up, it was not incorporated till 1685. The surface is undulating and stony, and the soil pretty good. Excellent cheese is made here, and a little commerce carried on.

The township includes two parishes. In 1790, it contained 1,469 inhabitants ; in 1800, 1,803 ; and, in 1810, 1,889.

The next morning we rode to Charlestown to dinner ; through Braintree, Quincy, Milton, Dorchester, Roxbury, and Boston ; seventeen miles.

At Weymouth the land begins to be uninterruptedly good, and the agriculture to assume a higher character. The houses also make a better appearance, are generally neat, and sometimes approach towards elegance. The country everywhere exhibits the aspect of thrift, and often of wealth. The surface is undulating and pleasant. The groves of oak and hickory, being tall and spiry, make, together with many beautiful single trees, a most pleasing impression on the traveller. At the same time there is a succession, at different intervals, of rocky protuberances, which are remarkably ragged, and follow each other so frequently, as materially to disfigure the prospect.

The beauty of this country, both natural and artificial, increased as we approached towards Boston. The surface became more soft and smiling, the houses more brilliant and more

numerous; their appendages more beautiful; and the way and the taste displayed superior. Indeed, from Weymouth the country may, with little extravagance, be considered one continued village, raised up by the commerce of Boston and forming a kind of suburb to that capital.

Quincy is a pretty town, built on a handsome plain, around a neat church. This is the residence of Mr. Adams, late president of the United States. We called on this gentleman and had every reason to be gratified with our reception. He has, in the literal sense, become a farmer, and pursues his business with much spirit. This employment, originally confined for man, and therefore so well adapted to his nature, is undoubtedly the happiest resort for a gentleman retiring from the bustle of life; and is perhaps the only one which will supply the chasm left in an active mind, when separated from a long course of vigorous exertion. Every mind must have some engagement, or it will be unhappy. This, to a man of sense, must be rational and useful; to a man of curiosity, instructive; to a man of dignity, honourable. I know not where "*otium cum dignitate*" can well be found, particularly in this country, by such a man, when declining in age, in any sort except those of agriculture. In a counting-room his appearance will be awkward and troublesome. From the bar he will be almost pushed away. In the legislature he will fall under the visible loss of reputation and influence. An office will weary him with fatigue and perplexity. Society, society demands that he, who is seen to stand immediately before the gates of eternity, should not spend the little portion which is left him in the scramble of the present world. The very heathen seem to have felt this: it certainly ought to be felt by those who call themselves Christians.

Quincy was, till lately, a part of Braintree, and is the most beautiful part. The present Braintree is a collection of farms distinguished from the rest of this region by nothing uncommon. The original township was settled in 1625, by a Captain Wollaston, and from him was named "Mount Wollaston." The next year he became discouraged, and went to Virginia, appointing a Mr. Fitcher his agent. Thomas Morton, who, as Mr. Prince says, had been a kind of pettifogger at Fitcher's Inn, and was one of the company, excited a sedi-

against Fitcher, and compelled him to flee. Morton then assumed the control of the plantation; and, having received some goods from England, began to trade with the natives. The trade was lucrative; and the company devoted their gains to rioting and drunkenness, and changed the name of the place to "Merry Mount." Soon after they began to sell arms to the savages. This alarmed the other plantations. The colony of Plymouth wrote to him very civilly, and repeatedly, requesting him to desist from this commerce, but Morton treated the proposition with contempt. Upon which Captain Standish, with a small force, came to Mount Wollaston; dispersed the rioters, leaving a few of the more sober and industrious planters; took Morton, and carried him to Plymouth. The next year he was sent back to England.

Braintree was incorporated in 1640, and Quincy in 1792. Each of these townships includes a single parish. The original township of Braintree contained, in 1790, 420 dwelling-houses, and 2,771 inhabitants; in 1800, Braintree contained 1,285 inhabitants, and Quincy 1,081; total 2,366: in 1810, Braintree contained 1,351, and Quincy 1,281; total, 2,632. Whether any part of the inhabitants have been annexed to any other township, I am ignorant.

Milton lies immediately north of Quincy. It was anciently known by the name of "Uncataquisset," and was incorporated in the year 1662. The prospects from Milton are remarkably fine. Much of the surface is elevated, and overlooks a great part of the surrounding region. A range of hills particularly, known here by the name of the "Blue Hills," presents, in full view, Boston and its environs, its harbour, Massachusetts'-Bay, together with the peninsula of Cape Cod, and the mountain Watchuset in the interior.

Milton was the summer residence of Mr. Hutchinson, the author of the History of Massachusetts'-Bay, and the last royal governor but one of that province. The letters of this gentleman concerning the political affairs of America, particularly of Massachusetts'-Bay, which have made so much noise in the world, were found in his house by Samuel Henshaw, Esq., who then occupied it. These letters have been generally supposed seriously to affect the character of Mr. Hutchinson.

If I have not been misinformed, the first paper-mill built in America was erected here.

In 1790, Milton contained 153 houses, and 1,039 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,148 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,264.

Dorchester is separated from Milton by the river Neponset, navigable for vessels of 150 tons, and eminently useful for the mill-seats which it furnishes. The surface is a succession of hills and vallies, and the landscape various and pleasant. A considerable quantity of mechanical and manufacturing business is carried on in this and the two last mentioned townships; particularly of leather, paper, shoes, snuff, chocolate, &c.

Dorchester was incorporated in the year 1730, and was settled a short time before Boston; being the oldest town, except Salem and Charlestown, in the colony of Massachusetts-Bay. It has given birth to several persons of eminence in this country. The late Rev. Thomas Clap, president of Yale college, was of the number.

Dorchester may be considered as the cradle of Connecticut. John Oldham, afterwards murdered by the Pequods, and Samuel Hall, two of its inhabitants, had the honour of first exploring the country on Connecticut river, about Hartford, in the year 1633; and, in 1636, about one hundred persons, chiefly inhabitants of Dorchester, the rest from Cambridge and Watertown, with the Rev. Mr. Hooker at their head, planted themselves in Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. A considerable part of the first settlers in Suffolk county, on Long-Island, were also inhabitants of Dorchester.

A beautiful neck of land, commonly known by the name of "Dorchester Heights," on the south side of the basin which borders the south-eastern shore of Boston, is celebrated for being the spot whence General Washington, by the erection of two batteries, compelled the British army to quit Boston. The sight of these works, thrown up in a single night, astonished the British commander, and threw his army into confusion. When he first beheld them, in the morning of March 5th, 1776, he is said to have exclaimed, "The rebels have done more in one night than my army would do in a fortnight." The importance of these batteries he perfectly understood, and knew that it would be impossible for him to keep his post

on a single day after they should be opened on the town. He therefore made vigorous preparations for attacking the works the next morning, but was prevented by a violent storm from carrying the design into execution. Had he made the attempt, he would not improbably have failed of success. By an order of the American general, a great number of barrels had been filled with sand, and were to be rolled down upon the British ranks, whenever they should approach within the proper distance. As the declivity is everywhere sufficiently steep, and remarkably smooth, this singular attack must have been made with every advantage, and could not, I think, have failed of destroying many of the assailants, nor of throwing the rest into confusion. A general discharge of cannon and musketry was then to have been opened upon them; and must, it would seem, at such a crisis have completed their overthrow. In 1776 I examined the ground with attention, and was entirely convinced, that the storm was propitious to the real interests of the British army.

After the storm was ended, the works were so far advanced as to render the prospect of success, in the opinion of General Howe himself, too improbable to permit the intended attack. He therefore began immediately the necessary preparations for leaving Boston.

Dorchester originally included the townships of Milton, Stoughton, Sharon, Canton, and Foxborough. In 1792 it contained within its present limits 256 houses, and 1,722 inhabitants; in 1800, 305 houses, and 2,347 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,930*.

* The following specimen of female prowess deserves to be recorded. It is abridged from a Kaatskill paper, July 1804.

A party of Narraganset Indians, hunting on the borders of Dorchester, stopped at the house of Mr. Minot, and demanded food and drink. Being refused, they went away with evident marks of resentment, and Ohquamweland, the sachem, swore that he would be revenged. For this end, he left in the bushes, near the house, an Indian named Chicatabutt, to seize the first opportunity of executing his purpose. The next morning, Mr. and Mrs. Minot went, as is supposed, to Boston. The Indian observed them, and prepared himself for mischief. Mr. Minot, apprehensive of danger, had given his maid servant a strict charge to confine herself, with their two children, to the house, and to open the door to no person until he should return. She obeyed the orders exactly. Soon after, she saw Chicatabutt cross the ferry, and proceed towards the house. After looking about him

Roxbury lies between Dorchester and Boston, nearly at an equal distance from both, and is connected with the latter of these towns by the isthmus, which is called Boston Neck.

The town of Roxbury is compactly built, the houses being in many places contiguous, and has the appearance of a pretty suburb of a large city. Many of the houses are good, and the church is handsome. The period is not very distant, when these towns may be united to the eye of a traveller, as the buildings on the Neck are fast increasing.

The rest of the township is a collection of farms of a prosperous appearance.

Roxbury is one of the oldest towns in this State, having been incorporated September 28th, 1630, three weeks after Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown. I know of nothing remarkable in its history, except that the celebrated John Elliot, commonly styled the "Apostle Elliot," and the "Apostle of the Indians," was its minister. This distinguished man was born in England in 1604, arrived in New-England in 1631, and was inducted into the ministry at Roxbury in 1632. He was naturally qualified, beyond almost any other man, for the business of a missionary; possessed a sound understanding, singular patience, fortitude, and zeal, attempered with the gentlest affections; was ardent in his benevolence; sufficiently vigorous to endure almost any fatigue; and sufficiently persevering to surmount almost any difficulty. He was not only apt to teach, but peculiarly fitted to instruct such as were slow

with the greatest caution he rushed to the door, and finding it barred, attempted to get in through the window. The young woman had placed her master's children under two brass kettles, directing them not to stir nor to make the least noise, and then loaded a musket belonging to the house, and stood upon her defence. The Indian, probably perceiving her design, fired at her, but missed his mark. She then shot him through the shoulder. Still he persisted in his design, but as he was entering the window she threw a shovel full of live coals into his face, and lodged them in his blanket. The pain which they created was too great even for a savage to endure. Chicatabutt fled, and the next day was found dead in a wood on the borders of the town.

The adventure being made known to the government of Massachusetts-Bay, this "fortissima Tyndaridarum" was by their order presented with a silver wristband, on which her name was engraved, with this motto, "She slew the Narrhaganset hunter."

of apprehension and biassed by prejudice. His addresses were plain, and remarkably intelligible. They were the language of the heart; the spontaneous effusions of evangelical good-will; and were therefore deeply felt by all who heard them. His treatment of the Indians was that of a sincere, upright, affectionate parent. In providing for their wants; in adjusting their differences; in securing them permanent settlements; in defending their rights; in preserving them from the depredations of their savage neighbours, on the one hand, and those of the colonists, especially about the time of Philip's war, on the other; in promoting among them agriculture, health, morals, and religion; and in translating the Bible into their language; this great and good man laboured with a constancy, faithfulness, and benevolence, which place his name, not unworthily, among those who are arranged immediately after the apostles of our Divine Redeemer.

He began his ministerial labours among these unhappy people in 1646, and continued them as long as the vigour of life permitted; successful beyond every hope, and against every discouragement. He died in 1690, aged eighty-six, and undoubtedly went to receive the benedictions of multitudes, who, but for him, had finally perished. To his own people he was, as you will easily believe, a pastor pre-eminently excellent and useful. Few men have ever seen religion so prosperous under their labours. Of his charitable disposition the following story is a sufficient proof:—The parish treasurer, having paid him his salary, put it into a handkerchief, and tied it into as many hard knots as he could make, to prevent him from giving it away before he reached his own house. On his way he called upon a poor family, and told them that he had brought them some relief. He then began to untie the knots; but finding it a work of great difficulty, gave the handkerchief to the mistress of the house, saying, "Here, my dear, take it; I believe the Lord designs it all for you."

Mrs. Elliot, however, was an excellent economist. By her prudent attention to his affairs he was enabled, notwithstanding his liberality, to educate four sons at Harvard college, two of whom were ministers of the Gospel, and, as preachers, inferior to none of the age in which they lived.

The attachment of the people of Roxbury to Mr. Elliot may

be understood from this fact. When by the encroachments of age he had become unable to preach, he proposed to his people to relinquish his salary. To their immortal honour they answered, that they thought his presence among them amply worth the money. Who would not rather be such a man than a conqueror?

Roxbury is distributed into three parishes, and contained, in the year 1790, 287 houses, and 2,226 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,765 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 3,669.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XIV.

Dedham. Honourable Mr. Ames. Medfield attacked by the Indians. Medway. Bellingham. Mendon. Peculiar kind of Sheep. Uxbridge. Douglas. Forests. Thompson. The Quinibaug and Country on its borders. Pomfret. Ashford. Mansfield. Coventry. Bolton. Willington. Gap in the Bolton Hills.

DEAR SIR;

WE continued at Charlestown a week, and spent our time very pleasantly among the interesting objects there and in the vicinity. On Tuesday, October 13th, we commenced our journey homeward, and passing through Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, Medfield, and Medway, reached Mendon in the evening; thirty-eight miles.

Dedham is a neat town, situated pleasantly on a plain, the south side of Charles river, eleven miles south-west of the capital. It is compactly built, the houses are generally good, and several of them are handsome.

Dedham is the shire town of the county of Norfolk, and contains three Congregational and one Episcopal churches, a court-house, and a gaol. Its aspect is that of sprightliness and prosperity. Several productive intervals, forming the margin of Charles river, add not a little to its beauty.

In Dedham lived the Honourable Fisher Ames, several years a member of the American congress. This gentleman was born here, April 9th, 1758, of respectable parents, and was educated at Harvard college, where he took the degree of A. B. in 1774. He then commenced the study of the law, and soon after he began the practice was regarded as an advocate of distinguished talents. In 1788, he was chosen a member of the convention, summoned for the purpose of ratifying the federal constitution, and a member of the house of

representatives in the state legislature the same year. The following year he was elected a representative from the district of Suffolk to the national legislature, and was regularly re-elected during the presidency of General Washington. In all these situations, particularly the last, he distinguished himself by sound wisdom, most impressive eloquence, immovable integrity, and exalted patriotism. After his speech on the necessity of making appropriations for carrying into effect the treaty with Great Britain, delivered April 28th, 1796, one of his antagonists objected to taking the vote, which was to decide the question at that time, because the house was borne away by the power of his eloquence. From this period he generally declined public business on account of the imperfect state of his health, yet he several times accepted a seat at the council board. This, however, was evidently done to serve his country, not to gratify himself. He loved retirement and delighted in his family. For public life, at the same time, he had little relish; and although for political science he felt an attachment, which approximated to enthusiasm, yet he regarded active politics with disgust. The state of his health also continued to be such while he lived, as in a great measure to forbid his entering anew into the field of political controversy. During his retirement, however, he never forgot the interests or the dangers of his country. Feeble as he was, he published within a few years before his death a series of political essays, which were then highly esteemed as specimens of original thought and superior wisdom. Few men have so much good sense as Mr. Ames possessed, and none, with whom I have conversed, a mind so ready to furnish, at every call, the facts which should be remembered, the truths which should be declared, the arguments which should be urged, language in which they might be clearly and forcibly expressed, and images with which they might be beautifully adorned. His imagination was perhaps too brilliant and too rich. It could hardly be said, that any of the pictures which it drew were ill-drawn or out of place; yet it might, I think, be truly said, that the gallery was crowded. The excess was not, however, the consequence either of a defective taste or a solicitude to shine, but the produce of a fancy ever creative, always exuberant, and exerting its powers more easily in this manner than in any

other. To speak and write, as he actually spoke and wrote, was only to permit the thoughts and images which first offered themselves to flow from his lips or his pen.

Mr. Ames was distinguished by a remarkable and very amiable simplicity of character. In circles where any man would have thought it an honour to shine, and where he always shone with superior lustre, he appeared entirely to forget himself, and to direct all his observations to the entertainment of the company, and the elucidation of the subject. Wherever he conversed, it was impossible to fail of receiving both instruction and delight. But the instruction flowed not from the pride of talents, or the ambition of being brilliant. Whatever was the field of thought, he expanded it; whatever was the theme of discussion, he gave it new splendour; but the manner in which he did both showed irresistibly, that they were the most obvious, and the least laborious, employments of such an understanding and such a fancy.

His moral character was still more estimable. His integrity appeared to be direct without effort, and even without deliberation; it appeared to be straight, because it had never been warped; to dictate what was right, because it had not yet learned to do what was wrong. His sense of rectitude, both public and personal, was not only exact, but delicate and exquisite. His patriotism was glowing.

As a public man, Mr. Ames was a distinguished object, both of envy and praise. But eminent as he was among those who were eminent, I should more strongly covet his private character. In the several relations of life which most endear, refine, and exalt human nature, he appeared with singular advantage.

Of the inspiration of the Scriptures he was firmly satisfied. It ought to be observed, that although he had read extensively the ablest works on the external evidences of revelation, yet the divine origin of the Scriptures was most deeply impressed on his mind by their contents. "No man," said he, "ever did, or ever will, become truly eloquent, without being a constant reader of the Bible, and an admirer of the purity and simplicity of its language." To a mind like his it was impossible that the dictates of a book thus regarded should be indifferent. Accordingly, he professed publicly the religion which it enjoins, and adorned his profession with a life irreproachable. Through

the great and the gay world he passed without a stain. On its follies he looked with pity, on its splendours with self-possession. No opinion, no practice was adopted by him, because it was fashionable. In the devotions of his closet, and in the duties of Christian benevolence, he found a satisfaction which grandeur rarely knows, and applause can never confer. Humble, sincere, and submissive, he often shed in intimate religious conversation the tear of contrition, and lamented his want of fervour in his addresses to God. When his end was approaching, with a consciousness that it was near, he said, "I have peace of mind. It may arise from stupidity; but I believe it is founded on a belief of the Gospel. My hope is in the mercy of God through Jesus Christ." The divinity of the Saviour he admitted without a question, and, it would seem, from a minute investigation of the subject.

The infidel and the worldly Christian, if I may be permitted to use this phraseology, will regard the last part of his character with feelings of contemptuous superiority. You, I am persuaded, will rejoice to learn that he was thus divinely wise, and will contemplate, with exquisite satisfaction, his glorious destiny, which, commencing in this manner here, will hereafter become brighter and brighter for ever.

Mr. Ames was married in the year 1792, to Frances, the third daughter of the Honourable John Worthington, formerly mentioned in my account of Springfield. By this lady he had six sons and one daughter, all of them still living.

A volume of his works was published at Boston in the year 1809.

Dedham is divided into three parishes, and contained, in 1790, 255 houses, and 1,659 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,973 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,172.

In the first parish there died in forty years, viz. between 1756 and 1796, 529 persons.

Of these 529 persons, 9 lived above 90.

42 80, and

74 70.

Of the whole number, therefore, there lived above

90 1 in 59.

80, almost 1 in 10.

70, almost 1 in 4.

From Dedham to Medfield the country is chiefly a forest, dull in its appearance, and in some places rough and stony. The soil is poor, and the road indifferent.

Medfield is a small, but pleasant township, bounded on the west by Charles river, and on the east by Dedham. The surface is formed of easy, graceful hills and open vallies. On the borders of the river is a chain of handsome intervals, and at a small distance from the road is built the town, a decent village.

Medway was formerly a part of Medfield; but was incorporated as a township in 1713, and now contains two parishes. Its appearance is not unlike that of Medfield, except that we saw nothing which could be called a village. The inhabitants of both these townships appear to be in good circumstances.

In the early part of Philip's war the savages, after they had destroyed Lancaster, attacked this town also. On the night preceding the 21st of February, 1765, they formed an ambush in the forests which surrounded it, and at day-break fell unexpectedly upon several of the houses. The inhabitants immediately fled toward the garrisons for shelter, *i. e.* houses encircled by palisadoes. Several of them were killed in their flight; one, a very aged man, was taken prisoner and burnt alive. About eighteen persons were slain, a considerable number of cattle destroyed, and from forty to fifty buildings consumed. Fortunately the inhabitants had a field piece in the town, at the second or third discharge of which the Indians fled. Hubbard informs us, that they left on the bridge a written note, declaring their determination to carry on the war for twenty years to come, and subjoining, that "they had nothing to lose, whereas the English had corn, barns, and houses." This assault was, I think, made upon what is now called the town of Medfield.

Medfield contained, in 1790, 731; in 1800, 745; and, in 1810, 786 inhabitants. Medway contained, in 1790, 1,065; in 1800, 1,050; and, in 1810, 1,213 inhabitants.

Medfield was incorporated in 1650; and Medway in 1713.

Bellingham, so far as it is visible on the road, differs little from Medway, except that the soil is more sandy and the surface less pleasant. It contained, in 1790, 785 inhabitants; in 1800, 704; and, in 1810, 766.

Mendon is situated on and between several ridges, running north and south. The highest of these grounds furnishes extensive prospects, possessed, however, of little variety or beauty, and of no other grandeur, except that which consists in mere amplitude. Two or three lively mill-streams murmur at the foot of these ridges, and, while they enliven the scenery, furnish seats for a considerable number of mills. The soil is either sandy, or, where it is rich, encumbered with rocks. The manners of such inhabitants, as we saw, were rather coarse and unpromising. A thinly built village of decent houses surrounds the church.

Mendon was incorporated in 1767; is divided into two parishes; and, in 1790, contained 222 houses, and 1,555 inhabitants; in 1800, 228 houses, and 1,628 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,819.

In this township, if I have been correctly informed, an ewe, belonging to one of the farmers, had twins, which he observed to differ in their structure from any other sheep in this part of the country, particularly the fore legs, which were much shorter, and were bent inward, so as distantly to resemble what are called club-feet. Their bodies were, at the same time, thicker and more clumsy. During their growth they were observed to be more gentle, less active, less inclined to wander, than other sheep, and unable to climb the stone walls, with which this region abounds. They were of different sexes. The proprietor, therefore, determined on an attempt to produce a breed of the same kind. The attempt was successful. The progeny had all the characteristics of the parents, and, although they have since multiplied to many thousands, have exhibited no material variation. I am further informed, that the breed has been crossed with a breed of a sheep common in this country, and in all instances, to the date of my last information, the lambs have entirely resembled either the sire or the dam; and have never exhibited the least discernable mixture.

These sheep are called the otter breed, from a resemblance in their structure to the animal of that name. Their flesh is said to be good mutton, and their wool not inferior to that of common sheep, either in quantity, length, or fineness. But their peculiar value consists in the quietness with which they continue in any enclosure. In a country, where stone walls

are so general as in many parts of New-England, it would seem, that sheep of this description must be almost invaluable.

We left Mendon the next morning, October 14th, and rode to Pomfret to dinner, through Uxbridge, Douglas, and Thompson; twenty-two miles. A turnpike road has been laid from Boston to Hartford, in the course which I have thus far described. We found it finished in parts. It has since been completed, and is sufficiently well made; but throughout most of the distance it winds disagreeably over hills and vallies, which make the travelling laborious and uncomfortable.

Uxbridge is possessed of a rich soil, and a surface not unpleasant. The agriculture is superior to that of any township through which we had passed. The inhabitants are accordingly wealthy and prosperous, as a traveller may easily discern by the appearance of their buildings and enclosures.

Doctor Levi Willard, an inhabitant of Uxbridge, has, for a series of years, been engaged to a considerable extent in the melancholy, but useful business, of restoring persons afflicted with delirium. In this employment he has had considerable success. One or more hospitals, for the reception of such unhappy beings, would be a valuable acquisition to New-England.

Uxbridge was originally a part of Mendon; and was incorporated in 1727. In 1760, it contained 179 houses, and 1,308 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,404 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,404.

An iron mine of some value is wrought near its south-western border.

Douglas is an unusually rocky, unpleasant spot of ground; on which, however, a considerable number of people appear to gain a comfortable living. Man must, indeed, earn his bread here with the sweat of his brow. The inhabitants must, I think, be eminently industrious, for neither their houses nor their church wear the marks of penury.

In the south-western part of this township is a large tract of forest, known by the name of the Douglas Woods. The trees, which are of oak, chesnut, &c. are of moderate size, and prove the soil to be indifferent. In the year 1805, when I passed through this region again, I perceived that the inhabitants had begun to make serious depredations on this tract. European

travellers frequently express their dissatisfaction, at seeing a considerable part of this country, even where we think it populous, covered with groves and forests. This, undoubtedly is the result of their habits; in other words, the countries in which they have lived are in a less degree covered with wood. My own taste and wishes are directly opposed to theirs, for in our ancient settlements I never see a grove cut down, nor a forest converted into fields, without regret. The tracts on the eastern coast of Massachusetts are, to my eye, sensibly less pleasant, on account of their naked appearance. Many groves and those of considerable size, might be planted between Boston and Newburyport, with not a little advantage to the aspect of the country.

Douglas was incorporated in 1746; and contained, in 1799 165 houses, and 1,079 inhabitants; in 1800, 164 houses, and 1,083 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,142.

The three last-mentioned towns are in the county of Worcester. All those which I have mentioned after Hingham and which have been described on this journey, are in the county of Norfolk.

Douglas borders southward and westward on the state of Connecticut; and is also partly bounded on the south, together with the two preceding townships, by the state of Rhode-Island.

Thompson is the north-eastern corner of Connecticut. The eastern part of this township has a light soil. The native growth is composed of pines. The surface is alternated with plains and hills, which are small, round knolls. These are replenished with stones, from the size of pebbles to the diameter of a foot, all of them rounded as if heretofore washed for a long time by a mass of superincumbent water. Wherever I have found a surface formed of such knolls, the stones, as far as I remember, have uniformly answered this description. I do not recollect, that I ever met with an angular stone on such grounds, unless when it had been recently broken.

As we advanced farther westward, the hills, the soil, and the forests, in this township, were speedily and essentially changed. The soil became a rich loam; the groves a collection of fine thrifty oaks, &c.; the hills were loftier and more irregular, and a general appearance of prosperity overspread the

country. The houses in the eastern division are small, and of one story ; but generally neat, appearing as if the inhabitants had made the best of their circumstances. With the change of the soil the houses were changed proportionally, in their size and appearance.

There are three churches in Thompson, a Methodist, which is small ; a Baptist, small also ; and a Presbyterian, large, decent, and surrounded by a well-built village. The rest of the township is distributed into farms. In the year 1790, Thompson contained 2,267 inhabitants ; in 1800, 2,341 ; and, in 1810, 2,467.

Pomfret is a beautiful township, lying principally on the west side of the Quinibaug, south of Woodstock, south-west of Thompson, and west of Killingly.

This river rises in Sturbridge, in the county of Worcester, in a small lake, called Lead Ore Pond. Thence it passes through Holland, the south-east corner of the county of Hampshire, and enters Union, in the state of Connecticut. Here, with an accumulation of waters, it commences a north-western course, and, entering Massachusetts again, passes through a part of Brimfield, whence it recrosses Holland and Sturbridge, coming within a little more than a mile of its head-waters. From Sturbridge it proceeds to Woodstock in Connecticut, thence to Thompson, and, separating Pomfret, Brooklyn, Canterbury, Lisbon, Norwich, Montville, and New-London, on the west, from Killingly, Plainfield, Preston, and Groton, on the east, enters the Sound at New-London. Its whole length is from ninety to one hundred miles. I have mentioned, that at Norwich it joins the Shetucket, and that the united stream is called the Thames.

This is a beautiful stream. Its waters are everywhere pure, sweet, salubrious, and well stocked with fish, and its bed is clean sand or gravel.

It is supposed to be capable of being rendered navigable for boats as far as Woodstock, with no other serious difficulty, except what arises from its length. A project for this purpose has been formed, and will hereafter, perhaps, be carried into execution.

The Quinibaug, from Lisbon almost to its source, is generally lined with handsome intervals. From these the country

rises on both sides, with ever-varying gradations, into hills of every form, and of heights, changing from the small knoll to the lofty eminence. No country of any considerable extent, which has fallen under my eye, when unaided by mountains, large rivers, lakes, or the ocean, can be compared with this for the beauty of its scenery.

The verdure, which here overspreads a great part of the whole region, is of the finest tint, and produces the most cheerful sense of fruitfulness, plenty, and prosperity. Trees, remarkable for the straightness and thriftiness of their stems, the length and beauty of their boughs and branches, and, wherever of sufficient age, for their height also, whether standing single, in groves, or in extensive forests, variegate the slopes and vallies, and cover the summits of the hills. Handsomer groves, it is presumed, cannot be found. Orchards, also, everywhere meet the eye. Herds of cattle are seen grazing the rich pastures, or quietly ruminating in the shade. Neat farm-houses, standing on the hills; a succession of pretty villages, with their churches ornamented with steeples, most of them white, and therefore cheerful and brilliant, lend the last touches of art to a picture, so finely drawn by the hand of nature.

From many eminences, bordering the valley of the Quinbaug, extensive and very inviting views may be taken of this country. In a few instances the summits of the hills are rude, rocky, and of a steep ascent, a circumstance which adds a suitable variety to the scenery, so generally soft and elegant. The river, it ought to be added, winds its course between the intervals which form its banks, fringed with willow shrubbery, and at times ornamented with stately trees.

The farmers, throughout this tract, are more generally wealthy than those of any other part of Connecticut. Their farms are chiefly devoted to grazing; and their dairies, it is believed, are superior to any others spreading over the same extent of country in the United States. The largest dairy, within my knowledge, is that of Major Daniel Putnam, son of the late Major General Putnam, so distinguished in American history for his military character and achievements. This gentleman lives in Brooklyn. The cheese made in this region is not excelled by any on this side of the Atlantic, and

not often by the best English cheese imported into this country. Mr. Matthewson, who received in Philadelphia a gold medal, for producing in the market five hundred weight of cheese, equal to the very best English cheese, according to a proposal published by the Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Agriculture in that city, is an inhabitant of Brooklyn, and may be considered justly as having materially improved the art of cheese-making among his neighbours.

Of the townships in this region, Pomfret is to my eye one of the most beautiful. The hills are universally arched obtusely from north to south, with a narrower arch from east to west, and in both cases remarkably exact, and regularly elegant.

Enclosures of stone, which in many instances are very good, especially those lately made, often describe, as they bend over the hills, what appears to the eye the perfect arch of a circle.

Pomfret contains a pretty village, lying partly on this road, and partly on the Norwich road, which joins it at right-angles. The inhabitants are principally a collection of sober, industrious farmers. The township is divided into two parishes, Pomfret and Abington. In 1756, when it included Thompson, the number of its inhabitants was 1,727, blacks 50; in 1774, 2,306, blacks 65; in 1790, 1768; in 1800, Pomfret contained 1,802; and, in 1810, 1,905.

We were detained at Pomfret by rain until Friday, October 16th, when we set out for Hartford, and passing through Ashford, the skirts of Mansfield, Willington, and Coventry, and then through Bolton and East-Hartford, we arrived at Hartford in the evening: forty-two miles.

The country, after we left Pomfret, wore one general aspect, until we descended the hills of Bolton into the Connecticut valley. The hills are the Lyme range, and are everywhere high, and, together with the vallies, are rough and rocky, with the exception, however, of some softer scenery along Willimantic river, which crosses the road on the eastern boundary of the county of Tolland, and on the western boundary of Mansfield. The road passes through the centre of Ashford and of Bolton. In each of these townships there is a decent village. The soil of the region between Pomfret and

Bolton is generally cold, but is tolerably good grazing ground: That of Bolton is better. Many of the houses on this road are good farmers' dwellings. The prospects from the high grounds are extensive, but neither diversified nor handsome. There is, however, a noble view from the western declivity of the Bolton hills, over the second great expansion of the Connecticut valley, substantially the same with that from the hills in Tolland, formerly described.

Ashford contained, in 1756, 1,245 ; in 1774, 2,249 ; in 1790, 2,588 ; in 1800, 2,445 ; and, in 1810, 2,532 inhabitants. Mansfield contained, in 1756, 1,614 ; in 1774, 2,466 ; in 1790, 2,635 ; in 1800, 2,560 ; and, in 1810, 2,570 inhabitants. Coventry contained, in 1756, 1,635 ; in 1774, 2,056 ; in 1790, 2,130 ; in 1800, 2,130 ; and, in 1810, 1,988 inhabitants. Bolton contained, in 1756, 766 ; in 1774, 1,001 ; in 1790, 1,298 ; in 1800, 1,452 ; and, in 1810, 700 inhabitants. Willington contained, in 1756, 650 ; in 1774, 1,001 ; in 1790, 1,212 ; in 1800, 1,278 ; and, in 1810, 1,161 inhabitants.

Between the two last periods Vernon was taken from Bolton.

Ashford and Mansfield are in the county of Windham; Bolton, Coventry, and Willington, in the county of Tolland.

Willington contains one parish, Coventry three, Bolton two, Mansfield two, and Ashford three, and two Baptist congregations.

In Mansfield both wool and silk are manufactured in considerable quantities. Silk is converted into sewing silk, and in this state is carried to the market. It is inferior to none which is imported. The wool is made into flannel.

The passage from the Bolton hills into the Connecticut valley is a curiosity. A gap, formed perhaps at the deluge, or at some subsequent convulsion, exhibits a sudden and violent separation of the westernmost ridge. In the Lyme range, on the north side, a perpendicular precipice almost immediately overhangs the road. At the foot lies a collection of rocks, tumbled from the summit and sides ; some of them large, and, by the confusion in which they were thrown together, strongly suggesting to the imagination, that they were shaken off by an earthquake. Several others appeared as if

they were prepared to take the same leap. One particularly juts out so far, and is so nearly dislodged from the summit, as to seem waiting only for a signal to plunge, at any moment, into the valley beneath.

Few travellers fail to take notice of this passage. The descent is easy, and, in this spot, highly romantic. The common people, with that direct good sense for which they are so often distinguished, familiarly remark, that Providence made this gap on purpose to furnish a passage from the hills into the country below. It is extensively true, that the objects found in this world were made with a particular reference to the most important purposes which they are seen to accomplish. For the Creator intended, not only to accomplish such purposes, but to make them visible to us as proofs of his wisdom and goodness. The end here suggested is of more importance than we are able to estimate. Had not a passage been furnished by this gap between the countries eastward and westward, every traveller, to the number of several thousands annually, would have been obliged to climb a steep and difficult acclivity. Horses would have gained the summit with extreme difficulty, and carriages could scarcely have gained it at all. The descent would have been little more convenient, while it would have been obviously less safe. The difference between these two cases, during a course of centuries, becomes incalculably great, and presents an object of sufficient importance to be considered, without any irreverence, as not beneath the regard of that Being, by whom innumerable inferior wants of mankind are amply supplied.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XV.

Brooklyn. Major-General Putnam. Canterbury.

DEAR SIR;

IN the year 1805 I made a journey to Boston, accompanied by Mr. M———, of Norfolk, in Virginia. On our return we came through Providence to Plainfield, and thence through Canterbury to Brooklyn; whence, returning to Canterbury again, we passed Windham, and a skirt of Coventry to Bolton.

Brooklyn is a beautiful township on the western side of the Quinibang. The soil is excellent, the cultivation good, the houses generally well built, and the inhabitants in prosperous circumstances. The town is neat and pretty, and its situation handsome.

In Brooklyn lived the Honourable Israel Putnam, for some years before his death the oldest Major-General in the armies of the United States. As General Humphreys has given the public a particular and interesting account of the life of this gentleman, I shall pass over it with a few summary observations.

General Putnam was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 7th, 1718. With only the advantages of a domestic education, in a plain farmer's family, and the usual instruction of a common parish school, he raised himself from the management of a farm to the command of a regiment in the late Canadian war, and, in the revolutionary war, to the second command in the armies of the United States. To these stations he rose solely by his own efforts, directed steadily to the benefit of his country, and with the cheerful as well as united suffrages of his countrymen.

Every employment, in which he engaged, he filled with reputation. In the private circles of life, as a husband

father, friend, and companion, he was alike respected and beloved. In his manners, though somewhat more direct and blunt than most persons who have received an early polished education, he was gentlemanly and very agreeable. In his disposition he was sincere, tender-hearted, generous, and noble. It is not known that the passion of fear ever found a place in his breast. His word was regarded as an ample security for any thing for which it was pledged, and his uprightness commanded absolute confidence. His intellect was vigorous, and his wit pungent, yet pleasant and sportive. The principal part of his improvements was, however, derived from his own observation, and his correspondence with the affairs of men. During the gayest and most thoughtless period of his life he still regarded religion with profound reverence, and read the Scriptures with the deepest veneration. On the public worship of God he was a regular and very respectful attendant. In the decline of life he publicly professed the religion of the Gospel, and in the opinion of the respectable clergyman of Brooklyn, the Rev. Dr. Whitney, from whose mouth I received the information, died hopefully a Christian.

It is not so extensively known, as it ought to be, that General Putnam commanded the American forces at the battle of Breed's hill, and that to his courage and conduct the United States are particularly indebted for the advantages of that day ; one of the most brilliant in the annals of this country *.

* The following is a note to the Rev. Dr. Whitney's Sermon on the death of General Putnam.

" The friends of the late General Putnam feel themselves not a little obliged to his worthy and respectable biographer, for giving to the public the distinguishing features in the General's character, and the memorable actions of his life, yet wish that a more perfect and just account had been given of the battle on Banker's Hill, so far as General Putnam was concerned in it. In page 107 of his Life are the following words, ' The provincial generals having received advice, that the British commander in chief designed to take possession of the heights on the peninsula of Charlestown, detached a thousand men in the night of the 16th of June, under the orders of General Warren, to entrench themselves upon one of those eminences ;' and in page 110th, ' In this battle the presence and example of General Putnam, who arrived with the reinforcement, were not less conspicuous than useful.'

From the first of these passages the reader is led to conclude, that the detachment was first put under the orders of General Warren : from the second that General Putnam came to General Warren's aid with a reinforce-

General Putnam was interred in the cemetery at Brooklyn. On his monument is engraved, with some trifling alterations, made merely to consult the capacity of the stone, the following inscription :

" This monument
 Is erected to the memory
 of
The Honourable ISRAEL PUTNAM, Esq.
 Major-General in the armies
 of
 The United States of America ;
 Who was born at Salem,
 In the province of Massachusetts,
 On the 7th day of January, 1718 ;
 And died at Brooklyn,
 In the state of Connecticut,
 On the 29th day of May, A. D. 1790.
 Passenger,
 If thou art a soldier,
 Go not away
 Till thou hast dropped a tear
 Over the dust of a hero,
 Who,
 Ever tenderly attentive
 To the lives and happiness of his men,
 Dared to lead
 Where any one dared to follow.

ment. The true state of the case was this. The detachment at first was put under the command of General Putnam. With it he took possession of the hill, and ordered the battle from the beginning to the end. General Warren (one of the most illustrious patriots) arrived alone on the hill, and as a volunteer joined the Americans just as the action commenced ; and within half an hour received a mortal wound, while he was waxing valiant in battle, and soon expired. These facts General Putnam himself gave me soon after the battle, and also repeated them to me after his Life was printed. Colonel Humphries, in page 109th, justly observes, ' Few instances can be produced in the annals of mankind where soldiers, who had never before faced an enemy, or heard the whistling of a ball, behaved with such deliberate and persevering valour.' The General, who encouraged and animated them by his words and example to prodigies of bravery, is highly to be honoured, and the praise not given to another, however meritorious in other respects. Other evidence, to confirm what I have said here, I am able to produce if any should call for it."

If thou art a Patriot,
 Remember with gratitude
 How much thou and thy Country
 Owe to the disinterested and gallant exertions
 Of the Patriot,
 Who sleeps beneath this marble.
 If thou art an honest, generous, and worthy man,
 Render a sincere and cheerful tribute of respect
 To a Man,
 Whose generosity was singular ;
 Whose honesty was proverbial ;
 And
 Who,
 With a slender education,
 With small advantages,
 And without Powerful Friends,
 Raised himself to universal esteem,
 And to Offices of eminent distinction,
 By Personal worth,
 And by the diligent services
 of a
 Useful Life*.

* The following account of General Putnam's character, given by Dr. Whitney in the sermon above-mentioned, cannot fail of giving pleasure to his friends, and to multitudes of others by whom he was unknown.

"He was eminently a person of a public spirit, an unshaken friend to liberty, and was proof against attempts to induce him to betray and desert his country. The baits to do so were rejected with the utmost abhorrence. He was of a kind, benevolent disposition, pitiful to the distressed, charitable to the needy, and ready to assist all who wanted his help. In his family he was the tender, affectionate husband, the provident father, an example of industry and close application to business. He was a constant attendant upon the public worship of God from his youth up. He brought his family with him when he came to worship the Lord. He was not ashamed of family religion: his house was a house of prayer. For many years he was a professor of religion. In the last years of his life he often expressed a great regard for God and the things of God. There is one at least to whom he freely disclosed the workings of his mind—his conviction of sin, his grief for it, his dependence on God through the Redeemer for pardon, and his hope of a future happy existence whenever his strength and heart should fail him. This one makes mention of these things for the satisfaction and comfort of his children and friends, and can add, that being with the General a little before he died, he asked him, whether his hope of future

There are two congregations in Brooklyn; a Presbyterian and an Episcopal. The latter is small. In 1790, this township contained 1,328 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,202; and, in 1810, 1,200.

Canterbury lies immediately south of Brooklyn. The town is pretty and well-built, around a very neat church, and a handsome academy. Its situation is a pleasant, rising ground, on the western side of the Quinibaug; but rather rough; and the streets are very irregular.

The people of this town were long without a clergyman. It is hardly necessary to add, that they experienced the usual consequences of this misfortune; the want of harmony, and the declension of morals. Possessed of a beautiful country, and of a soil scarcely inferior to any in New-England, with all the bounties of Providence emptied into their lap, they were still destitute of some of the best blessings, and suffered some of the most serious evils*.

Canterbury is divided into two parishes. The number of inhabitants, in 1756, was 1,280; in 1774, 2,444, blacks 52; in 1790, 1,881; in 1800, 1,812; and, in 1810, 1,812. A part of this township is supposed to have been taken off since the year 1774.

The western parish of Canterbury is both less beautiful and less fertile, but more united, peaceful, and happy.

Scotland, the eastern parish of Windham, lies immediately west of Canterbury, and is composed of an interchange of hills and vallies. The hills are of considerable height, and handsome. Every thing here wears the aspect of fertility and thrift, of industry, sobriety, and good order. A strong image of peaceful, agricultural life, is presented by this parish to the eye of a traveller. It is wholly made up of scattered plantations.

The township of Windham is bounded eastward on Canterbury, northward on Hampton, southward on Lisbon and Le-

happiness, as formerly expressed, now attended him. His answer was in the affirmative; with a declaration of his resignation to the will of God, and his willingness even then to die."

* The inhabitants of Canterbury have within a few years settled a respectable clergyman, and there is some reason to hope that his ministry in this town will be continued.

hamon, and westward on Mansfield. The first parish is composed on the east of hills and vallies, and on the west is an extensive plain, bordering Shetucket river. The former division is excellent land; the latter is light, dry, and apparently fitted for the production of grain; but it is said has hitherto resisted the efficacy of culture, and disappointed the hopes of the husbandman.

The town of Windham is built partly on the western side, and partly at the foot of a hill. The houses are more clustered than those of most New-England villages in the interior. Some of them are decent buildings; but there are many marks of decay in different parts of this town, and many proofs of the want of that thrift, so common in this country, and of the industry and prudence by which it is generated.

The public buildings are a church, an academy, a court house, and a gaol: all of them decent. The spot in which the first of these is posited bears not a little resemblance to a pound; and appears as if those, who pitched upon it, intended to shut the church out of the town, and the inhabitants out of the church.

Windham was settled in 1686 by some planters from Norwich; and was incorporated in 1702. In 1756 it contained 2,446 inhabitants, blacks 40; in 1774, 3,528, blacks 91; in 1790, 2,765; in 1800, 2,634; and, in 1810, 2,416. Since 1774 the township of Hampton, formerly one of its parishes, has been taken from it. In 1800, both these townships contained 4,013 inhabitants, blacks 99; and, in 1810, 3,690.

We dined at Windham, and in the afternoon pursued our course along the Shetucket, and after crossing the Natchaug, one of its branches, in the western part of this township, ascended for several miles another branch of the same stream, viz. the Willimantic, mentioned above. Then ascending the hills in Coventry, we speedily rejoined our former road, near the borders of Bolton. The country along these rivers is most of it pleasant. The valley is prettily bottomed with intervals. The hills, on the eastern side, are rough, barren, and dismal; but those on the western present an extensive slope, covered with fine farms and lofty groves, and set with a considerable number of good farmers' houses, apparently the seats of comfort and prosperity.

We lodged at Bolton, and the next morning proceeded to Hartford.

The lands below the gap, mentioned above, slope insensibly for several miles, until they reach the plain. They are formed to a great extent of earth, deeply red, and rather dry. Until lately they were esteemed of very little value; and the proprietors were poor and unenterprising. The adoption of a better husbandry has, however, totally changed both this opinion and the circumstances of the owners. By the use of gypsum, and other manures, they have been covered with rich harvests, and converted into beautiful meadows and pastures. Few farmers in the state appear to be advancing more evidently or more rapidly towards the attainment of wealth. The rest of the country on this road I have described elsewhere; and shall only add, that my companions and myself, in both of these journies, arrived at New-Haven the day following that on which we reached Hartford.

I am, Sir, &c.

JOURNEY TO WHITESTOWN.

LETTER I.

Journey to New-Lebanon. Shakers.

DEAR SIR ;

ON Tuesday, September 19, 1799, I set out, in company with Mr. W. S. H.—, of Charleston, S. C. on a journey to the western parts of the state of New-York, and rode the same day to Litchfield. The next day we proceeded, in company with the Rev. Mr. Backus, of Bethlem, to Sheffield. Thursday we reached Stockbridge. Here we continued until Friday morning ; when Mr. Day, now professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Yale college, and Mr. C——, of South-Carolina, joined us from Barrington, where they had been detained by the rain of the preceding day. After breakfast the whole company rode to New-Lebanon to dinner. As we crossed the Taghannuc range, we were presented with a delightful prospect of the beautiful valley which wears that name. From this height the traveller casts his eye over a sweep, five or six miles in extent, having the fine figure of an obtuse arch inverted, filled with an uninterrupted succession of farms, highly cultivated, and covered with the most luxuriant vegetation. On these farms many good houses are erected, and every thing wears the appearance of cheerfulness and prosperity. In our way to the spring, to be mentioned hereafter, we passed a village of the Shakers, or Shaking Quakers. It consists of a small number of houses, moderately well-built, and kept, both within and without doors, in a manner very creditable to the occupants. Every thing about them was clean and tidy. Their church, a plain but neat building, had a court-yard belonging to it, which was a remarkably " smooth

shaven green." Two paths led to it from a neighbouring house, both paved with marble slabs. By these, I was informed, the men enter one end of the church, and the women the other. Even their stables, the fences which surround their fields, and the road which passes through their village, are all uncommonly neat.

The history of these people has, in a summary manner, been published by themselves, in an octavo volume, entitled "The Testimony of Christ's Second Appearing;" the preface to which is subscribed by David Darrow, John Meacham, and Benjamin S. Youngs. It is supposed to have been written by a man, whose name is Wells; who is said to have been educated to some extent, I know not how great, in learning and science. In the introduction of this work we are informed, that "a few of the French prophets came over to England, about the year 1706. A few of the people" who became, it would seem, ultimately their followers, at Bolton and Manchester, in England, united themselves "in a society, under the special ministry of James and Jane Wardley." These persons were both tailors by occupation, and of the sect of Quakers; "but, receiving the spirit of the French prophets, their testimony, according to what they saw by vision and revelation from God, was, that the second appearing of Christ was at hand; and that the church was rising in her full and transcendent glory, which would effect the final downfall of Antichrist." The meetings of these people were held alternately in Bolton and Manchester, and sometimes in Mayortown. The manner of public devotion practised by them at these places was the following: "Sometimes, after assembling together, and sitting awhile in silent meditation, they were taken with a mighty trembling, under which they would express the indignation of God against all sin. At other times they were affected, under the power of God, with a mighty shaking; and were occasionally exercised in singing, shouting, or walking the floor, under the influence of spiritual signs, shoving each other about, or swiftly passing and repassing each other, like clouds agitated by a mighty wind. From these strange exercises the people received the name of Shakers.

"The work which God promised to accomplish in the latter day," they say, "was eminently marked out by the prophets

to be a work of shaking; and hence the name was very properly applied to the people, who were both the subjects and instruments of the work of God in the latter day." In confirmation of this opinion they quote a number of texts, which have no application to the subject, except that they contain the word "shake." If the first verse in the first book of Chronicles had contained that word, it might have been alleged with exactly the same propriety. Among them is the passage, Haggai ii, 7, "I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come;" a prediction, which they suppose began to be fulfilled at this period. "The effects of Christ's first appearing," they observe, "were far from fulfilling the promises contained in the passages alluded to, in their full extent. Neither was the appearing of Christ, in the form of a man, so properly 'the desire of all nations;' but his second appearing," they say, "was to be manifested in that particular object, woman, which is eminently the desire of all nations."

About the year 1770, we are informed, that "the present testimony of salvation and eternal life was fully opened, according to the special gift and revelation of God, through Anne Lee, that extraordinary woman, who at that time was received by their society as their spiritual Mother." This woman was born at Manchester, in England. Her father, John Lee, was a blacksmith. Her husband, Abraham Stanley, was also a blacksmith. She was a cutter of hatter's fur.

About the year 1758 she joined herself to the society of Shakers; "and there, by her perfect obedience to all that she was taught, attained to the full knowledge and experience of those who stood in the foremost light." Still, it seems, "finding in herself the seeds or remains of human depravity, and a lack of the divine nature, she was frequently in such extreme agony of soul, that, clinching her hands together, the blood would flow through the pores of her skin." At length, however, she received, by special and immediate revelation from God, the testimony of God against the whole corruption of man in all.

From "the light and power of God which attended her ministry, she was received and acknowledged as the first mother, or spiritual parent, in the line of the female; and the second heir in the covenant of life, according to the present

display of the Gospel." This has been her only title among her followers to the present day.

To such as addressed her by the customary titles used by the world, she would reply, "I am Anne, the Word." One would scarcely have imagined, that this blasphemous arrogation could have met with countenance from any inhabitant, however degraded, either of Great Britain or the United States. After having been imprisoned in England, and confined in mad-house, she set sail for America, in the spring of 1774 with a number of her followers; particularly Abraham Stanle her husband, William Lee her brother, James Whitaker, an John Hocknell, and arrived at New-York the following August. During the voyage the ship sprang a leak. When the seamen were nearly wearied out, Mother and her companions put their hands to the pumps, and thus prevented the ship from sinking. From this circumstance, plain intimations are given, that their working at the pumps was something supernatural. Mother remained in New-York, as we are informed, almost two years. She then went to Albany, and thence, in the following September, to Nisqueuna. In 178 she began a progress through various parts of the country, particularly of New-England, which lasted, we are told, about two years and four months. The following year, "having finished the work which was given her to do, she was taken out of their sight," *i. e.* the sight of the believers, "in the ordinary way of all living, at Water Vliet, on the eighth day of the ninth month." In honest English, she died.

Since the death of Mother, the affairs of the society have been under the management of several successive persons, of whom the leading gift in the visible administration has descended.

This woman has laboured under very serious imputation. In a book, published by a Mr. Rathbone, he mentions that he had found her and one of these elders in very suspicious circumstances. She professed that she was inspired; that she carried on a continual intercourse with the invisible world, and talked familiarly with angels. She predicted, in the boldest terms, that the world would be destroyed at a given time: I remember right, the year 1783. During the interval between the prophecy and its expected fulfilment, she directed

them to cease from their common occupations. The direction was implicitly obeyed. As the earth, however, presented no appearances of dissolution, and the skies no signs of a conflagration, it was discovered that the prophecy had been miscalculated, and her followers were ordered again to their employments. From that period they have been eminently industrious.

She also professed that she was able to work miracles, and that she was endued with the power of speaking with tongues, in the manner recorded of the apostles. Pretensions to miraculous powers, at this period, excite not only in persons of intelligence, but in most men of sober thought, indignation or contempt. In ignorant persons, especially those who have warm feelings and lively imaginations, they awaken wonder, alarm, and ultimately confidence. With the aid of a cunning, which levels its efforts directly at their degree of understanding, a ready, voluble eloquence, and a solemn air of mystery, such pretenders have usually made considerable impressions on persons of this character. Among those who assembled to hear her teach, she persuaded a small number to admit her pretensions, the sanctity of her character, and the reality of her mission from God. To these people she appears to have taught a doubtful reverence for the Bible, blended with a superior veneration for her own dictates. Wherever it sanctioned, or was supposed to sanction her own instructions, she seems to have appealed to it with readiness, as to conclusive authority. Such is evidently the conduct of her followers: but wherever it directly opposes their system, and conveys a meaning which rejects every equivocal comment, they pass it by in silence. To enthusiasts of all countries and nations, mystery has been the universal, as well as absolutely necessary resort in every difficulty; and the trick, though almost endlessly exposed, is still played off with the same success.

Of the doctrines received by her followers, besides those which are either expressed or implied in the preceding paragraph, the following appear to be among the principal: That Christ has appeared a second time in Anne Lee: that those who follow her, and they alone, understand the nature and law of God. They say, that "the throne of God was never filled by one alone; that wisdom was the helpmeet of the

Father, and held the place of the mother, and that by these two the creation was made ;" that the corruption of man is the attachment between the sexes; and that Christ was conceived by the Holy Ghost, not by the power of the Holy Ghost, and proved his heavenly descent by a spirit of celibacy. The truth, they say, was kept undefiled for four hundred years by the true church, till Antichrist began his reign ; which, they inform us, has lasted upwards of thirteen hundred years. During this period, they say, the mysterious three-fold God trod the truth under foot ; but even during this period a few righteous, persecuted persons adored the everlasting Two. Christ, they say, first appeared in the Son ; but, before this, the Anointing Power, which constituted Christ, dwelt in the Eternal Word, which was communicated to the patriarchs and prophets by the ministry of angels. In the same manner was the Holy Ghost given unto the apostles and true witnesses, as a spirit of promise, until the substance should be revealed and made known by the actual existence of the daughter in Christ's second appearing. They further say, that as in the fulness of time the Spirit of God descended, and abode in the Son, in whom dwelt the fulness of the Deity pertaining to man's redemption, so also in the fulness of time the Holy Ghost descended, and took up her abode in the daughter, in and by whom, united in a correspondent relation to the Son, the perfection of order in the Deity was made known, and the mystery of God finished, pertaining to the foundation of man's redemption. This daughter they call the anointed one, the second heir, a virgin soul, a mother pure and undefiled ; and they say, that the Holy Ghost did bear the same pure virgin, who was the wife of a blacksmith, and the mother of four children, who grew up in the same fallen nature with the rest of mankind, and who, after having perfectly obeyed, for a length of time, all that she was taught, yet found in herself the seed or remains of human depravity to such a degree, that for about the term of nine years she frequently clinched her hands together, and the blood flowed through the pores of her skin.

The book, in which these extraordinary things are contained, informs us further, that the name Holy Ghost expresses the substance, not the order, of the mother : that *by whatever name the Holy Ghost was called*, under the dispensations

which preceded her revelation, *she is unchangeably one with the Father*; and, that the Father is revealed by the Son, and the mother by the daughter.

The book is divided into eight parts: four parts of which, together with many passages in other parts, are employed in railing at various classes of Christians, particularly those who have been generally denominated orthodox, both in ancient and modern times. For those, who have been denominated heretics, they appear to entertain much charity, particularly for the Manicheans. The style of the work is grave, remarkably abstract and mysterious; and the doctrines, taken together, a singular combination of mysticism. The spirit with which it is written is vain, arrogant, and self-righteous, without a parallel. The opinions, it is hardly necessary to observe, are not merely weak and silly, but monstrous beyond any modern example, and appear to transport the reader to Manichean ground. Yet the writer discovers, in several respects, a considerable degree of shrewdness, and often evades a difficulty in an ingenious manner. The scheme appears plainly to have been made up by minds of a very different texture from that of the writer. Materials were furnished by others, and he has put them together in the best manner he was able. The Scriptures he has distorted in every form, and often with the grossest violence, to give a seeming consistency to the system, and he has ransacked ecclesiastical history, particularly "The Ecclesiastical Researches of Robinson," for examples of gross conduct in individuals, with which he loads the character of orthodox Christians without discrimination. Were he as able to exert power as to deal in obloquy, there is little reason to doubt, that he would renew the persecution of which he so bitterly complains. From the peculiar opinion which these people hold concerning human depravity, they forbid, as you would naturally conjecture, the cohabitation of husbands and wives. Their church is, of course, to be supplied with all its future members, either by the voluntary accession of adults, or by children adopted from the families of others, or from what they emphatically call the world. Their property is in common stock, and, together with their religious concerns, under the superintendance of their leaders.

When Mother commenced her exhortations at Nissequena,

the extraordinary nature of her pretensions, the novelty of her doctrines, and the zeal and confidence with which she urged them, soon became objects of attention. A number of people were allured to this spot by curiosity, others were drawn by enthusiasm and religious expectation, if I may use the phrase; an indefinite apprehension, that some religion, something peculiarly important, some the spirit of wonder could fasten, something better satisfy their own wishes, than any thing to be found elsewhere, might be derived from the mission of Anne Lee. Out of this class she soon gained adherents from various parts of the country. Many sold their farms, and transported themselves and families to Nisqueneuna, where they were joined by others from various farms to sell. Such of her disciples as were deterred by a removal too inconvenient, visited Nisqueneuna in seasons. On those occasions they showed that they were enemies to good eating and drinking, for they were everywhere to load their sleighs and waggons with provisions. Expensive as this was to those who had property, it was convenient to those who had none.

During the season of leisure, which was furnished by the approaching destruction of the world, Mother Ann visited through various parts of the country, which, it is said, lasted about two years and four months. In this time she is said to have collected from her followers all ear-rings, and other ornaments, which were formed of gold, or gems.

Among their other early peculiarities this was one. They were always under the immediate and inspiring influence of the Spirit of God. The direction of this divine influence made known to them by an involuntary extension of the arm, pointing always towards some object, or business, though absolutely unknown to themselves, demanding call from Heaven, their immediate attention. A man of acquaintance, whose mind had always been wandering from sect to sect, to find one sufficiently rigid for his own taste, ultimately attached himself to this fraternity. A gentleman, at whose house he was with some

other company, asked him to drink some punch. He declined the proposal, and said, that the Spirit did not move him to drink punch, but to something else. In an instant his right arm was stretched out, and he arose and followed the direction. It led him out of the door, in a straight line, to a hog-trough, by the side of which he dropped upon his knees, and made a hearty draught of the swill, with a number of pigs, who were regaling themselves on the same beverage.

Within a few years after the establishment was formed at Nissequena, another was begun at New-Lebanon; a third, as I have been told, at Jericho, in the county of Berkshire; and a fourth at Enfield, in Connecticut. There are, I believe, some other establishments of these people in this part of the American Union, and some others upon the Ohio. Each of these is under the administration of one or more individuals, who possess what they call the leading gift. The head of the society in New-Lebanon, we were informed, is a Mr. Meacham, from Enfield, formerly a Baptist. The deportment of this man is said to be like that of Mohammed, solemn, distant, and mysterious, and perfectly fitted, therefore, to make reverential impressions on the minds of his adherents. Of theology, and of every thing else which is called knowledge, he must be very ignorant, from a very defective education. But he certainly must be allowed to manage his fraternity and their economical affairs with skill and success. Under his direction, I was informed, the society have acquired considerable and valuable possessions; consisting of good houses, and lands of the best quality, well enclosed and well cultivated. The members of the fraternity are principally farmers, gardeners, and mechanics, and the business of all is done in the neatest and most effectual manner within their knowledge. Whenever they hear of an improvement in any business, pursued within their pale, they regularly possess themselves of it, if within their reach. Of course, whatever they do is well done, and whatever they offer in the market is in good reputation, and sold at a good price. Among themselves they are said to be very harmonious and friendly, and in their treatment of others to be fair, sincere, and obliging. In seasons when the yellow fever has prevailed in New York, they have distinguished themselves by very honourable and liberal donations to the poor of that city.

Incredible as it may seem, one is tempted, from the apparent sincerity of these people in other cases, to believe them sincere in the adoption of those mental vagaries by which they are distinguished as a religious society. They profess, and appear to believe, that they are regularly inspired in their worship, that they are enabled to speak and to sing in unknown languages; that they derive their sentiments, their knowledge, their devotion, their unnatural actions, and even their tunes, from the same divine source.

I was once detained* by a snow storm at an inn, in Chequamegon, a small village mentioned heretofore in the account of Springfield. A considerable number of these people were also compelled to stop at the same house. As my companions and myself had shown them some civility, they, in their turn, were civil also, and became frank and communicative beyond their common custom. One† of their considerable men was present, at least one who thought himself of this character, and he passed with his companions, as well as with himself, for a theologian of no common attainments. In the course of a long conversation, however, I found him acquainted with the Bible, just as parrots are acquainted with words. What he knew he knew only by rote, and without meaning, and was destitute of any coherent views concerning religious subjects, and of any arguments to support his opinions. At the same time he was replenished with spiritual pride and self-sufficiency, and when hardly pushed betook himself, like all other enthusiasts, to disingenuous methods, in order to avoid acknowledging that he was vanquished.

In their worship these people sung in what they called an "unknown language." It was a succession of unmeaning sounds, frequently repeated, half articulated, and plainly gotten by heart, for they all uttered the same sounds in succession. The tune with which they were at this time inspired was "Nancy Dawson."

As I found by various trials that arguments were lost upon their leader, I determined to make an experiment of the efficacy of contempt, and was not disappointed. In spite of his professions, he felt the pungency of this weapon equally

* January, 1783.

† John Meacham.

with other men. From the moment that I appeared to despise him, he laboured solicitously to obtain my favourable opinion, and did not desist from his efforts until we finally parted.

Here also I learned, that these people attached a religious character to modes of dress, and esteemed it criminal to have clothes made according to any existing fashion.

In their worship they practised many contortions of the body, and distortions of the countenance. The gesticulations of the women were violent, and had been practised so often, and in such a degree, as to have fixed their features in an unnatural position; made them goggle-eyed; suffused their eyes with blood; covered their faces with a sickly paleness; and made them appear like persons just escaped, or rather just escaping, from a violent disease. The motions of the men were very moderate, and seemed rather to be condescendingly than earnestly made.

These people confidently informed me, as a proof that their fraternity possessed miraculous powers, that they had restored the broken limb of a youth at that time living in Enfield. I was soon after at Enfield, and was informed by some of the respectable inhabitants, that the friends of this youth, who were Shakers, had been induced, by the importunities of their brethren, to trust his cure to their prayers, instead of committing him, as they intended, to the care of a surgeon. The use of the limb was lost, and the patient's health ruined.

The power of working miracles they still claim, and in the book which I have so often mentioned, a number of instances are produced, in which the effects of these powers are said to have been realised by several members of the fraternity. The writer expressly says, that "the gifts of healing, working of miracles, prophesying, discerning of spirits, divers kinds of tongues; the interpreting of tongues, &c., have been abundantly ministered through Mother and the first witnesses; and from them to others, and frequently used on various occasions." Ten instances in which persons have professedly been healed of various wounds and diseases are recorded. Five of these are testified to by the patients themselves; four are testified by one other witness to each, beside the patient; two by two witnesses, together with the patient; and one, by two witnesses,

without the testimony of the patient, who was a child of two years old.

The first of these cases existed in 1780; three of them in 1781; three in 1783; one in 1785; and two in 1789. Of the remaining two cases, one was a child two years old, and the other a boy nine or ten years of age.

The testimony, such as it was, was all taken on the 21st, 22d, 23d, and 25th of April, 1808.

The witnesses are all Shakers. The testimony is taken by two men, reputed to be leaders of the brotherhood; one of them supposed to be the writer of this book, and was plainly taken for the mere purpose of giving currency to the book, and to the system. Upon the whole, it deserves just about as much credit as those stories which begin with "Once there was a man." I have mentioned, that the company, at whose worship I was present, declared that they could speak with tongues, and that both the words and the tune which they sung were inspired. It is unnecessary to add any thing concerning the tune. I observed to them, that the sounds which they made, and which they called language, could not be words, because they were not articulated. One of the women replied, "How dost thee know, but that we speak the Hotmatot language? The language of the Hotmatots is said to be made up of such sort of words." I challenged them to speak either Greek, Latin, or French, and told them, that if they would do this, I would acknowledge that they had the power of speaking with tongues, but they were silent. They professed, not only that Mother was perfect, but that a considerable number at least of the fraternity were perfect also. I accosted the only man among them, who appeared to have any sincerity, in this manner. "Look me directly in the face, and remember that you are in the immediate presence of the all-seeing God, who is your judge and mine, and tell me, if you dare, that you are perfect, or that you ever saw any person whom you believed to be perfect." The man trembled like an aspen leaf, and after declaring that he did not consider himself as a perfect man, refused to say, and most evidently was afraid to say, that he ever had seen any person, even Mother herself, whom he believed to be perfect.

Probably there never was a sillier enthusiasm than this; yet, by a singular combination of circumstances, it has become to society the most harmless, and in some respects the most useful perhaps, of all the mental extravagances of this nature, recorded in history. The doctrines are so gross that they can never spread far; while the industry, manual skill, fair dealing, and orderly behaviour of the brotherhood, render them useful members of society.

I ought to add, that Mother was boldly pronounced by them to be immortal. But after "she was taken out of their sight in the ordinary way of all living," this magnificent story, of which she was undoubtedly the author, was told no more. Had Christ uttered such a declaration concerning himself, and it had terminated in the same manner, it would have ruined all his pretensions in a moment. But this event has never disturbed the faith of the Shakers at all. Of her they plainly think as favourably as if she had been actually immortal.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Account of the Shakers, continued.

DEAR SIR ;

IN several subsequent journeys through New-England I found the reputation of the Shakers, for fairness of character, sensibly lowered in the estimation of those discreet people in the neighbourhood with whom I had opportunity to converse. From the sequestered state of the society, and the little and cautious intercourse which they carry on with the rest of mankind, you will easily determine, that it must be difficult to obtain an accurate knowledge of what passes within their walls. Several individuals, however, who were once members of the brotherhood, and finally left them, have published accounts of some things which took place behind the curtain, drawn between them and the rest of mankind. From these accounts their character has begun to be better understood, and an opportunity is furnished for the acquisition of a better knowledge of some parts of their history. One of these accounts is before me, entitled, "An Account of the People called Shakers, their Faith, Doctrines, and Practice; exemplified in the Life, Conversations, and Experience of the Author, during the time while he belonged to the Society; to which is added, a History of their Rise and Progress, to the present day. By Thomas Brown, of Cornwall, Orange County, State of New-York." The book is a duodecimo volume, of three hundred and seventy-two pages, closely printed. It is written with a very commendable spirit of moderation, with strong appearances of integrity, and with a respectable share of good sense and information. The writer was originally a Quaker, and though plainly enthusiastic to a considerable degree was not sufficiently so to yield his faith, ultimately, without conviction, or against the dictates of his

own judgment. For this reason, only, he was dismissed. They were very desirous to retain him; but he had too much sense, integrity, and independence, to become a victim to the doctrines of implicit faith and passive obedience.

After he had written his book, he offered the manuscript to the Shakers for their examination; promising to correct every error, which they would point out. They replied, that they had no desire to examine his writings; that it was sufficient, that they knew him; and that they were far from considering him as competent to the task, which he had undertaken. They added, that they explicitly declared their disapprobation of his undertaking; together with several other observations, partly argumentative, and partly contemptuous; which they evidently hoped would discourage him from publishing his work. To this letter he replied with moderation, but with vigour and good sense; and with the same good sense proceeded to execute his design.

In the year 1796 he first became acquainted with the Shakers, and continued with them about seven years. During this period he appears to have examined every thing, which he heard or saw, relative to the Shakers, their doctrines, their practice, their origin, and their progress, with great care and candour; and the result of his investigations he has given to the world in this book.

To enable you to form a more just and comprehensive view of this extraordinary society, I will give you an account of some of their opinions and practices, as they are exhibited by Mr. Brown.

Two of their prime doctrines are, that "all the members of the church must be implicitly obedient to the direction of the elders, and the subordinate elders to the principal;" and

That "repeated confessions of sin to the elders, confessions, in which every sin that was remembered must be specified, are from time to time to be made by every believer, whenever the superior elders require them." A strict conformity to these doctrines they consider as indispensable to salvation.

The chief is possessed of an authority, which seems absolutely despotic.

The elders, particularly the chief, assert, that they receive,

and by the brethren are believed to receive, continually, immediate revelations from God, for the direction of both themselves and the church.

They pronounce themselves, and the believers pronounce them, infallible.

The elders expect, that the time will arrive, when creatures will not dare to contradict the gift of God: *i. e.* when men will not dare to contradict them, their opinions, or their orders.

The elders require implicit faith and passive obedience of the brethren, on penalty of perdition; and deny absolutely the right of private judgment.

They hold, that it is lawful to do that, which is immoral, or which in their own views would otherwise be immoral, for the sake of promoting their cause; and that what is done for this purpose ceases to be immoral. Thus they esteem it lawful to lie, to defraud, and to quote Scripture falsely, for the good of the church; and for the same end to get drunk, to quarrel, and to use profane language. Whether this is considered as being equally lawful for both the elders and the brethren seems in some degree uncertain. The instances, in which it was directly taught, were those in which the doctrine was advanced for the purpose of justifying crimes, which had been already committed by the elders. They also teach, that ignorance is the mother of devotion.

Such as leave them, they style heretics, backsliders, liars, deceivers, impostors, and reprobates; declaring, that they are sunk below all God's creation, and will be eternally damned. This is the more extraordinary, as, when speaking of the human race at large, they assert, that no one will be eternally lost.

They declare, that they have visions of the invisible world, that spirits converse with them; that they hear angels and departed spirits sing; and that angels and departed spirits confess their sins to the chief elders.

I have before taken notice, that they claim to work miracles, to prophesy, to speak unknown languages, &c.

It is impossible not to remark the striking coincidence between these dogmas and those of popery.

They hold all books to be useless, except that, which

have published themselves, and which has been mentioned above. This they consider as written by inspiration, and regard as superior to the writings of the prophets and apostles: All writers, who wrote before the date of their church, they pronounce to have been ignorant of the truth, and under what they call a back dispensation: on this account they declare the Scripture to be no better than an old almanack.

But, with all their contempt for learning, they have declared a learned convert to be worth a thousand unlearned ones; because, forsooth, he can do more towards building up the church.

There is a striking conformity in their conduct to these principles. The following instances will show this sufficiently:—

In every family there is a person called elder brother; who presides over it, and communicates to the elders the faith and behaviour of those with whom he is conversant. In this manner the elders obtain a minute acquaintance with the character and knowledge of the believers. This knowledge they declare to have been communicated by revelation. Thus they carry on a continual course of gross fraud, for the accomplishment of their primary purpose—the subjugation of these miserable men and women to their domination.

In conformity to the grand doctrine of illuminism, that the end sanctions the means, they actually falsify Scripture in a very gross measure; lie in the most palpable manner; retain the property, and refuse to pay for the labour, of such as leave them; alleging for it this reason, that they will only spend the property on their lusts.

Antecedently to the year 1793, the men and women, on a variety of occasions, danced naked.

On a particular occasion, William Lee, after a drunken frolic, professed, that he had a revelation, which required himself, and about twenty of the brethren, to dance naked. Mother Anne came to the door, and insisted on coming into the room. William pushed her out, and shut the door. She then attempted to get in at a window. William prevented her. She then forced the door open with a stick of wood. William met her at the door, and Anne struck him with her fist. William said, “The smiting of the righteous is like

precious ointment? Her blows, however, were redoubled in such rapid succession, that he at length ceased from answering them with this text; and, finding the blood running from his face, he replied with his fist, and knocked her almost down. The brethren then parted them, and after some violent threatening on both sides, the rejoicing ended.

In another instance William Lee and James Whitaker had a dispute concerning which should be first in the lead. Anne interfered; and the affair terminated in a pitched battle between all three.

Anne was repeatedly intoxicated, as was also her brother William.

Anne was peevish and cross.

Whitaker seldom drank to excess.

Anne used to say, that spirituous liquor was one of God's good creatures.

They justified all their immoral conduct by observing, that "to the pure all things are pure;" that every thing, which they did, was done in faith, with a pure conscience, to the glory of God; and that no man could judge them with a right judgment, any more than men, formerly, were able to judge Christ.

The last instance of whipping persons naked was at Nisquema, about the year 1798. Three young women were ordered by an elderss to whip both themselves and each other. The sentence was carried into execution in the presence, and with the approbation, of elder Timothy Hubbard, and Jonathan Slosson, one of the brethren. Elder Joseph Meacham, arriving from Lebanon soon after, told them, that the gift for stripping and labouring, i. e. dancing naked, and using corporeal punishment, or whipping naked, had entirely run out; for, as they could not keep such conduct secreted from the world, the church had already suffered much persecution on account of it, therefore there must be no such proceedings.

Anne, William, and Whitaker, taught their converts, that no practice is wrong, nor any oath false, which is adopted to gain the cause of the truth, or to defend the Gospel against error; though it might appear directly opposite to truth in the eyes of the world, yet, as done for the cause of the truth, it is to be considered as true.

The following facts are an illustration of this doctrine:—The converts were at times ordered to whip themselves, and at times were whipped by others, not only as a punishment, but for the purpose of mortifying the flesh. In conformity to this part of their scheme, a young woman was scourged by a man, named Noah Wheaton. Wheaton was prosecuted by her father; and her sister, who was present at the infliction, was summoned as a witness. She went to Whitaker, and asked him what she should say. He answered, “Speak the truth, and spare the truth, and take care not to bring the Gospel into disrepute.” Accordingly she testified, that her sister was not naked. She was justified in giving this testimony, because her sister had a fillet on her hair.

They hold, that natural affection is sinful, and ought by all means to be exterminated. When children have by any means been induced to attach themselves to this society, and their parents have come to see them, the children have been instructed to treat them with gross filial impiety and abuse, and that in a manner which decency forbids to be mentioned. They have also refused a sight of their children to parents, when soliciting it with anguish, and have also concealed them, in order to prevent them from being taken away.

After the death of Whitaker, Joseph Meacham succeeded to the principal eldership in 1787. He seems to have possessed more shrewdness than any of his predecessors, and to have brought the body into better order and better circumstances than any they had known before. Under his direction they threw their property and their labours into a common stock; first by a verbal, and afterwards, in the year 1795, by a written covenant. In this they intended to invest the church with a power to do what it should think right, whenever charges should be brought against it. In the year 1800, an assistant deacon observed before some of the brethren, that as they were not an incorporated society, any one might recover wages for his services, or a compensation for the property which should be deposited in the hands of the church. This created a serious alarm. The elders told him, that he had attempted to corrupt the brethren, and to discredit the covenant which had been given to elder Meacham by revelation. The poor deacon was shut out of union, i. e. excommunicated;

and, in order to be restored, was obliged to confess on his knees that he had done wrong. They had, however, so much of their wits left as to form a new covenant, Meacham's revelation notwithstanding, and to compel every member of the brotherhood to engage, that he never would make any charge, either against the deacons or against any private brother.

Meacham was believed to be the Son of Man, spoken of by Ezekiel, and the destroyer of Gog and Magog. He died August 16, 1796, and prophesied, that before the then existing generation should pass away, the world would acknowledge this Gospel, or, in other words, become Shakers.

Lucy Wright, alias Lucy Goodrich, succeeded Meacham. They style her Mother Lucy.

Next to her was Henry Clough. From this time they sent preachers abroad. Clough died in 1798, and was succeeded by Abiathar Babbot.

Elder Hocknell, one of the original four, died February 6, 1799. Anne, William, Whitaker, and Hocknell, were pronounced to be the four living creatures mentioned by Ezekiel.

During the religious vagaries which took place in Kentucky, in 1800, and several following years, elders John Meacham, Benjamin S. Young, and Issachar Bates, were sent into the states of Kentucky and Ohio, to make converts. Their success seems to have been considerable.

One of their tenets has certainly a claim to respect. They hold, that a dirty, slovenly, careless, indolent person cannot be religious. Accordingly every member of the brotherhood, and every sister, must be continually employed in moderate labour.

I believe that they are more decent than they were in the earlier periods of their establishment. Mr. Brown observes, that several things which took place are omitted in his book for the sake of modesty; but he says they stopped every avenue of their houses, so that the world's people could not see them, and had one or two of the brethren out to watch. What passed within will probably be imperfectly known until the final disclosure. Anne called some persons who opposed her dogs, dumb dogs, and damned dogs. Several of the brotherhood professed to have gifts to curse such as censured their conduct,

and to tell others to go to Hell. There are also gifts for trembling, shaking, whirling, jerking, jumping, stamping, rolling on the ground, running with one or both hands stretched out, barking, crowing, hissing, brushing and driving the devil out of their houses, groaning, crying, laughing, loud shouting, and clapping their hands. These ridiculous extravagances seem gradually to be passing away; and instead of them there has been adopted a regular scheme of industry, of acquiring wealth, and of improving in agricultural and mechanical business.

From the administration of Joseph Meacham the affairs of the brotherhood have been formed into a system. The love of domination appears to have taken a final possession of the elderhood, and absolute submission of the brethren. The wish to rule begets of course the wish to make converts. The spirit of proselyting is now very evidently the controlling principle. Occasionally they have been, and will hereafter be joined by some shrewd individuals, who will find their passions more gratified than they can expect them to be in any other situation. By these their excesses will from time to time be pruned away; the inconveniences which obstruct their prosperity removed, and measures adopted in their stead of a more promising nature. For all this they are furnished with the most convenient of all pretences. It is only for the principal elder to say that he has a gift, *i. e.* a revelation for any change, and the thing is accomplished. As in other sects, originally enthusiastic, policy will here take place of extravagance. The reserve, the distance, the mysticism of the elders; the profound ignorance, habitual submission, and Asiatic veneration of their votaries; and the strong propensity of individuals scattered throughout the world, to relish what is strange and mysterious, merely because it is so, will in all probability prolong this delusion until it shall be terminated by the Millennium.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Journey from New-Lebanon to Minden. Valley of the Mohawk. Canajoharie. Minden. Thoughts on Religious Persecution. Palatines. German Flats. Utica. New-Hartford. Brothertown. Brothertown Indians. Observations on the Differences of Complexion in the Human Race.

DEAR SIR;

WE dined at the spring, a medicinal water long celebrated in this country for numerous cures. It is situated on the western declivity of the Taghkanuc range, and pours a considerable brook down its side. The temperature of the water is 72° on Fahrenheit's scale. It contains, according to an analysis made by Doctor Seaman, one of the surgeons of the New-York hospital, azotic gas, and a small proportion of alkaline matter. It has been found efficacious in a variety of complaints, particularly in several cutaneous affections. It has also been beneficial to persons afflicted with the chronic rheumatism. The resort to this spring has heretofore been great, but has been much lessened in consequence of the superior reputation of the waters of Ballstown.

New-Lebanon is in the township of Canaan. This town contained, in the year 1790, 6,002 inhabitants; in 1800, 5,195; and, in 1810, 4,941. It has been divided.

After dinner we rode to Schodac. The next morning we proceeded to Albany; and after dinner Mr. D——— and myself proceeded to Schenectady, where we lodged with the Rev. Dr. Edwards, lately erected president of Union college.

On Monday September 22d, having been rejoined by our companions, we left Schenectady; and, crossing the Mohawk, proceeded up that river. When we had rode about four

miles, we were stopped by rain, although we had set out with a fresh north-west wind; a proverbial sign throughout almost all New-England of fair weather. A small, dark cloud hung over a mountain, rising six or seven miles south-west of the inn, and elevated about six hundred feet above the Mohawk. This cloud, after preserving for some time a settled form, began to spread with rapidity, and soon overcast the greatest part of the hemisphere. Within half an hour it began to rain, and drove us to a shelter.

The evening before we arrived at this house (Schwartz's), a waggoner, attempting to get off from his waggon, put his hand on the back of one of his horses, to support himself while he was alighting. Both horses started; the man fell; and the waggon, passing directly over his head, killed him outright. The name of the man was Fisk. He lived on the borders of Cayuga lake. We saw his unhappy son, who had borne him company, and whose countenance wore the appearance of as deep and unfeigned sorrow as I ever beheld.

We were detained at Schwartz's until after two, when we rode to Tripe's hill, in Johnstown, sixteen miles; in the whole twenty. Here we lodged at Putnam's, a Dutchman, descended probably from one of those unfortunate people who fled from England to Holland, in order to escape persecution. The road from Schenectady, after we left the beautiful farm of Scotia, passed over a hard pine plain, and presented nothing agreeable. The plain is uninhabited, the soil lean, and the road indifferent.

From Schwartz's it lay partly on the intervals which border the Mohawk, and partly on the oak lands which border the intervals. We found it generally tolerable, but made unpleasant by a number of small bridges, in such bad repair as frequently to alarm the traveller for his safety.

Tuesday, September 23, we rode to Canajoharie before dinner, sixteen miles; and to Hudson's, in Minden, in the afternoon, thirteen more: here we lodged. The following day we dined at the German Flats; and lodged in Utica, twenty-nine miles.

After we descended from Tripe's hill, the road passed over the intervals of the Mohawk, principally, to Canajoharie.

Here it crossed the river; and after occupying the same ground five miles farther, left the river, and passed over the hills of Minden. A little before we arrived at Hudson's, it returned to the river again, and thence kept along its borders most of the way to Utica. On the intervals it is good in dry weather; but in wet is muddy, and extremely disagreeable. On the hills it was indifferent, but perhaps as good as could be expected in a country so recently settled.

The valley of the Mohawk is rarely more than a mile and a half in breadth, and generally not more than a mile. It is bounded by two long ranges of hills, or rather brows, which border it with little variety and less beauty. These are almost covered and crowned by trees, neither thrifty nor handsome. Beyond these limits the eye is rarely permitted to wander, and soon becomes wearied by such a constant succession of the same objects. To compensate the traveller, the river is for a great extent in full view; a sprightly, noble stream, sixty rods in breadth at Schenectady, and gradually lessening to about twelve or sixteen at Utica. Its waters are always delightful, and are often ornamented with elegant islands. The intervals on both sides are rich and handsome. At the first of our journey particularly, the numerous meadows, after having been scorched by drought, had been clothed by successive rains with a fresh verdure, peculiarly vivid. The settlements along this river are almost universally scattered plantations; almost all the inhabitants being farmers, of Dutch extraction. In most of the older settlements the houses are generally good comfortable Dutch houses. The cultivation is moderately good also; and is pursued in exactly the same manner in which it was begun by their ancestors, and confined almost entirely to wheat, peas, and grass; the latter of which, however, is always an inferior object of attention. The circumstances of the inhabitants appear to be easy, and their life quiet and unenterprising.

Between Schenectady and Utica (eighty miles), we saw only three churches, and only four places, which could with any propriety be called villages; one at Caghawaga, containing fifteen or twenty houses, with a small church; a scattered settlement around the church in Canajoharie; a third, mere

compact, at the German Flats; and a fourth on the opposite side of the Mohawk, at Herkimer. We passed also a few miserably-looking school-houses, which plainly owed their appearance to the want, not of wealth, but of a sufficient attachment to education.

An observing traveller could not fail to conclude, that these people must be extensively destitute both of knowledge and morals*. If the information, which, from respectable sources, I received on the spot, may be credited, low vices are unhappily prevalent among them. Fathers have not very unfrequently been seen at the gaming table with their sons, endeavouring to win money from each other, swearing at each other, charging each other with cheating and lying, and both at very late hours intoxicated.

What must be the sentiments of a child towards a parent, whom he habitually sees in these attitudes; and with the idea of whom, instead of that venerable character, which alone ought ever to meet his eye, or recur to his remembrance, these ingredients of deformity must be necessarily associated? All the authority which such a father can retain must be derived from bodily strength, or the possession of property. The parental character he can never assume; religious instruction and reproof he can never give. The inestimable benefit of a virtuous example from him, in whom it would have more influence than in half mankind, his children can never receive. On the contrary, he himself becomes their corrupter, both by his conversation and his conduct. The guide, who should conduct them to Heaven, takes them by the hand and leads them to perdition.

Among the causes, which here assemble multitudes with high pulsations of hope and pleasure, a horse-race is one of the most memorable. This diversion, when least exceptionable, is a deplorable exhibition of human debasement. The gentleman here dwindles at once into a jockey; imbibes his spirit; assumes his station; and, what is worse, sinks to the level of his morality. The plain man, at the same time, becomes a mere brute; swears, curses, cheats, lies, and gets drunk; extinguishing at once virtue, reason, and character. Horse-

acing is the box of Pandora, from which more and greater mischiefs flow than any man ever counted or measured. You are not to conclude that this is the universal character of these people. The exceptions are numerous; but fewer, I am afraid, than a man of candour would expect to find.

I have mentioned that we lodged at the house of a Dutchman, named Putnam, and also at Hudson's, a German from the Electorate of Hanover. Both of these men, descended from English ancestors, were driven out of their native country by religious persecution. While I was conversing with Hudson, I could not but reflect upon the effects of this outrage upon human society, whether dictated by religion or politics. The number of those who have been forced to quit their home, property, and friends; nay, the number of those who have been robbed of life, can scarcely be estimated. The arts which the persecuted have carried with them, the sufferings which they have undergone, the hospitality and unkindness which they have alternately received, the colonies which they have formed, the changes which they have produced in the people to whom they have fled, and the amalgamation of their descendants with the various nations among whom they have fixed their final residence, would, if fairly exhibited, present one very interesting picture of human destiny.

Religious persecution commenced on the plain of Dura*. Nebuchadnezzar set up a golden image as the favourite object of his own worship, and resolved that his subjects should worship it also. To ensure their compliance, he constructed a furnace of vast capacity, and raised its fires to the most intense heat which the ingenuity of the age could supply. To

* This, at least, is the first example which I remember recorded in authentic history. But Achior, captain of the Ammonitish bands in the army of Holofernes, relates in the book of Judith, chapter 5th, verse 8th, an occurrence of this nature, which took place more than thirteen centuries before that which is mentioned in the text. Speaking of the ancestors of the Israelites, he says, "They left the way of their ancestors, and worshipped the God of Heaven, the God whom they knew. So they (the Chaldeans) cast them out from the face of their gods; and they fled into Mesopotamia and sojourned there many days." If the records of history had been more extended and more correct, it is not improbable that we should find very many other instances of the same kind.

this engine of torture he consigned those who should refuse their homage to his idol. The three friends of Daniel, with an independence of soul, a sublimity of virtue, demanding the admiration of all succeeding ages, refused to bow before this senseless god, and by the wrathful monarch were plunged into the flames.

This simple tale is the history of all religious persecution. The god, really set up, is always equally senseless, and the demand equally brutal. No man, in the indulgence of this spirit, ever intended to compel the objects of his persecution to embrace the real religion, or worship the true God. Real religion discerns, at a glance, that Jehovah is the only Lord of the conscience, and feels, of course, that this high prerogative cannot without the grossest impiety be challenged by man. At the same time its affections towards its fellow-men are only kind, and the only instruments by which it induces upon mankind a change of their faith are the sound arguments by which its doctrines are supported, its fervent prayers to Heaven, and its own lovely, persuasive example.

In every attempt of this nature we intend, whatever we may profess, to make others worship what we worship, and to believe what we believe. The design, whether understood by us or not, is to make them bow to ourselves, and not to God.

Political persecution springs from exactly the same source.

The object proposed is in its own nature incapable of being accomplished. It is physically impossible, that faith should bow to force. The only effect of this instrument of domination is to render the religion enjoined, and those who profess it, hateful in the eyes of the sufferers. With the unhappy Mexicans, they conclude irresistibly that the religion itself is false, or that it is disbelieved by men, who, to disseminate it, are guilty of such horrid crimes.

It is on the one hand an object of diversion, and on the other of equal indignation and contempt, that infidels have charged religious persecution to Christianity. That some, who were really Christians, have been weak, enthusiastic, and misled, to such a degree as to believe themselves justified in persecuting their fellow-men on the score of religion, cannot be denied. It will be readily granted, also, that endless multitudes, who have taken to themselves the name of Christians,

and a great part of whom were really baptized, have been villains enough to persecute others in the exercise of pride, avarice, and wrath; but what has all this to do with Christianity? just as much as pretences with friendship; a pharisaical face with piety, or bullying with bravery. Is any part of this conduct warranted by the Bible? Are not the spirit and the practice both forbidden everywhere in the sacred volume, under infinite sanctions? This the infidel perfectly knows, and yet, with unblushing impudence, reiterates the same old charge, just as if it had not been ten thousand times refuted.

In the year 1800, Minden, which lies wholly on the south side of the Mohawk, contained 2,929 inhabitants; and, in the year 1810, 4,788.

In this township, at a place now called the Old Indian Castle, lived the Mohawk sachem, commonly styled the great Hendrick. The site of his house is a handsome elevation, commanding a considerable prospect of the neighbouring country. Of this man I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. It will be sufficient to observe here, that for capacity, bravery, vigour of mind, and immoveable integrity, united, he excelled all the aboriginal inhabitants of the United States, of whom any knowledge has come down to the present time. A gentleman of a very respectable character, who was present at a council, held with the Six Nations by the governor of New-York, and several agents of distinction from New-England, informed me, that his figure and countenance were singularly impressive and commanding, that his eloquence was of the same superior character, and that he appeared as if born to control other men, and possessed an air of majesty, unrivalled within his knowledge.

The German Flats, originally so called, are two extensive intervals, lying on both sides of the Mohawk, together about a mile in breadth, and, perhaps, from three to four in length. They are beautiful and very fertile tracts. A colony of Germans, named Palatines, because many of them came from the two Palatinates, left their native country in the year 1709, to escape persecution, and came over to England. They were very kindly received by the British government, and treated with great liberality by Queen Anne. The house of commons, however, complained of squandering away great sums upon

the Palatines, who, they said, were a useless people, a mixture of all religions, and dangerous to the constitution. Nay, they went so far as to declare, that they held those, who advised the bringing of them over, to be enemies to the Queen and kingdom.

Brigadier Hunter, being appointed governor of New-York, brought over with him 2,700 of these people, a considerable number of whom settled themselves in the city of New-York; another body in Pennsylvania; another in the manor of Livingston; and a fourth came to this spot. A fifth company settled at Cherry Valley. Those who planted themselves at the German Flats have been subjected to many serious disadvantages. For a long period this was a frontier settlement, and, of course, exposed during a war to alarms and invasions, without any assistance at hand. It is said, that they have always behaved with great spirit, and have certainly maintained their ground, in spite of both the French and the savages.

Their distance from other settlements prevented them, also, from all those benefits of knowledge and improvement, which are derived from civilized society. The settlers themselves were extremely ignorant. Their children became, if possible, more and more ignorant; for they were destitute for a long time even of the means of parochial education. Their own language they spoke with increasing imperfection, and the English they scarcely spoke at all. A specimen of their ignorance was communicated to me by one of their own countrymen, who, in more auspicious circumstances, had risen to intelligence and respectability. He was one day attempting to convince some of them, that the congressional stamp-act was a reasonable and useful law, and observed, particularly, that it required nothing to be stamped, except such papers as were employed either to convey or secure property. They answered, that they did not care for that; if the government stamped papers now, it would soon put stamps upon their waggons, on their horses, on their wheat, and on every thing which they had.

Their village, which is on the south side of the river, is composed of ordinary houses, built in the Dutch manner, with few windows, many doors, dark sheds over the principal doors,

leantos behind, and awkward additions at the ends. They are of one story, and in a few instances of a story and a half, and frequently look like a collection of kitchens.

In this village is one of three churches, which stand between Schenectady and Utica.

The township of German Flats contained, in 1790, 1,307 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,637; and, in 1810, 2,228.

Utica, when we passed through it on our journey, was a pretty village, containing fifty houses. In 1794, there were but two; and, in 1795, but six. In 1804, there were one hundred and twenty, beside a numerous train of merchants' stores and other buildings. It is built on the spot where Fort Schuyler formerly stood. Its site is the declivity of the hill, which bounds the valley of the Mohawk, and here slopes easily and elegantly to the interval. The houses stand almost all on a single street, parallel to the river. Generally, those which were built before our arrival were small; not being intended for permanent habitations. The settlers were almost wholly traders and mechanics, and it was said, that their business had already become considerable. Their expectations of future prosperity were raised to the highest pitch, and not a doubt was entertained, that their village would at no great distance of time become the emporium of all the commerce carried on between the ocean and a vast interior. These apprehensions, although partially well founded, appeared to me extravagant. Commerce is often capricious, and demands of her votaries a degree of wisdom, moderation, and integrity, to fix her residence and secure her favours, which is much more frequently seen in old than in new establishments.

We found the people of Utica labouring, and in a fair way to labour a long time, under one very serious disadvantage. The lands, on which they live, are chiefly owned by persons who reside at a distance, and who refuse to sell or to rent them, except on terms which are exorbitant. The stories which are heard concerning this subject it was difficult to believe, even when told by persons of the best reputation. If the tenants dream, the landlords are delirious.

A company of gentlemen in Holland, who have purchased large tracts of land in this state and Pennsylvania, and among them a considerable tract in this neighbourhood, and who are

known by the name of the Holland Company, have built here a large brick house, to serve as an inn.

The people of Utica are united with those of Whitesborough in their parochial concerns.

We continued at Utica until near noon the next day, and then rode to New-Hartford to dinner, four miles. In the afternoon we proceeded to Laird's, at the entrance of the Oneida woods, seven miles.

New-Hartford is the first New-England settlement, which we found in this region. Accordingly it presented us a very neat church, ornamented with a pretty steeple. The houses, also, are built in the New-England manner, and are generally neat, and for so recent a settlement are unusually good. The lands are excellent and well cultivated, and every thing wore the cheerful air of rapid improvement. The business of tanning, particularly, is carried on upon a large scale. No settlement, merely rural, since we left New-Lebanon, can be compared with New-Hartford for sprightliness, thrift, and beauty. From Utica to this village a turnpike is begun, and considerably advanced. It is to be extended hereafter into the western country, as far as the circumstances of the inhabitants will permit. No improvement can be more necessary in this region.

The land between Utica and Laird's is what in New-England is called beech and maple land, and here maple and bass land. The soil of such lands so easily admits, and so long retains, water as to be almost always moist. Fire, therefore, will scarcely spread over them even in the driest seasons: Hence the surface is covered with a thick stratum of vegetable mould, the residuum of decayed forests, accumulated for forty centuries. This mould, as I have elsewhere observed, is a mere sponge, imbibing water with the utmost facility, and retaining it for a length of time. Roads, formed on such ground, are almost always soft, in moist seasons a mass of mud, and in wet seasons intolerable. Travelling, therefore, in an early period of their settlement, is not merely uncomfortable and discouraging, but an Herculean labour.

Before we arrived at Laird's, I had become convinced, that to complete our intended journey was impracticable. While we were at Utica we were told by our host, that it had rained

every day for a fortnight before our arrival. Of the truth of this account we had the most ample proof. The last thirty-two miles of our journey, the mud had obliged us to walk our horses. The travellers, who had come in from the western country, had united in representing the season as more rainy, and the roads as deeper than had ever been known before. If we should proceed, we must make our way through three hundred and sixty miles of the softest soil in this country, much of it encumbered with roots, stumps, and other concomitants of new roads. My companions, however, were unwilling to give up the enterprise; but, while we were at Laird's, ten travellers came in from the west, who satisfied us all, that any farther attempt was inexpedient. The roads, they informed us, were worse than they had ever been. Their horses were drenched in the mire to the hips and shoulders, and the riders were pale and broken-spirited with excessive fatigue. To have pursued a journey of pleasure in such circumstances would have been madness. After dinner, therefore, we rode to Paris, where I lodged at the house of the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, missionary to the Oneidas. The distance was only three miles.

In the morning of September 26th, accompanied by Samuel Kirkland, Esq., nephew to the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, we made an excursion to Brothertown, an Indian settlement, included in the township of Paris. I had a strong inclination to see civilized Indian life, i. e. an Indian life in the most advanced state of civilization in which it is found in this country, and was informed, that it might probably be seen here.

Brothertown is a tract of land about six miles square. Originally it belonged to the Oneidas. By them it was given, and by the state of New-York confirmed, to a collection of Indians, who left Connecticut for this place under the conduct of the Rev. Sampson Occum. They were chiefly residents in Montville and Farmington, and were in number about one hundred and fifty. The settlement is formed on the declivity of a hill, running from north to south. The land is excellent, and the spot in every respect well chosen.

Here forty families of these people have fixed themselves in the business of agriculture. They have cleared the ground on both sides of the road about a quarter of a mile in breadth,

and about four miles in length. Three of them have framed houses. One, named Amos Hutton, has a good house well finished, and a large barn well built. Several others have barns also. The remaining houses are of logs, and differ little from those of the whites, when formed of the same materials.

Their husbandry is generally much inferior to that of the white people. Their fences are indifferent, and their meadows and arable grounds are imperfectly cleared. Indeed almost everywhere is visible that slack hand, that disposition to leave every thing unfinished, which peculiarly characterizes such Indians as have left the savage life. I have observed, that the house and barn of Amos Hutton were both well built. We had an opportunity to see the interior of the house, and by the neatness which everywhere appeared, both in the building and furniture, were assured that his wife was an industrious and thorough housewife. Mr. Kirkland informed me, that this man lives well; that he keeps always one, and sometimes two yoke of good oxen, two or three horses, and three or four cows; that he is an exact paymaster; and that although no debt against an Indian is recoverable by law, he is readily trusted for any thing which he is willing to buy. He is probably the fairest example of industry, economy, and punctuality, which these people can boast. Most of them will leave their own business to labour for the white inhabitants.

These are universally civil in their deportment. The men and boys took off their hats, and the girls courtesied, as we passed by them. They speak decent English, and much excel the ordinary Dutch people in the correctness of their pronunciation. One of them tends a saw mill, built by the state for this settlement.

A Quaker, who is a well-appearing man, and of a good character, has come to Brothertown with his family, and resided here some time, for the benevolent purpose of teaching the Indian children to read and write. He told me, that they learn as readily and rapidly as the children of the whites. Their school-house was built for them by the state, and serves them as a church.

These people receive annually 2,160 dollars from the state, out of which their schoolmaster is supported, and their super-

intendent compensated for his services. At this season year they unite with the Oneidas in gathering ginseng collect a thousand bushels annually. It brings them twenty dollars a bushel. Almost all of it goes to Philadelphia thence to China. It is however an unprofitable business to the Indians. They are paid for it in cash, which many employ as the means of intoxication. This is commotowed by quarrelling, and sometimes by murder; but less commonly than among the Oneidas.

You will excuse me for giving you this sketch of our Indian life, because it presents to you one feature in the character of man rarely seen by persons really civilized, & hitherto untouched by the pens of others.

From one of my pupils, Mr. Hart, now the minister at Newington, I received the following account of four Brotherton Indians, in a letter dated September 5, 1797.

“ Among these Indians I observed the following circumstances, viz. four men, whose skin in different parts of their bodies has turned white. Where the skin is not exposed to the sun and the change has been of long standing, it has completely lost its natural colour, and become entirely white.

“ The instance, least remarkable, is Elijah Wampey aged thirty-five. On the back part of his left hand is a spot about the bigness of a cent, which four weeks since began to change its colour, and has in this short period approached a degree of whiteness truly surprising. The part does not in any way appear affected by the change, excepting the colour is not attended with any degree of pain.

“ The next instance is Andrew Carrycomb, aged fifty-two, whose sides of his body are white; in other respects similar to the above-mentioned.

“ The next is Ephraim Pharaoh, aged fifty-two, a remarkably strong, healthy man. His left breast and shoulder are most entirely white.

“ But the most remarkable instance is Samuel Adams aged fifty-seven. He is almost become a white man. He gave me the following account.

“ That fourteen years since his skin began in a number of places to change its colour; that it changed gradually, until it reached its present degree of whiteness; that no pain

ever attended the change; that there was no difference in the feeling of the parts affected from that of those which were not; that the change had no effect on his internal feeling; that his health had been generally sound; and that he had led a laborious life, and still felt no particular weakness, but what was common at his time of life.

“ The hair on his head still retains its original Indian colour, excepting a part, which has the same appearance as the grey hair of aged white people. The appearance of the skin on the parts changed is different. Where it has been exposed to the sun, it appears of a darkish colour. Where it has not been exposed, it appears tender and delicately white. The skin lately changed appears like that of a child, and through the apparent stages of changing advances gradually from infancy to full age.

“ Another circumstance worthy of notice is, that the parts, which are not exposed to the sun, change more rapidly than those which are thus exposed.

“ I dare not hazard any conjectures on the causes of these phenomena. The facts cannot be disputed, although the causes and the *modus operandi* may be unknown. Persons, who have daily intercourse with these Indians, suppose them to be leprous. The facts, however, show that there is no foundation for this supposition. The skin is perfectly smooth and fresh, without the least appearance of the white scales and loathsomeness, which are consequent on leprosy. Besides, they are all sound, healthy, labouring men.

“ So little attention has been paid to these extraordinary facts, that persons, who have been for years intimately acquainted with these Indians, have not taken pains to examine them.”

From this account, the accuracy as well as the truth of which may be relied on with perfect confidence, it is evident, that a change in several of the race of red men, by which in every instance they have become in some degree, and in one almost absolutely, white men, has actually taken place under the eye of indubitable testimony. This change has existed also without the least appearance of disease. All the subjects of it being, in the words of Mr. Hart, “ sound, healthy, labouring men.”

I have myself been an eye witness of the same great fact in a black man. Henry Moss, a native of Virginia, came in the year 1796 to New-Haven, and to my house. It had been previously declared in a Virginia newspaper, that he was born in that state; that he was originally black, woolly-headed, of a sober, honest character, and was remarkably changed in his complexion; that the change began about four years before, and had gradually spread over the greatest part of his body. All this he confirmed to me in conversation. His understanding appeared not to be inferior to that of white men generally, when equally uneducated; and an unquestionable ingenuousness of character strongly recommended him to the esteem of a stranger.

According to his own account, he began to become white under and around the roots of his finger nails, and had always whitened more and faster where his skin was, than where it was not covered. During the whole period he was in perfect health, and conscious of no peculiar sensation, except a small and barely perceptible degree of feeling in the places affected, more than in the other parts of his body. His whole appearance corresponded with his story. His face and hands were partially whitened, without any visible regularity in the process, and were so spotted with alternations of white and black, as to be hideous. His breast, arms, legs, and thighs, were wholly white, and of a clear, fresh, and delicate complexion. The skin was not pale, nor the finer blood-vessels at all concealed. Nor is a fresher colour often found in white people, nor more complete evidence of the total absence of disease.

Wherever the skin was become white, the hair also was totally changed, and was exactly that of fair white people, of a flaxen hue, and perfectly free from curling. On his head a spot, beginning at the crown, and extending towards the forehead, shaped somewhat like a bowl of a table-spoon, but narrower and longer, had become white. Two or three smaller spots exhibited exactly the same changes. Around all these, limited by an exact line, the skin was black and the hair black and woolly; in other words, the hair of a black man. Both these appearances extended over the rest of the head.

The whitening process was still going on, and not less

rapidly than at any preceding period. I saw him about four years afterwards, and found him considerably advanced in this progress, and still a healthy, sound man.

From these accounts I derive the following observations:—

1. The whitening process in all these instances began in small spots, and was gradually extended.

2. All the subjects were, from the beginning, healthy men.

3. They were not sensible of any material change of feeling in the parts affected.

4. They were occupied during the whole time, the journies of Henry Moss excepted, in their usual labours, and were without any change in their modes of living.

5. Disease had no influence towards the accomplishment of the change.

6. The change of the hair was intimately connected with the change of the skin, less strikingly in the red men, but with the fullest evidence in the black man.

7. Hence I argue, that the colour of the skin, and the texture and appearance of the hair, depend on a common cause. This is, indeed, rationally conjectured from the appearance of moles on white persons. These, when black, are often covered with black curled hair, differing altogether from that which is on other parts of the body.

8. From these facts I infer also, that the external appearances of the complexion and hair on the human body are not original, nor at all essential to the nature of the body. All these men continued in every other particular the same in body and mind, while they were yet entirely changed in complexion to a considerable extent. I except Wampey, on whom the change, having very lately begun, had extended over a small spot only. Moss and Adams were almost entirely white, without an alteration in any other respect than that of the hair, and even without a new sensation, except the trifling one, mentioned concerning Moss. These appearances, therefore, were not essential, but incidental; not original, but superinduced upon the human constitution. In other words, men are not red, black, nor white, necessarily; but merely as incidental circumstances direct.

9. Hence I conclude, that the varieties observed in the complexion and hair of the human species, furnish no probable

argument, that they sprang from different original stocks. The three great varieties are white, black, and red. On the two last classes these changes have here taken place, and on one of each they have been almost completed. A black man in one instance, and a red man in another, have become almost entirely white men, and without any such change in the internal parts of the constitution as to occasion a single new sensation of any importance. Of white men, therefore, others may have become red, or black men, with changes equally unessential. That this has really taken place is fairly presumable from the facts here recounted. The ordinary course of Providence, operating agreeably to natural and established laws, has wrought the change here. A similar course of Providence is therefore justly concluded to have wrought the change from white to red, and to black; or, what is perhaps more probable, from red to white on the one hand, and from red to black on the other. The change here, so far as it has existed, has been accomplished in a few years. How easily as well as how imperceptibly, may it have been accomplished during the lapse of ages! The Cushites on the mountains of Habesh have been black for thirty centuries. The Colchians, who were black in the time of Herodotus, are now as white as the people of Europe. The Jews have every tint of complexion, from that of Poland, Germany, and Britain, to that of the black Jews in Hindostan. The change of the blacks, whose ancestors were introduced into New-England, is already very great, as to their shape, features, hair, and complexion. Within the last thirty years I have not seen a single person of African descent, who was not many shades whiter than the blacks, formerly imported directly from Guinea.

The account given above of Henry Moss was written soon after he was at my house. At that time he produced several certificates from respectable men in Virginia and Maryland, fully attesting his integrity, and those parts of his history which I have recited.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Hamilton. Oneida Academy. Paris. Iron Mine. The Measures adopted for the Support of Religion in this State unhappy, and the Laws imperfect. Rome. Battle between the English and Indians under Sir John Johnson and the American Militia under General Herkimer. Canal. Siege of Fort Stanwix.

DEAR SIR;

WE returned to Paris before dinner, and spent the afternoon in visiting Hamilton Oneida academy, and in an interesting conversation with several of the trustees concerning its present state, its prospects, and the means of increasing its usefulness and reputation. This seminary is already of considerable importance, and contains fifty-two students of both sexes, under the care of two instructors. The scheme of education professedly pursued in it includes the English, Latin, and Greek languages, and most of the liberal arts and sciences. An academical building is erected for it, eighty-eight feet long and forty-six feet wide, of three stories, on a noble, healthy eminence, commanding a rich and extensive prospect. It is, however, but partially finished*.

The township of Paris lies immediately south of Whites-town. It contains four parishes, of which Clinton is the most considerable. This township is part of a tract, more than

* This seminary was in the year 1811 converted into a college, with funds amounting to 100,000 dollars, and the assurance of 50,000 more. Half of their present funds was derived from contributions raised by the gentlemen of the neighbouring county; the other half was given by the state. It is named Hamilton college, after the late secretary of the American treasury. The Rev. Dr. Backus of Bethlem was chosen president, and has entered on the duties of his office. There are the best reasons for believing that it will prove a source of extensive benefit to the western country of New-York.

thirty miles square ; the soil of which is probably not inferior to any other of the same extent in this state. It is of the same kind with that of Hartford, formerly mentioned, and of the best quality. All the vegetable productions of the climate flourish here. A farmer this year had two hundred bushels of peaches, which he sold for a dollar a bushel. Every other product thrives equally well, except flax ; which grows, indeed, very rankly ; but the coat, or rind, is imperfect. Within a short period, when the land shall have been cultivated a little longer, this inconvenience will probably cease.

The surface of this township is composed of handsome hills and vallies. The principal valley is watered by the Oriskany, a fine, sprightly mill-stream, flowing at the bottom of two beautiful slopes through a rich border of intervals, and furnishing a succession of mill-seats. The church, a building honourable to the inhabitants of so new a settlement, stands in a small but pretty village built in this valley. The surrounding country is a collection of handsome farms. The forests in this township are composed of beech, maple, bass, &c. When these trees are felled, they are often imperfectly replaced by a new growth ; and give, therefore, too much reason to fear, that timber and fuel at no great distance of time will become scarce.

A vast multitude of the stones in this township are, to a great extent, composed of small marine shells ; often in their original state, but generally petrified. A fourth, a half, and sometimes three-fourths, of the whole mass are frequently made of these shells, particularly of escallops and muscles. Such as I saw in a state of petrification were of a dirty brown colour : the rest were as white as when found on the shore of the ocean. They were aggregated in all positions. These and other marine exuviae are found in vast quantities throughout a great extent of this country, and on the highest grounds. Immense multitudes of oyster shells, a great number of them not petrified, are embodied in large masses of lime stone at Cherry Valley, about sixty miles west of Albany.

The water throughout this country is almost universally impregnated with lime. One spring only was mentioned to me as yielding water, which is fit for washing, within the parish of Clinton.

Clay abounds here, and throughout all the neighbouring country.

Half a mile east of the church we examined an iron mine, which is on the southern bank of a small stream. Above the bed of ore lies a mass of slate, horizontally stratified, of a light brown colour, and about ten feet in thickness. The strata are not much thicker than the blade of a case-knife; and are so friable as to be easily pulverized.

The ore is different from any, which I had before seen. It lies in strata, like those of the slate in their general appearance, but from one to three feet in thickness. The stone is of a handsome claret colour; and its mass is composed of grains, resembling clover seeds in their size and form, but flatted in a small degree, and united by a cement, apparently of an oily nature. They cohere so loosely as to be easily separable by the pressure and attrition of the fingers. In front of the mine lay a large quantity of them, separated, and washed clean; and neither the sight, nor the touch, could without some attention distinguish them from clover seed, when sufficiently wet to adhere together by the attraction of the water. Of these grains a pigment is made by pulverizing them, which is much more brilliant than the mass itself.

This ore is supposed to be very rich; but I was not able to obtain any correct account of its produce. It is said to abound in this region, both on the surface, and at every depth to which it has been explored.

There are three Presbyterian congregations in this township, and two clergymen. These gentlemen, though held in high estimation, and deservedly loved by their parishioners, consider themselves as holding their connection with their congregations by a very precarious tenure. The laws of this state concerning the support of clergymen are so loosely, and so unwisely formed, as to leave them in a great measure dependent on the fluctuating feelings of parishioners, rendered much more fluctuating by the laws themselves. A voluntary contribution, except in a large town, is as uncertain as the wind; and a chameleon only can expect to derive a permanent support from this source.

By several very respectable gentlemen, with whom I conversed largely on this subject, I was informed, that the oppo-

sition to supporting clergymen by law had lately very much increased among the New-England people of this region. My informants believed, that not more than one-tenth of the principal inhabitants, and not more than a twentieth of the people at large, are in favour of this system. This is a lamentable degeneracy.

In 1790, Paris was a part of Whitestown: in 1796, the number of its inhabitants was 3,459; in 1800, 4,721; and, in 1810, 5,418.

At Whitesborough I lodged with Mr. B——; and in his family, and those of several gentlemen of this village, received all the civilities, which flow from polite hospitality. On the Sabbath I attended public worship with Mr. Dodd, the very worthy and excellent minister of this people. He died not long after our journey, and has left behind him a name, which is as the odour of sweet incense.

Monday, September 30th, we set out for Rome. Mr. S——, a student of law in this town from Yale college, accompanied us. Our road lay along the Mohawk; which, however, was hidden by the forest on its borders. The distance is twelve miles.

Rome is a township, bordering upon Whitestown on the North-west. Its surface is generally undulating, its soil similar to that of Whitestown, but the settlements fewer and more recent.

On the road the spot was pointed out to me, where General Herkimer seated himself under a tree, after having received a mortal wound, with an invincible resolution to maintain the conflict.

When General Burgoyne commenced his expedition against the United States, he directed Lieutenant Colonel Baron St. Leger, with a body of troops, consisting of British, American refugees, Germans, Canadians, and Savages, from 1,500 to 1,800 in number, to proceed from Montreal by Lake Ontario, to attack Fort Stanwix, and after taking the fortress to march down the Mohawk to Albany. St. Leger arrived at Fort Stanwix in the beginning of August, 1777. On the news of his approach, General Herkimer, a respectable descendant from one of the German colonists, mentioned above, commanding the militia of Tryon county, assembled :

body of 800 men, and marched to the relief of the garrison. He arrived within six or seven miles of the fort on the 6th of August. From his scouts he had learned, that a body of troops, under Sir John Johnson, had been dispatched by St. Leger to intercept him. He determined, therefore, to halt, and choose his own ground for the contest; but his troops, who were raw militia, without any discipline, insisted peremptorily on being led immediately to the attack. The general, after remonstrating with his usual good sense, and telling them roundly, that, ardent as they were, they would run at the first appearance of the enemy, and after finding all his efforts vain, resolved to lead them on, although he clearly foresaw the disastrous issue. Accordingly he coolly moved on to what he considered as almost certain destruction. At the very first fire of the enemy a large proportion of these violent men fled instantly*; leaving their gallant chief, with

* It ought to be transmitted to future generations, as a fact in which not improbably they may find an interest, that men of the same description, men who have made a figure in mobs, who have been ready on all occasions to resist government and disturb the peace of their neighbours, have very generally acted, in similar circumstances, like those mentioned in the text. They have been clamorous to be led to battle, until the enemy was in sight, and have then usually run away. These are what in our newspapers were customarily called '76-men; men who at that time, and at all others, have disturbed the peace of society, done all the mischief, and prevented or destroyed all the good which was in their power: men who were then, are now, and at all other times have been, nuisances to society. Posterity ought to know, that men of this description can have no reliance placed on them in the time of danger; that their warfare is carried on by words, and not by muskets; and that they will certainly deceive the confidence which is reposed in them. Their whole character is perfectly described in the poetical account of the crane, given in Tommy Trip's History of Birds:—

“ So long his neck, so sharp his bill,
You'd think the crane was form'd to kill;
But view his legs; you'd surely say,
' He's better form'd to run away.' ”

By the violence of these mob-men, as they are emphatically called by our plain people, General Herkimer lost his life: a more costly sacrifice to his country than the loss of thousands of these miserable wretches.

The real men of '76 were such as fought at Breed's hill and at Stillwater; the sober, steady yeomanry of the country; whom nothing could daunt, and nothing but a superior force overpower. On such men it is to be hoped future generations will learn to place their reliance in seasons of danger.

the remainder of his troops, to sustain the attack. These men fought like lions; and came to close quarters with the enemy. The firing in a great measure ceased; and the conflict was carried on with knives, bayonets, and the butt-ends of muskets. A considerable number of the Indians were killed. The survivors were, of course, thrown into a rage. The mode of fighting was novel, and the native jealousy of these people started into their minds a suspicion, that their own friends had leagued with the Americans to destroy them. Under its influence they fired upon the British as well as upon the Americans. The confusion became intense and universal. Such of Herkimer's troops as had neither fled nor fallen had posted themselves behind logs and trees; and, animated by their brave chief, wounded as he was, fought the enemy with such resolution, that Sir John finally retreated, and left them the ground. Herkimer speedily expired. Congress voted a monument to his memory; which, with those voted to General Washington and General Wooster, will, it is supposed, be erected when Queen Ann's fifty new churches are finished, and the United States shall have purchased all the remaining countries of North and South America.

The Americans lost in this battle 160 men killed, and about 240 wounded and prisoners. The loss of the British will never be known. The Indians left more than 70 of their number on the field. Among the slain and wounded Americans, were several persons of reputation and influence*.

Two miles below Fort Stanwix a canal commences at the Mohawk, which unites its waters with those of Wood-creek. This stream has its outlet in the Oneida lake, or rather runs through it into Onondaga river, the common channel of all the waters in a numerous train of lakes to be mentioned hereafter. This river joins lake Ontario, at Oswego; a spot well known in the history of American campaigns. A part of these united waters meet the ocean at Sandy-Hook, and another part at the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In this quarter, therefore, Rome is the separating ground between the waters of the Hudson and the St. Lawrence.

* This account of Herkimer's rencounter differs from those which have been published. I received it from gentlemen living near the scene of action, who had had the best opportunities of gaining correct information.

The canal is of sufficient breadth and depth to admit the common boats of the Mohawk. At both ends it is secured by locks. Hitherto it has been little used.

The village of Rome is a very unpromising copy of the great exemplar from which it has derived its name. The land on which it is built is poor, and surrounded by alders or half-starved trees. The houses are about twenty in number, and decent in their appearance: the whole aspect is uninviting. The proprietor of the ground, a gentleman of New-York, believing, as proprietors usually do, that his lands will soon be very valuable, has taken effectual care to prevent them from becoming so, by distributing them into small house lots, demanding excessive rents, and adopting other unwise measures.

The canal, through which, when the outlets are open, runs a sprightly stream, adds not a little cheerfulness to the village. Nor is this the only benefit derived from it by the inhabitants. The base of their settlement is composed almost wholly of small round stones. The canal being dug to a depth considerably lower than their cellars, heretofore wet and troublesome, has effectually drained them. The water also in the upper part of the wells, which was of a bad quality, has by the same means been drawn off; and the remainder, flowing from a deeper source, has become materially sweeter and better.

Fort Stanwix is still in a tolerable degree of preservation. It is what is sometimes called a round work, built about sixty or eighty rods north-eastward from the centre of this village; not of a regular figure, but suited to that of the ground. It was surrounded by a deep ditch, and three rows of palisadoes, which are still remaining. In the centre stands a small and miserable block-house. On the north-east spreads a handsome interval, the only fertile or pleasant ground in the neighbourhood.

This fortress, then in an indifferent state of repair, was defended by Colonel Gansevoort against Baron St. Leger and Sir John Johnson, in the expedition already mentioned.

Sir John had scarcely left the ground, to attack General Herkimer, when Lieutenant-Colonel Willet, at the head of a party from the garrison, made a sortie upon the enemy; and,

falling upon their camp unexpectedly, drove them out of it almost without resistance. A part fled into the woods, and a part crossed the river; while Willet plundered the camp of muskets, blankets, and various other articles of considerable value. A party of the British attempted to intercept his return to the fort; but, with a field-piece and a vigorous musketry, he attacked them with so much spirit, that they fled a second time. Several of the enemy fell, and among them some of the principal Indian warriors. Willet did not lose a man.

At the return of Sir John, St. Leger summoned Gansevoort in a verbal message, sufficiently pompous and menacing, to surrender. Gansevoort refused to receive the message. The next day he received a written demand of the same nature, exhibiting in magnificent terms the successes of General Burgoyne, the strength of the army under St. Leger, the terrible determination of the savages, his own efforts to soften their ferocity, and the hopeless situation of the garrison. The laboured strain of this declamation, instead of producing its intended effect, only persuaded the Americans that St. Leger's affairs were not very prosperous, nor his army very formidable. Gansevoort therefore answered, that, being entrusted by his country with the command of the fort, he would defend it to the last, without any regard to consequences.

The situation of the garrison, though not desperate, was far from being promising. Relief was necessary for them; and Gansevoort determined to advertise, if possible, the country below of his circumstances. Colonel Willet and Lieutenant Stockwell readily undertook this hazardous mission. An Indian enemy is in a sense always at hand, and always awake. He is always roaming from place to place; the chance of escaping him scarcely exists; and the consequence of falling into his hands is almost of course fatal. These gallant men, however, crept on their hands and knees through the enemy's encampment; and, skilled in the mysteries of Indian war, and adopting the various arts of concealment which men, accustomed to forests, acquire with extreme accuracy, they arrived safely at the German Flats; whence without danger they pursued their course directly to the head-quarters of General Schuyler, then commanding the American army at Stillwater.

Schuyler immediately dispatched a body of troops to the

relief of Gansevoort, under the command of General Arnold, who volunteered his services on the occasion. As he was advancing up the Mohawk, a Mr. Schuyler, who was a nephew of General Herkimer (but who was a tory, and accused of being a spy), was brought into his camp. After examining the circumstances, Arnold wisely determined to avail himself of this man's services. He proposed to him a scheme for alarming the enemy, particularly the savages, by announcing to them, that a formidable army was in full march to destroy them; and assured him of his life and estate if he would enter heartily into the interests of his country, and faithfully execute a mission of this nature. Schuyler, who was shrewd, resolute, versed in the language and manners of the Indians, acquainted with some of their chiefs, and therefore perfectly qualified for this business, readily engaged in the enterprise. His father and brother were in the mean time kept as hostages for his fidelity; and were both to be hung without mercy, if he proved unfaithful. One of the sachems of the Six Nations, a friend of the Americans, and of Schuyler also, was let into the secret, and cheerfully embarked in the design. Having settled the whole plan of proceeding with this warrior, Schuyler made the best of his way to Fort Stanwix.

Colonel St. Leger had pushed the siege with considerable activity, and advanced his works within one hundred and fifty yards of the fort. Upon Schuyler's arrival he told a lamentable story of his being taken by Arnold, his escape from hanging, and the danger which he had encountered in his flight. He showed them, also, several holes made by shot in his coat, while he was attempting to escape; and declared, at the same time, that a formidable army of Americans was marching with full speed to attack the British. The Americans, he observed, had no hostility toward the Indians, and wished not to injure them; but added, that if the Indians continued with the British, they must unquestionably take their share of whatever calamities might befall their allies.

The Indians being thus thoroughly alarmed, the chief who was in the secret arrived, as if by mere accident; and in the mysterious manner of that people, began to insinuate to his countrymen, that a bird had brought him intelligence of great moment. This hint set their curiosity afloat, and excited a

series of anxious inquiries. To these he replied in hints and suggestions, concerning warriors in great numbers, marching with the utmost rapidity, and already far advanced. In the meantime he had dispatched two or three young warriors in search of intelligence. These scouts, who had received their cue, returned, as they had been directed, at different times; and confirmed, as if by mere accident also, all that had been said by Schuyler and the sachem. The Indians, already disgusted with the service, which they found a mere contrast to the promises of the British commanders and their own expectations, and sore with the loss which they had sustained in the battle with General Herkimer, were now so completely alarmed, that they determined upon an immediate retreat.

St. Leger, who had unwisely boasted at first of his own strength, and his future exploits against the Americans, and spoken contemptuously of their weakness and cowardice; who had predicted, in magnificent terms, the certainty of their flight, and the ease and safety with which the Indians would reach Albany, had disgusted these people thoroughly, by failing altogether of the fulfilment of his promises. In vain, therefore, did he exert all his address, when he saw them preparing to quit the ground, to dissuade them from their purpose. He exhorted, argued, and promised in vain. They reproached him with having violated all his former promises, and pronounced him undeserving of any further confidence. He attempted to get them drunk, but they refused to drink. When he found all his efforts fruitless, and saw that they were determined to go, he urged them to move in the rear of his army, but they charged him with a design to sacrifice them for his own safety. In a mixture of rage and despair, he broke up his encampment with such haste, that he left his tents, cannon, and stores to the besieged. The flight of this army (for it could not be called a retreat) was through a deep forest, and the spongy soil which I have elsewhere described. The road was imperfectly made, and encumbered with all the difficulties incident to new roads on such a surface. The march was therefore not a little embarrassed and distressing. The sachem, who had been partner with Schuyler in the plot, accompanied the flying army. Naturally a wag, and pleased to see the garrison rescued from their danger, he engaged several of

his young men to repeat, at proper intervals, the cry "They are coming." This unwelcome sound, you will easily believe, quickened the march of the fugitives whenever it was heard. The soldiers threw away their packs, and the commanders took care not to be in the rear. Mortified beyond measure by so disastrous an issue of an expedition, from which they had promised themselves no small reputation and profit, these gentlemen began speedily to accuse each other of folly and misconduct, in their respective departments, during the enterprise. Accusation beget accusation, and reproach, reproach; until they at length drew their swords upon each other. Several of the sachems now interfered; and with that native good sense, which is found everywhere, persuaded them to a reconciliation. After much fatigue, and at least an equal degree of mortification, they finally reached the Oneida lake; and there, probably, felt themselves for the first time secure from the pursuit of their enemies.

I am, Sir, &c.

U. S. A. 1776

LETTER V.

Story of Captain Greg. Whitesborough. Judge White. Herkimer. Canal at Little Falls. Captain Butler. Destruction of Cherry Valley. Canajoharoo. Canajoharie.

DEAR SIR ;

IN the autumn, when the siege of Fort Stanwix was raised, the following occurrence took place here:—Captain Greg, one of the American officers left in the garrison, went out one afternoon with a corporal, belonging to the same corps, to shoot pigeons. When the day was far advanced, Greg, knowing that the savages were at times prowling round the fort, determined to return. At that moment a small flock of pigeons alighted upon a tree in the vicinity. The corporal proposed to try a shot at them ; and, having approached sufficiently near, was in the act of elevating his piece towards the pigeons, when the report of two muskets, discharged by unknown hands, at a small distance, was heard ; the same instant Greg saw his companion fall, and felt himself badly wounded in the side. He tried to stand ; but speedily fell, and in a moment perceived a huge Indian taking long strides towards him, with a tomahawk in his hand. The savage struck him several blows on the head, drew his knife, cut a circle through the skin from his forehead to the crown, and then drew off the scalp with his teeth. At the approach of the savage, Greg had counterfeited the appearance of being dead with as much address as he could use, and succeeded so far as to persuade his butcher that he was really dead ; otherwise, measures still more effectual would have been employed to dispatch him. It is hardly necessary to observe, that the pain produced by these wounds was intense and dreadful. Those on the head

were, however, far the most excruciating, although that in his side was believed by him to be mortal. The savages, having finished their bloody business, withdrew.

As soon as they were fairly gone, Greg, who had seen his companion fall, determined, if possible, to make his way to the spot where he lay, from a persuasion, that if he could place his head upon the corporal's body, it would in some degree relieve his excessive anguish. Accordingly he made an effort to rise; and, having with great difficulty succeeded, immediately fell. He was not only weak and distressed, but had been deprived of the power of self-command by the blows of the tomahawk. Strongly prompted, however, by this little hope of mitigating his sufferings, he made a second attempt, and again fell. After several unsuccessful efforts, he finally regained possession of his feet; and, staggering slowly through the forest, he at length reached the spot where the corporal lay. The Indian, who had marked him for his prey, took a surer aim than his fellow, and killed him outright. Greg found him lifeless and scalped. With some difficulty he laid his own head upon the body of his companion; and, as he had hoped, found material relief from this position.

While he was enjoying this little comfort, he met with trouble from a new quarter. A small dog, which belonged to him, and had accompanied him in his hunting, but to which he had been hitherto wholly inattentive, now came up to him in an apparent agony; and, leaping around him in a variety of involuntary motions, yelped, whined, and cried, in an unusual manner, to the no small molestation of his master. Greg was not in a situation to bear the disturbance even of affection. He tried in every way, which he could think of to force the dog from him, but he tried in vain. At length, wearied by his cries and agitations, and not knowing how to put an end to them, he addressed the animal as if he had been a rational being: "If you wish so much to help me, go and call some one to my relief." At these words the creature instantly left him, and ran through the forest at full speed, to the great comfort of his master, who now hoped to die quietly.

The dog made his way directly to three men belonging to the garrison, who were fishing at the distance of a mile from the scene of this tragedy. As soon as he came up to them, he

began to cry in the same afflicting manner ; and, advancing near them, turned, and went slowly back towards the point where his master lay, keeping his eye continually on the men. All this he repeated several times. At length one of the men observed to his companions, that there was something very extraordinary in the actions of the dog ; and that, in his opinion, they ought to find out the cause. His companions were of the same mind ; and they immediately set out, with an intention to follow the animal whither he should lead them. After they had pursued him some distance, and found nothing, they became discouraged. The sun was set, and the forest was dangerous. They therefore determined to return. The moment the dog saw them wheel about, he began to cry with increased violence ; and, coming up to the men, took hold of the skirts of their coats with his teeth, and attempted to pull them towards the point to which he had before directed their course. When they stopped again, he leaned his back against the back part of their legs, as if endeavouring to push them onward to his master. Astonished at this conduct of the dog, they agreed, after a little deliberation, to follow him until he should stop. The animal conducted them directly to his master. They found him still living, and after burying the corporal as well as they could, they carried Greg to the fort. Here his wounds were dressed with the utmost care, and such assistance was rendered to him as proved the means of restoring him to perfect health.

This story I received from Captain Edward Bulkley, a respectable officer of General Parson's brigade. Greg himself, a few days before, communicated all the particulars to Captain Bulkley. I will only add, what I never think of without pain, and what I am sure every one of my readers will regret, that not long after a brutal fellow wantonly shot this meritorious and faithful dog.

Rome was incorporated in 1796, and in 1800 contained 1,479 inhabitants ; and, in 1810, 2,003.

On our return we examined the locks of the canal at the eastern extremity, as we had before done at the western, and were not a little surprised to see the bricks, composing the walls of the locks and the common outlet, already beginning to moulder away, although the work had been finished little

more than two years. I have seen no good bricks in this region. In fire-places they are soon burnt out; whenever they are exposed to the weather they speedily dissolve.

We reached Whitesborough in the evening. This pretty village is built on a handsome plain, bordering the interval of the Mohawk. The houses, which for so new a settlement are uncommonly good, stand on a single street, parallel to the river, straight, smooth, and beautiful. It contains two churches; a Presbyterian, erected at an early date of the settlement, small, and indifferent; and a Baptist, better but unfinished. Several genteel families reside here, who are eminently hospitable to strangers, and furnish each other the pleasures of polished society.

Judge White, the father of this settlement, was originally an inhabitant of Middletown, in Connecticut. In the year 1785, his own family, and that of Moses Foot, Esquire, were the only inhabitants in the tract, extending from the German Flats to the Oneida reservation; containing, under the name of Whitestown, the present township of that name, together with those of Paris and Westmoreland, an area of about one hundred and fifty square miles. In 1796 there were in this tract 7,359 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 10,575; and, in the year 1810, 11,465. When Mr. White came first to this spot, and for a considerable time afterward, he was obliged to convey all the corn consumed in his family to mills at the German Flats. The hardships, which I have elsewhere mentioned as suffered by settlers upon new lands, he was compelled to undergo, but in the end found himself sufficiently rewarded by a large estate, and a circle of respectable neighbours. There are now about sixty houses in this village.

In the year 1800, the present Whitestown contained 4,212 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 4,912.

The next morning, Tuesday, October 1st, leaving my companions at Whitesborough, I rode to Herkimer in company with Mr. B——. At Utica we crossed the Mohawk; and just after we had passed the bridge a man was pointed out to me, who, together with his whole family, consisting of nine or ten persons, were afflicted with the goitres.

Herkimer is a small village at the confluence of the Mohawk and West Canada creek, twenty miles from Whitesborough.

The country between Utica and Herkimer is chiefly a wilderness, and the road indifferent. The expansion, here, I found to be larger than it appeared from the other side of the river. From the hills, which terminate it on the eastern side of the creek, it extends westward not less than seven miles, and its breadth, where greatest, is not less than two. The village consisting of about thirty houses, is built upon a small elevation about a mile from both of these streams. They are chiefly Dutch buildings. This piece of ground is in a great measure filled with small round stones, appearing as if their angles had been worn off by being long under water, and is supposed by the inhabitants to have been anciently the bottom of a lake. The situation is, I think, pleasanter than that of any other village in this region. The public buildings are an old and very ordinary Dutch church, and a court house, a decent building, and are several of the modern dwelling-houses.

Herkimer is the shire town of the county bearing the same name. Some of the Dutch inhabitants have been planted here many years. It is now filling up with colonists from New England.

In 1790, this township contained, probably within limits very different from the present, 1,525 inhabitants; in 1800 2,534; and, in 1810, 2,743.

Wednesday, October 2, I rode to Canajoharie, by the Little Falls, seven miles below Herkimer. At this place the Mohawk, passing between two mountains, runs over a rift of rocks scarcely two-thirds of a mile in length, and in this distance descends between thirty and forty feet. To connect the navigation above with that below, a canal of the same length is partly dug, and partly blown out of the rock, of sufficient depth and breadth to admit the boats of this river. It is guarded at both ends by locks. I thought the work well executed, and was informed that it answers the expectations of the company.

This canal, and that at Rome, it is said, cost, together, 400,000 dollars.

In the appearance of these falls there is nothing very interesting, but the surrounding objects cannot fail to engage the attention of a curious traveller. The hills on both sides are steep and ragged, and strike the eye at a glance, as if they

formerly were united, and, thus presenting a barrier to the waters of the Mohawk, converted them into a large lake, which covered all the low grounds, as far back as the hills west of Whitesborough. On the north side particularly, both at and below the falls, the rocks exhibit the most evident proofs of having been formerly worn and washed for a long period. I saw these proofs, when returning from Niagara, strikingly exhibited, not less as I judged than forty feet, and am informed, that the same appearances exist more than one hundred feet above the present level of the stream. The hills, bordering the intervals of the Mohawk westward of this spot, have generally the appearance of banks, and the stones in many other places, beside Herkimer, resemble those which are found at the bottom of lakes and rivers.

These falls are in the township of Herkimer.

I crossed the river at this place, and entered Minden. The road, after it leaves the Mohawk, passes over a hill, called Pleasant hill, the seat of the celebrated Hendrick.

I dined at Hudson's. East Canada creek joins the Mohawk directly opposite this house. Beside this creek, at a small distance from the Mohawk, fell Captain Butler, son of Colonel John Butler, a noted partisan of the British in the revolutionary war. This man is consigned to immortal infamy by the baseless, treachery, and cruelty, with which he betrayed Colonel Zebulon Butler, a respectable American officer at Fort Kingston, under the sacred exhibition of a flag; and butchered and burnt the garrisons and people of Kingston and Wilkesbarre, consisting of men, women, and children. Young Butler left Canada in company with Colonel Brandt, on an expedition against the town of Cherry Valley, a Dutch settlement about twenty-five miles south of this place. Colonel Alden, the American commander, with a want of vigilance which cannot be excused, suffered himself to be surprised, and, having lodged without the fort, was killed on his way thither. The town was attacked about day break. For three hours the invading party, consisting of about five hundred British, refugees, and Indians, assaulted the fort; when, finding the attempt hopeless, they fell upon the town, plundered and burnt the houses, and butchered such of the inhabitants as could not escape.

After this work of devastation was finished, Butler marched to Fort Plain, a settlement in the township of Canajoharie, which he destroyed in the same manner. Near Hudson's, seven miles above Fort Plain, he crossed the Mohawk, and, following his party at some distance in the rear, was overtaken by two Indian chiefs, of the Oneida tribe, and wounded with a musket ball. When his enemies came up, he begged for quarter; but one of them, with a hoarse and terrible voice, cried out "Sherry Valley!" and dispatched him instantly with a tomahawk; a dreadful, but just reward for his tiger-like cruelty.

An accident took place in this expedition, not less honourable to Brandt than disgraceful to Butler. Butler and his cut-throats had just entered a house in Cherry Valley, the mistress of which was then lying in child-bed, and ordered both the mother and the infant to be butchered. At that moment Brandt coming up, cried out, "What, kill a woman and child! No; that child is not an enemy to the king, nor a friend to the congress. Long before he will be big enough to do any mischief, the dispute will be settled." He then set a guard at the door, and thus saved the lives of both parent and child. These facts were communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland.

Immediately after I left Hudson's, I was presented with a prospect entirely novel to me. Ten women, of German extraction, were arranged in front of a little building, busily employed in dressing flax. In my childhood I had seen women, in a small number of instances, busied in the proper labour of men, particularly in raking hay immediately before a shower, when the pressing nature of the case demanded extraordinary exertions. Even this I had not seen for thirty years. Women in New-England are employed only in and about the house, and in the proper business of the sex. I do not know, that I was ever more struck with the strangeness of any sight, than with the appearance and business of these German females.

I arrived at Canajoharie in the evening, and the next day was rejoined by my companions, and by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland.

At the proposal of two respectable young gentlemen engaged here in extensive business, we all visited the Canajoharoo*, or Great boiling pot, as it is called by the Six Nations. This pot is a vast cavity in a mass of lime-stone, forming the bed of the mill-stream, to which it gives its name. The dimensions of the cavity are twenty-two feet diameter one way, and eighteen the other. The bottom was so covered with stones and gravel, that its depth could not be exactly ascertained. To the gravel it was eight feet, and without a reasonable doubt was two feet deeper. Its form is that of an oval, somewhat irregular. The brim is almost an exact level. The sides, and, so far as we could examine it, the bottom, are remarkably smooth and handsome. It was full of water, received from one small current, and escaping by another. The water was perfectly quiet, pure, and of an elegant, light sea-green. Nothing could be more beautiful. It is questionable whether another cavity of the same kind, and of equal dimensions, can be found in this country, perhaps in the world. I ought to observe, that I am indebted for these dimensions to the information of gentlemen, living in the vicinity.

When the water is high, it pours furiously down the ledge of the same rock, crossing the stream just above, into the Canajoharoo, and causes it to boil with a singular violence, and to exhibit the appearance of a caldron, foaming with vehement ebullitions over its brim. Had Homer and Virgil seen this phenomenon in its most advantageous situation, it would, I think, have added not a little splendour to the similes which they have derived from the objects, which it so much resembles. The surrounding scenery would have improved the picture, when drawn by such hands, in a wonderful degree. The whole course of this stream, so far as we ascended it, which was a mile and a half, is partly over a bed of lime-stone, extending just above the Canajoharoo, and partly over a stratum of slate. The banks, which at our entrance into this scene were perhaps fifty feet in height, gradually ascended for about half a mile, till they reached the height of one hundred and fifty. This height, commencing just above the great basin,

* So the word is spelt by Mr. Kirkland.

they maintained for about three-fourths of a mile farther. The chasm, every where from two to three hundred feet wide, is worn through the solid slate by the united power of the stream and the atmosphere. Of this substance, stratified in laminæ, often not thicker than a knife-blade, the banks are entirely formed. These laminæ, like those on the banks of the Mohawk formerly mentioned, are so fragile as to be easily broken and pulled out by the fingers, and when the hand is drawn with moderate force, they descend along the side of the precipice, in a shower.

Below runs a beautiful stream over a bed, clean and handsome, and with its continual windings, elegant cascades, and diversified murmurs, forms the only cheerful object in view, except the long narrow stripe of azure seen over head. On both sides rise stupendous walls of a deep black, awful with their hanging precipices, which are hollowed into a thousand fantastical forms; here shelving over you, there upright, and everywhere varied by the wild hand of nature. Long ranges of trees on both sides, overhanging the precipices, increase the obscurity and finish the picture.

As you advance up the stream, you proceed in a grand and gloomy vista, not sufficiently straight to show what is before you, until you suddenly arrive at a cascade sixty feet in height, where the water descends with a sufficient approximation to perpendicularity to convert the current from a sheet into a mass of foam, perfectly white and elegant. A little below is a basin, hollowed out of the rock, so deep as to be black, and above, the eye traces the avenue through a considerable distance, until it is finally lost in the gloomy windings of the chasm.

The impression, made by this singular scene, is not a little increased by an interesting relic of animated existence. On the brow of the western precipice, so near that the walls of his mansion are visible below, lived, some years since, a hermit, who chose in this solitary spot to seclude himself from the walks of man. One of the gentlemen present engaged to obtain for me his history; but the engagement, like many others of a similar nature, was never fulfilled. This is the second hermit of whom I have heard in the United

States*. That train of misfortunes, by which men are inclined to thwart the commanding propensity of their nature, and are

* I have lately been informed of a third, who has lived many years between Norfolk in Connecticut, and New-Marlborough in Massachusetts†.

† The person here referred to, whose name was Timothy Leonard, died in New-Marlborough in 1817, aged seventy. He was born near Canterbury, in Connecticut, of parents in low circumstances, and bound out and brought up in Woodbury. After he was of age, he went to the town of Fredericksburgh (N. Y.), where his father then resided. When about twenty-four, he came into this town, a sprightly and industrious young man. He purchased a lot of new land remote from any settlement; went to work, cleared a fine piece of land, and, with the help of his brother, who afterwards came to him, erected a small log-house, in which they lived together harmoniously. After a year and a half he visited his friends, and returned a perfect misanthrope; was displeas'd and quarrell'd with his brother, and drove him away. He gradually became deranged. During the revolution he fancied himself commander-in-chief, and frequently gave orders for the regulation of congress and the army, copies of which are now to be seen. He called himself admiral. He became troublesome and dangerous, and was disarmed by the civil authority. Since that time he has sought no intercourse with the rest of the world; has lived alone in the wilderness, and obtained his subsistence by the cultivation of not more than one acre of land. This he manured with grass, leaves, and other vegetables. His principal living has been corn, potatoes, and pumpkins. For a time he kept some stock; had some pasture; but for a number of years he has lived alone, with the exception of a few domesticated fowls. Woodchucks, rabbits, skunks, weasels, squirrels, rats, and mice, and these *without dressing*, were the varieties of his table. His clothing consisted of two garments, fastened together at the waist by large wooden pins, and was made of wood, hemp, or flax, twisted coarse, and wove in narrow stripes, sewed together, and put on and worn out, probably, without cleansing, and shoes, or moccasins of bark shaped to his feet and worn off. He could read, always kept the year, day of the month, and week. He was not disposed to converse much upon religious subjects. He, however, kept a Testament; paid some regard to the sabbath; was addicted somewhat to profanity, and was a lover of ardent spirits. He expected after death to be about and take some care of his farm. For some years his strength has been failing, but he kept about till the very day before he died. His friends have endeavoured to draw him from his retirement, but in vain. Thousands from the neighbouring towns have visited the hermit, for so he was called. He has often in the summer season been found naked; his head uncovered and uncombed, and his beard unshaven. His neighbours have been disposed to assist him, but he has generally rejected their offers. The night on which he died, though his dress was uncomfortable and filthy, finding him very weak, they wished to have remained with him; but no, to-morrow he should be about again.

driven out of social life into solitude, is here very rarely encountered. Hermits on the eastern continent have long been familiar objects; here they are almost absolutely unknown.

In 1790, Canajoharie, then comprising a large tract of the neighbouring country, contained 6,156 inhabitants. In 1800 the present township contained 2,276; and, in 1810, 4,010.

I am, Sir, &c

But in the morning early he was found a corpse. His remains were the next day committed, with suitable religious services, and in the presence of a large concourse, to the dust, on the place where he had spent almost half a century in the manner described. He was, perhaps, equally destitute of friends and enemies. He was industrious and honest. He lived for himself entirely, and still was a lesson of instruction to thousands. The picture which he exhibited was, *human nature in ruins*.

This account is taken from the "Connecticut Courant," for 1817.—*Publ*

LETTER VI.

Story of Mr. Fonda. Sir William Johnson. Prospect from Tripe's Hill. Johnstown. Amsterdam. Character of Honourable John Jay; and of William Pitt Beers, Esq. Cohoes. Waterford. Half-Moon. Stillwater. Saratoga.

DEAR SIR;

WE left Canajoharie on the morning of the 4th, and rode to Schenectady: thirty-four miles.

At the Caghawaga village, fourteen miles below Canajoharie, was exhibited, some years since, a strong specimen of Indian revenge. A Mr. Fonda, who lived here, was long a distinguished benefactor of the Six Nations; and had fed and lodged great numbers of them with the utmost liberality. One of these people was at his house, heated with drink, and very insolent. Mr. Fonda, having in vain attempted to quiet him, was at length obliged to force him out of the door. Some time afterwards several of the Senecas entered it together. One of them came up to him and said, "At such a time you treated my brother ill. You called him hard names, and dragged him out of your house." At the word he plunged his knife into Mr. Fonda's breast, who fell and expired. This anecdote was mentioned to me by the Rev. Mr. Kirkland.

The sight of Sir William Johnson's mansion in this vicinity, awakened in my mind a variety of interesting reflections. This gentleman was born in Ireland, about the year 1714. Sir Peter Warren, having married an American lady, purchased a large estate on and near the Mohawk. In the year 1734, he sent for Mr. Johnson, who was his nephew, to come and superintend the property. To fulfil the duties of the commission, Mr. Johnson seated himself in this spot. Here

he became of course extensively acquainted with the Six Nations. He studied their character; acquired their language; carried on an extensive trade with them; and by a course of sagacious measures made himself so agreeable and useful to them, that for many years he possessed an influence over them, such as was never gained by any other white man. His constitution was unusually firm; and his mind hardy, coarse, and vigorous. Unsusceptible of those delicate feelings, by which minds of a softer mould are in a great measure governed; destitute of those refined attachments, which are derived from a correspondence with elegant society; and unconfined by those moral restraints, which bridle men of tender consciences, he here saw the path open to wealth and distinction, and determined to make the utmost of his opportunity. In troublesome times an active, ambitious man hardly ever fails to acquire some degree of consequence. Such were the times, in which Mr. Johnson resided at this place; and so persevering and successful was he in turning them to his advantage, that he rose from the station of a private soldier to the command of an army, and from the class of yeomen to the title of a baronet. In the year 1755 he led the provincial army to Lake George; where was achieved the first victory, gained on the British side, in the war commencing at that period. For this victory, towards which he did little more than barely hold the place of commander-in-chief, he received from the House of Commons £5,000 sterling; and from the king the title of baronet, and the office of superintendent of Indian affairs. In the year 1759, being at the head of the provincial troops, employed under Brigadier-General Prideaux to besiege Fort Niagara, he became, upon the death of that officer, commander-in-chief of the whole army, and directed the siege with activity and skill. On the 24th of July, a body of French and Indian assailants approached to raise the siege. Sir William marched out to meet them, and gained a complete victory. The next morning the fort itself surrendered; and the garrison were made prisoners of war. In 1760, he led 1,000 Iroquois to join the army of General Amherst at Oswego. With this body he proceeded under the command of that illustrious man to Montreal. Here he concluded his military career with honour, being present and

active in a distinguished station at the surrender of Canada. This event took place in 1760. He died July 11, 1774, at his own seat, aged 60 years. The services, which he rendered to the British colonists, were important, and will be long as well as deservedly remembered.

The property, which he amassed here, was very great. At the time when he came into America, a considerable part of the cultivated and much of the uncultivated land in the province of New-York was divided into large manorial possessions, obtained successively from the government by men of superior sagacity and influence. Sir William followed the custom of the country, and by a succession of ingenious and industrious exertions, secured to himself vast tracts of valuable land. As these were always exposed to French and Indian incursions, they were obtained for trifling sums; being considered by most men as of very little value. In consequence of the peace of Paris, and the subsequent increase of the settlements in the province, they rose, as he had foreseen, to such a price as to constitute an immense fortune.

The following specimen of his ingenuity is familiarly related. A sachem, being on a visit at his house, told him one morning a dream which he had had the preceding night. This was no other than that Sir William had given him a rich suit of military clothes. Sir William, knowing that it was an Indian custom to give to a friend whatever present he claimed in this manner, gave him the clothes. Some time after the sachem was at his house again. Sir William observed to him, that he also had had a dream. The sachem asked him what? He answered, he dreamed that the sachem had given him a tract of land. The sachem replied, "You have the land, but we no dream again."

By Lady Johnson he had three children: two daughters, one married to Colonel Closs, the other to Colonel Guy Johnson; and a son, afterwards Sir John Johnson. Of the first of these gentlemen I have no further information. The two last took the British side of the question in the revolutionary war. Sir John led a party of whites and savages during this contest; to Johnstown, about four miles from the Caghnawaga village; and there destroyed a considerable number of the inhabitants, who had long been his friends and neighbours, and who had

believed him to be their friend. After their property was either plundered or destroyed, those who were taken were partly carried into captivity, and partly butchered and scalped. The man, who can act in this manner, in any place, and towards any people; particularly in the place where he was born, and towards the people among whom he grew up; that people, too, entirely harmless and unoffending, merits, almost singularly, the detestation of mankind.

Sir William built a house at the village of Johnstown, where he chiefly lived during the latter part of his life. There, also, he was buried. The house which he built on this road was occupied by Sir John. Colonel Guy Johnson built a house on the opposite side of the road, a little farther down the river. Here these men lived, essentially in the rank, and with not a small part of the splendour of noblemen. But, when they joined the British standard, their property vanished in a moment; and with it their consequence, their enjoyments, and probably their hopes.

From 'Tripe's hill, about one and a half or two miles from Putnam's, we had a delightful prospect over against the entrance of the Schoharie into the Mohawk. This river, the largest tributary of the Mohawk, rises in the southern part of the Katskill mountains, and runs directly north, a course of seventy or eighty miles. From the steepness of the mountains and hills, between which it winds its course, it is liable to sudden and great freshets; and has then so furious a current, that bridges built over it have rarely stood for any length of time. The Mohawk at this place bends with a beautiful sweep towards the south, as if to receive the waters of the Schoharie, and opens a much wider expansion than in most other parts of its progress. The intervals on its border are large, elegant in their form, and in consequence of the late copious rains were covered at this time with a verdure uncommonly brilliant. Beyond the Mohawk, a handsome bridge crosses the Schoharie. Intervals of the same beauty line this river also, receding continually from the eye until they gradually wind out of sight. The hills on both sides are beautiful slopes, and are variegated with finely-appearing farms, spread towards the south through a great extent. To finish the landscape, mountains, far distant, jutting with their ends

upon the valley of the Schoharie, as a collection of vast promontories into the ocean, ascend in four or five successive ranges, increasing in height as they recede, until the last and leftmost bounds the horizon. Such a groupe of objects we saw nowhere else on the Mohawk.

Johnstown is the shire town of Montgomery county. The town is said to be considerable and handsome, and to contain two churches, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal, a court-house and a gaol. In 1800, the number of inhabitants in this township was 3,932; and, in 1810, 6,225.

Between Johnstown and Schenectady lies the township of Amsterdam. Of this we saw nothing but the beautiful valley of the Mohawk, which forms the whole of its southern border. In the year 1800, it contained 1,064 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 3,089.

We reached Schenectady in the evening, where I lodged with the Rev. Dr. Edwards, president of Union college. The next day I proceeded with Mr. Kirkland to Albany; our companions having resolved on an excursion to Ballston. At Albany I remained until Wednesday morning. On Monday we visited his Excellency Governor Jay. This gentleman is well known, both in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe. In all the countries which he has visited he has been held in the highest estimation, and in Britain a most honourable character was publicly given of him by Lord Grenville in the house of peers; a character accurately just and richly merited. The services which he has rendered to his country are pre-eminent; and he has rendered such services in every public station which he has filled. As chief justice of the United States, Mr. Jay acquired everywhere the highest reputation. As governor of the state of New-York he amply merited the same character, and gained it from every wise and good man acquainted with his administration. His private life, even in the view of his enemies, has not been soiled with a single spot.

With a forecast, possessed by few other men, Mr. Jay, not long after the date of this journey, declined being a candidate for any public office, and retired to an estate which he has in his native county of Westchester. Here he employs his time, partly in the cultivation of his lands, and partly in a sequestered and profound attention to those immense objects

which ought ever supremely to engage the thoughts, wishes, and labours, of an immortal being.

William Pitt Beers, Esq., the friend at whose house I lodged while in Albany, and who furnished not a little part of the enjoyments which I found in this city, died September 13, 1810. As a friend he merits my affectionate remembrance, and as an able, worthy, and useful man, that of the community. He was born in Stratford, in the state of Connecticut, of a reputable family, and was educated at Yale college, where he took the degree of A. B. in 1785. He then studied law with Judge Reeve; and, after his studies were finished, settled in this city. Here he was held in high respect by persons of the first reputation; but, though commanding more thoughts than most men of talents, and language in a superior degree, was prevented from acquiring that distinction as an advocate, which was expected from his attainments. A delicacy of feeling, which was excessive, and a diffidence, which was strangely united with invincible firmness and full confidence in his powers, made him reluctant to undertake, and embarrassed while executing, this part of his professional business. Few men better understood the political interests of this country, and few political productions have been more generally applauded than those which have occasionally flowed from his pen. As a patriot he was ardent and noble minded, and in the various departments of private life he shone with distinguished lustre.

Wednesday, October 9th, we rode to Stillwater: twenty-eight miles. On our way we stopped to see the Cohoes, the celebrated cataract of the Mohawk, about one and a half mile from its confluence with the Hudson. The river is here about three hundred yards wide, and descends over the brow of a vast stratum of slate, spreading through this region to a great but undefined extent. The brow of this stratum crosses the river in a direction somewhat oblique. Its face also is oblique in a small degree, and at the same time more regular than any distinguished object of this kind within my knowledge. Of course it wants those wild and masculine features, which give so magnificent an appearance to several other cataracts in this country. The eye is disappointed of the grandeur which it instinctively demands, and sees a tame and unanimated aspect,

which ill supplies the place of that violence and splendour imparted by rough and ragged precipices to descending water. Yet the height of the fall, which is not less than sixty feet, the breadth of the river, and the quantity of the water, when it is full, give this cataract no small degree of majesty.

The river was now low, and presented a collection of handsome cascades rather than a magnificent cataract. I had before seen it when the water was high.

The slate through which the Mohawk has worn its bed in this place is exactly the same with that mentioned in the description of Canajoharie creek; of the same dark colour, divided into thin laminæ, equally friable, and equally dissoluble by water and weather. Its banks, below the Cohoes, are not less than one hundred feet in height, black and precipitous. The fall has been evidently worn backward, during the lapse of ages, almost a mile, by the united agency of the stream and the atmosphere.

We crossed the Mohawk three-fourths of a mile below the Cohoes, on a bridge projected and built by General Schuyler; a plain structure, but of great length and much utility, as it serves to connect the country, north of this river, with the city of Albany.

Two miles north of the bridge lies the village of Waterford, in the township of Halfmoon, containing about sixty* houses, generally small, and slightly built. The settlement was begun with sanguine expectations, that it would speedily become a place of considerable trade. These expectations, however, soon vanished; the water of the Hudson being found of insufficient depth to furnish a navigation for vessels of the proper size for the business projected. But the hopes of the inhabitants are now reviving. During the past summer an attempt has been made to deepen the bed of that river between Albany and Troy, and the experiment has been successful. By a new and ingenious contrivance the rocks have been blown under water, without very great expense, and with so much ease and expedition, as to promise a speedy removal of the obstructions. Should this business be pursued with perseverance, most of the vessels which can reach Albany will be able to come up to Waterford. In that case large quantities of wheat and other

* Year 1799.

produce, which are now carried by land to Albany, would be shipped here, and would ensure a considerable and profitable trade to the inhabitants. There is a small, decent church in this village, but without a minister. The inhabitants are chiefly colonists from New-England, who have planted themselves here since the revolution.

Halfmoon is an extensive township. The soil is generally what is called slate land, being either clay, or clay with a thin covering of sand. Sometimes, however, the surface is composed of loam. The inhabitants are generally farmers, and amounted, in 1790, to 3,602; in 1800, to 3,851; and, in 1810, to 5,292.

The first six miles of the road from Albany passed over a handsome interval. Through the remainder of the distance to Stillwater, we found neither the road nor the country very agreeable. The slate land extends with little intermission throughout the whole distance. The surface is almost entirely clay, and the season having been wet, the road was encumbered with mud.

Just as we arrived at Stillwater it began to rain, and rained copiously till Friday morning, when we rode to Saratoga to dinner; eight miles. The lowering appearance of the sky prevented us from setting out until the morning was far advanced. We here found the country very beautiful. The road passes along the borders of intervals, lining the Hudson for a great length. The river also is in full view, and few rides are more cheerful. To add to our enjoyments, and the sprightliness of the scenery; a great multitude of robins and other small birds regaled us with a variety of songs—a fact not very common at this season of the year.

There is a small, pleasant village in Stillwater. Here I had an opportunity of seeing in one of the mills, erected on the borders of the Hudson, what is called a “gang of saws;” that is, a sufficient number to convert a log into boards by a single operation. The inhabitants along the road in this township exhibit many proofs of comfort and thrift, in both their farms and houses. The whole number contained in the township was, in 1790, 3,071; in 1800, 2,872; and, in 1810, 2,492. The reason of this diminution is undoubtedly the sub-division of the original township into others.

A canal has been begun, intended to connect the waters of the Hudson above and below, along a series of rocky shelves. With this others were to be connected, so as to unite the Hudson with the south end of Lake Champlain. Had the design been practicable, it would have been incalculably advantageous to the commerce of the Hudson. But many years will probably elapse before it will be executed.

Saratoga resembles Stillwater, but along the river is more beautiful. The intervals are larger, richer, and handsomer. The river also winds more, and is more replenished with islands.

In 1790, the township of Saratoga contained 3,071 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,411; and, in 1810, 3,183. This township also has been divided.

“To abstract the mind from all local emotions,” says Johnson, “would be impossible, if it were endeavoured; would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future, predominate over the present, advances the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us, indifferent and unmoved, over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer on the ruins of Jona.”

Dr. Johnson, under the influence of his strong prejudice against every thing American, would most probably refuse the application of these fine sentiments to a native of this country. Particularly he might be expected to thunder his anathemas, or at least issue an interdict, from his literary Vatican, against the indulgence of such emotions in any case connected with the American revolution. But I, who was never under his immediate superintendence, felt them instinctively rising in my own mind at the sight of the field in which General Burgoyne surrendered himself, and the army under his command, to General Gates. I could here almost forget that Arnold became a traitor to his country, and satisfy myself with recollecting, that to his invincible gallantry, and that of the brave officers and soldiers whom he led, my country was, under God, indebted in a prime degree for her independence, and

all its consequent blessings. Johnson himself could hardly forbid an American to love his country; and I should think that American, peculiarly an inhabitant of New-England or New-York, little to be envied, whose patriotism did not gain force upon the heights of Stillwater, or the plains of Saratoga. These scenes I have examined, the former with solemnity and awe, the latter with ardour and admiration, and both with enthusiasm and rapture. Here I have remembered, here it is impossible not to remember, that on this very spot a controversy was decided, upon which hung the liberty and happiness of a nation, destined one day to fill a continent, and of its descendants, who will probably hereafter outnumber the inhabitants of Europe.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VII.

Progress of General Burgoyne. Desertion of Ticonderoga. Battle of Hubbardton; of Battle-hill. Wise Measures of General Schuyler. Defeat of Colonel Baume and Breckman. Battles of September 19th and October 7th. Surrender of General Burgoyne. Reflections.

DEAR SIR;

THE British nation formed the highest hopes from the expedition of General Burgoyne; hopes, naturally founded on the skill of the commander, the bravery of his army, and the point of attack. Nor did these considerations fail of awakening in the minds of the Americans very serious solicitude. Sir Guy Carlton had the preceding year conducted the British affairs in Canada with distinguished wisdom and success; but for some reason, of which I am ignorant, the management of them was, in 1777, transferred unwisely from him to General Burgoyne. This officer arrived at Quebec in the month of May, and moved up Lake Champlain in June, with an army consisting of British, German, and other troops, and amounting to between nine and ten thousand men. On the 20th he landed at Crown Point, and there, to conciliate the good will of the Indians who had joined his army, made a feast for them. To his peculiar honour it ought to be remembered, that he solemnly forbade their customary cruelties, and encouraged them to humanity by promising a compensation for prisoners, and declaring, "that not only such compensation should be withheld, but a strict account demanded if they should bring in scalps." To old men, women, children, and prisoners, and to persons quietly busied in the employments of peace, he also required them in the most pointed terms to exhibit an uniformly humane treatment.

From Crown Point he proceeded to Ticonderoga. Here the French formerly built a regular and expensive fortress, with the proper outworks, sufficiently strong to endure a siege of some length. The ground was however so ill chosen as to be untenable for a single day; for it is perfectly commanded, both by Mount Independence on the east, and Sugar Hill, now named Mount Defiance, on the south. Ticonderoga stands upon a small peninsula, washed by the outlet of Lake George on the south, Lake Champlain on the east, and a cove from that lake on the north. The Americans, not being sufficiently numerous to defend all the posts in this vicinity, unwisely, as I think, left Mount Defiance unoccupied.

As a prelude to his operations, General Burgoyne issued a pompous, haughty-minded proclamation, in which, after reciting a number of his own titles, eked out with a string of *et ceteras* to indicate the rest, making a magnificent parade of the number and strength of his army, and displaying in formidable view the body of savages by which it was attended, he announced the great things which he was able to accomplish, and commanded the Americans to lay down their arms, and return to their duty; promising them mercy upon their speedy submission, and threatening them with the most terrible vengeance if they persisted in their rebellion. The effects of this proclamation entirely contravened the expectations of the writer. Instead of the terror which it was intended to excite, it produced only indignation and contempt. Governor Livingston, of New-Jersey, by turning it ingeniously into Hudibrastic verse, made it an object of general diversion. John Holt, of New-York, an old and respectable printer, published it in his newspaper at Poughkeepsie; and subjoined, "pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." It is remarkable, that the four most haughty proclamations, issued by military commanders in modern times, have prefaced their ruin: this of General Burgoyne; that of the Duke of Brunswick, when he was entering France; that of Buonaparte, in Egypt; and that of General Le Clerc, at his arrival in St. Domingo.

The troops with which General St. Clair garrisoned these posts, ill equipped and ill armed, amounted, including nine hundred militia, to three thousand effective men. As General

Philip, with the right wing of the British, approached Ticonderoga, the Americans abandoned their outworks; and the British, without any obstruction, proceeded to take possession of Mount Defiance. In this situation General St. Clair, knowing it to be impossible to retain Ticonderoga, or Mount Independence, summoned a council of war to deliberate on the measures to be pursued. Here it was unanimously determined to evacuate Ticonderoga with the utmost expedition. The army accordingly withdrew the succeeding night across the lake, and marched directly towards Castleton, in Vermont. The invalids and stores were put on board batteaux, under the conduct of Colonel Long, and proceeded up the lake to Skenesborough.

No event during the revolutionary war produced such consternation throughout this country as the evacuation of Ticonderoga. It was not the loss of the fort, nor of the stores, nor of the men, which created the alarm. It was the disappointment of expectations long cherished, highly raised, and fostered into a secure sense of safety by all the accounts which had been privately and publicly given to the community. In these accounts Ticonderoga was continually exhibited as free almost from imaginable danger, and the army as amply sufficient and abundantly furnished for its defence. "Why," they naturally asked, "were these works given up without a single blow, without even a show of resistance? Were the works incapable of defence? Was the army insufficient to defend them? Were they insufficiently supplied with ammunition, or provisions, or other necessaries? If this was really the disastrous state of things, why were we deceived with regard to them all; and flattered into a belief that the army, the works, and the country were safe?"

Nothing could have been more unexpected than this event. It was the bursting of a meteor, which by its awful peal shook every habitation from Maine to Georgia. That there was a fault somewhere cannot be questioned. The country was unwisely lulled into security. The subordinate officers and the soldiers were themselves the principal cause of this misfortune. They probably over-rated their own strength; and, together with their superiors, under-rated that of the enemy. Those who visited the army, also, were willingly persuaded that all

was well; and when they returned home, spread their own opinions and feelings through their countrymen. It may even be questioned, whether those who were at the head of our affairs were not reluctant to have the real state of the arms known. Whatever was the cause, the excessive disappointment of the community was most unhappy, and mightily increased the astonishment and dismay.

The enemy did not suffer the alarm to diminish. General Fraser, at the head of eight hundred and fifty men, overtook Colonel Warner, who commanded the rear guard, consisting of twelve hundred men, at five o'clock the following morning. A vigorous action ensued, in which a part of the American force, under Colonel Hale, fled instantly. The remainder under Colonels Warner and Francis, although labouring under every disadvantage, fought with great spirit, but were finally put to flight. Francis fell with glory. General St. Clair, who had reached Castleton during the night, made an attempt to reinforce Warner during the action, but found it impossible.

While Fraser followed the Americans by land, General Burgoyne, with the utmost rapidity, pursued them up the lake to Skenesborough; and, coming up with their rear, forced them to fly. Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, with the ninth regiment, was dispatched after them. Reinforced by a small body which General Schuyler had sent from Fort Edward to his assistance, Colonel Long attacked Hill at a spot, called from this action Battle Hill. The contest was maintained with great vigour, as the British acknowledged, for two hours; when a body of Indians, mistaken for a more formidable reinforcement, coming up, the Americans withdrew. But for this accident, the British would have been probably cut in pieces.

At Hubbardton the Americans suffered severely, although from the contradictory accounts it is impossible to say how much. At Skenesborough they lost a great part of their stores. Of both these disasters General Schuyler, then at Stillwater, received the intelligence on the same day, and as himself, with the utmost good sense and resolution, to provide means for the prevention of future calamities. General Burgoyne stopped at Skenesborough to collect and arrange his army, and to wait for his baggage, artillery, and stores. This

interval Schuyler employed in embarrassing the road, destroying the navigation of Wood-Creek, driving the cattle out of the country, and conveying the military stores, deposited at Fort George, at the head of the lake of that name, to Fort Edward, on the Hudson. At the same time he called for reinforcements of regular troops; and summoned, with great earnestness, the militia of New-England and New-York to his assistance. For these efforts, indispensable to the success of the campaign and the safety of the country, General Schuyler merited the highest gratitude, and the warmest approbation of his fellow-citizens.

In answer to these calls, troops were sent him from the main army. The militia of both countries were put in motion, and supplies were contributed in every direction. General Arnold and Colonel Morgan, at the head of a corps of riflemen, and General Lincoln, at the head of the New-England militia, were immediately ordered to his assistance.

General Burgoyne occupied himself, in the mean time, in opening the navigation of Wood-Creek, and removing the numerous obstructions from the road to Fort Edward. These works, to a body of men perfectly unaccustomed to such employments, were extremely difficult and laborious, and furnished the Americans with an opportunity of repairing their losses, which to them was invaluable. As Burgoyne approached Fort Edward, Schuyler fell back to Saratoga, and from Saratoga to Stillwater.

One of the principal difficulties, under which General Burgoyne laboured, was the want of a sufficient stock of provisions; and another, scarcely less distressing, the want of horses and oxen for the draught. To obtain both these objects he detached Lieutenant-Colonel Baum, with a considerable body of troops, to Bennington, where a collection of stores was deposited for the use of the American army; and, to support him in any case, Lieutenant-Colonel Brechman was detached after him to Baton Kill, at some distance from its confluence with the Hudson. When Baum had reached the eastern part of Hoosac, he halted on the borders of a mill-stream, called the Walloomscock (a tributary of Hoosac river), in consequence of information, that a strong body of the New-England militia were in the neighbourhood.

Among the levies forwarded to the American army, eight hundred of the New-Hampshire militia marched under the command of Brigadier-General Stark. This gentleman had fought bravely at Breed's Hill; but for reasons which do not appear, and which cannot have been sufficient, had been neglected in the progress of promotion. When requested by the New-Hampshire legislature to take the command of their new levies, he consented, on the condition that he should be permitted to unite his troops to the main army, or not, as he pleased. Happily he reached Bennington at this critical moment, and immediately dispatched a messenger to Colonel Warner, then at Manchester, to reinforce him with his regiment. At the same time he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Greg, with two hundred of his men, to attack the enemy, supposing them only to be a body of savages. Greg, as soon as he perceived the real strength of his adversaries, retired, and met General Stark advancing to his assistance. Warner obeyed the first summons, and with his own regiment, and a considerable number of militia from the neighbouring country, marched immediately to the assistance of Stark.

Stark, upon his arrival, instantly offered the enemy battle. Baum declined it. Stark, then leaving a small force to watch his motins, encamped his main body at a little distance. The next day it rained. The following morning, July 16th, Stark made his dispositions for an attack. Colonel Nichols, with two hundred and fifty men, he sent towards the rear of their left, Colonel Hendrick, with three hundred, to the rear of their right, three hundred more he stationed in their front, two hundred more he sent to attack their right, probably also to reinforce Hendrick; and another hundred to reinforce Nichols. The rest he retained under his own immediate command. The attack commenced on the enemy's left at three o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately became general. The action continued two hours. The British works were forced, their field-pieces taken, and such of their men as did not escape by flight were killed or made prisoners.

Scarcely was this action ended when General Stark was informed, that another body of English troops was advancing toward him, at the distance of two miles. His own soldiers, with the true spirit of militia, were dispersed in quest of plun-

der. They were rallied as soon as possible ; and Warner, fortunately arriving at the moment in a road, which conducted him directly to the right of the enemy, began the attack, and gave the scattered soldiers opportunity to form in order of battle. Brechman made the best dispositions in his power, and maintained his ground with great spirit and conduct, but was forced to yield to superior numbers and equal bravery. With a part of his force he made good his retreat.

In the battle of Hoosac, erroneously called the battle of Bennington, the British lost 226 killed outright, and 36 officers, and more than 700 privates made prisoners. Among the latter was Colonel Baum, who soon after died of his wounds. The Americans took four brass field-pieces, and a considerable quantity of baggage, arms, and ammunition. Their own loss amounted to about 100 killed and wounded. The superior skill of the Americans in directing the musquet was conspicuous in these engagements.

The effects of this battle upon the public mind cannot be described. It was a victory of mere militia over the best disciplined veterans, and an unquestionable proof, that other victories might be achieved by such men over such enemies. It was the frustration of an important enterprise, the accomplishment of which was indispensable to the success, and even to the comfort of the invading army. It was a victory, following hard upon disaster, shame, and dismay ; a morning, breaking out after a gloomy and melancholy night, and promising a brilliant and glorious day. It was seen, therefore, with wonder and delight, such as we may suppose the Egyptians felt when they beheld the sun return after the darkness which had so long brooded over their country*.

* Among the prisoners taken by the Americans at the battle of Hoosac was an inhabitant of Hancock, in the county of Berkshire, a plain farmer, named Richard Jackson. This man had conscientiously taken the British side in the revolutionary contest, and felt himself bound to seize the earliest opportunity of employing himself in the service of his sovereign. Hearing that Colonel Baum was advancing with a body of troops towards Bennington, he rose early, saddled his horse, and rode to Hoosac, intending to attach himself to this corps. Here he was taken, in such circumstances as proved his intention beyond every reasonable doubt. He was besides too honest to deny it. Accordingly he was transmitted to Great-Barrington, then the shire-town of Berkshire, and placed in the hands of General

Speedily after the battle of Hoosac, General Gates took the command of the northern army, and within a short time

Fellow, high-sheriff of the county, who immediately confined him in the county gaol. This building was at that time so infirm, that without a guard no prisoner could be kept in it who wished to make his escape. To escape, however, was in no degree consonant with Richard's idea of right, and he thought no more seriously of making an attempt of this nature, than he would have done had he been in his own house. After he had lain quietly in gaol a few days, he told the sheriff, that he was losing his time and earning nothing, and wished that he would permit him to go out and work in the day-time, promising to return regularly at evening to his quarters in the prison. The sheriff had become acquainted with his character, and readily acceded to his proposal. Accordingly, Richard went out regularly during the remaining part of the autumn, and the following winter and spring, until the beginning of May, and every night returned at the proper hour to the gaol. In this manner he performed a day's work every day, with scarcely any exception beside the sabbath, through the whole period.

In the month of May he was to be tried for high treason. The sheriff accordingly made preparations to conduct him to Springfield, where his trial was to be held. But he told the sheriff that it was not worth his while to take this trouble, for he could just as well go alone, and it would save both the expense and inconvenience of the sheriff's journey. The sheriff, after a little reflection, assented to his proposal, and Richard commenced his journey—the only one, it is believed, which was ever undertaken in the same manner for the same object. In the woods of Tyringham he was overtaken by the Honourable T. Edwards, from whom I had this story. "Whitestown are you going?" said Mr. Edwards. "To Springfield, Sir," answered Richard, "to be tried for my life." Accordingly he proceeded directly to Springfield, surrendered himself to the sheriff of Hampshire, was tried, found guilty, and condemned to die.

The council of Massachusetts was, at this time, the supreme executive of the state. Application was made to this board for a pardon. The facts were stated, the evidence by which they were supported, and the sentence grounded on them. The question was then put by the president, "Shall a pardon be granted to Richard Jackson?" The gentleman who first spoke observed, that the case was perfectly clear; the act alleged against Jackson was unquestionably high treason, and the proof was complete. If a pardon should be granted in this case, he saw no reason why it should not be granted in every other. In the same manner answered those who followed him. When it came to the turn of Mr. Edwards, he told this story, with those little circumstances of particularity, which, though they are easily lost from the memory, and have escaped mine, give light and shade a living reality, and a picturesque impressiveness to every tale which is fitted to enforce conviction, or to touch the heart. At the same time he recited it without enhancement, without expatiating, without any attempt to be pathetic. As is always the case, this simplicity gave the narration its full

received a considerable body of regular troops and a great number of militia from New-York and New-England. He found the army encamped on the eastern side of the Hudson, opposite to the township of Halfmoon. With these reinforcements he moved to Stillwater, and encamped on Bemis's Heights, a succession of elevated ground, terminating eastward within one-fourth of a mile from the Hudson. From the 8th of July to the 17th of September, General Burgoyne had been employed in marching from Skenesborough to Saratoga. During the last forty-nine days of this period he moved only nineteen miles, although there was not a single soldier to oppose his progress. This delay was probably the salvation of the United States.

On the 13th and 14th of September he crossed the Hudson at Dumont's Ferry, into Saratoga; and, on the 19th, advanced to attack General Gates. The action was begun by Colonel Morgan, with his corps of riflemen, in an attack upon the British vanguard on their right. Both parties were reinforced until the combatants became very numerous. The conflict was obstinately continued through the day. Both fought with great resolution, and both claimed the victory. Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks informed me, that he did not leave the ground with his own regiment until between eleven and twelve o'clock in the evening, and that several American officers afterwards walked over the field and found no enemy.

In this engagement the American militia as well as regulars, fought with the greatest gallantry. A Connecticut regiment of militia, under the command of Colonel Cook, after being obliged to retreat three times, were rallied without difficulty the fourth time, and drove the enemy from the ground. The British lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 600. The Americans, 319. It was observed by the German officers, that the continuance and heat of the fire exceeded every thing which they had before known.

General Lincoln, who had remained at Manchester to

force. The council began to hesitate. One of the members at length observed, "Certainly such a man as this ought not to be sent to the gallows." To his opinion the members unanimously assented. A pardon was immediately made out and transmitted to Springfield, and Richard returned to his family. Never was a stronger proof exhibited that honesty is wisdom.

assemble recruits, and forward them to the army, dispatched Colonel John Brown, of Pittsfield, in Massachusetts, to surprise the British posts at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. This officer, without any difficulty made himself master of the British outworks, took several gun-boats, an armed sloop, 200 batteaux, near 300 prisoners, arms, ammunition, &c., and retook an American standard and 100 prisoners. Then finding himself unable to retake the forts, he returned with his booty to General Lincoln. This successful effort was made on the 14th of September, soon after Lincoln had joined the main army.

The British commander had all along expected important assistance from Sir Henry Clinton, it having been an original part of the plan of the campaign, that a strong force should be sent by this officer up the Hudson, to meet the northern army at Albany. By this measure it was intended to place the Americans between two fires, and had it been taken in sufficient season, the consequences might have been fatal to the colonies. An expedition was in fact undertaken of this nature. The British commander sailed up the Hudson, October 6th, in a fleet commanded by Commodore Hotham, and took Forts Clinton and Montgomery. He then dispatched General Vaughan and Sir James Wallace through the Highlands to Esopus, a considerable Dutch village in the county of Ulster. General Vaughan plundered the inhabitants and burnt the village. This expedition, however, produced no other effect than to add to the list of private sufferings, and increase the hatred instinctively excited against their authors.

Having waited in vain for intelligence of the co-operation expected, and knowing his provisions to be very short, General Burgoyne resolved, if possible, to force a passage to Albany. Accordingly, on the 7th of October, a detachment of fifteen hundred men, led by himself, seconded by Generals Philips, Reidesel, and Fraser, moved early in the morning to the left of the Americans. Colonel Morgan, at the head of his riflemen, and a body of light infantry, had already occupied the van of the American army. At the approach of the British he attacked their out-parties and drove them in. Arnold, upon the first intelligence of this movement, repaired to General Gates, and after stating it to him, observed, that this body

must be driven back. The American commander believed it to be a feint, intended to cover a real design of attacking him on the right, and was therefore unwilling to weaken his force in that quarter. The ardour and peremptoriness of Arnold however prevailed. General Gates ordered the troops which he had requested, but said, "General Arnold, this is no measure of mine. I will not be answerable for the consequences." "I will," said Arnold, and galloped his horse to the scene of action.

The British had occupied an elevated ridge, in the possession of which they would have been able to force the Americans from the ground which they had occupied on the left. Scarcely had they advanced within less than half a mile of the American detachment, when they were furiously attacked, but they sustained the shock with great resolution. General Gates having become satisfied of the real design of the British commander, sent Arnold ample reinforcements. Both armies were soon extensively engaged. After a violent contest Arnold forced the British to give way, and following them with vigour, obliged General Burgoyne to leave his field pieces, and a great part of the corps which managed them, and retreat to his camp. The Americans pressing closely upon them attacked their works, and Arnold actually entered them with a few of his men. Seeing a body of troops dressed like Americans, inactive, he demanded with a stern voice, whether they were of such a corps. A thundering German voice answered "Naw," and a fire was poured in upon him, and wounded him in the leg.

In the mean time Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, at the head of the 8th Massachusetts regiment, on the left of Arnold's division, turned the right of the British, and carried that part of the works which was defended by the German reserve by storm. The commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Brechman, fell. Brooks kept the ground.

The battle was terminated by the night. The Americans by upon their arms, and the British commander, unwilling to risk another action in the same circumstances, drew his army into the camp, which he had formed on the heights near the river. This movement saved his troops from destruction.

The victory gained by the Americans was complete, and

their loss inconsiderable. That of the British was great. Among the numerous slain was General Fraser, an officer of distinguished reputation and merit. Among the prisoners were Majors Williams and Ackland, and Sir James Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne, mortally wounded.

General Gates, to cut off the retreat of his enemy on the west side of the river, had detached a strong body up the river in the rear of the British, and another to the heights opposite Saratoga, and a third still farther up the river, to prevent him from crossing. When General Burgoyne was informed of these measures, he determined immediately to retire. On the march the British destroyed the unfortunate settlements which lay in their course, apparently without a motive. The army reached the field which we surveyed with so much exultation, lying immediately north of Saratoga creek, and bordering the Hudson. It is a large and beautiful interval, and is rendered not a little more beautiful to the eye by the remembrance, that it was the scene of the most interesting transaction during the American war. On this ground the northern army laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The cloud which had long hung with so lowering an aspect over this part of the horizon dissolved, and the evening became serene and delightful.

The British army, when it surrendered, amounted to 5,752; the sick and wounded left in the camp, to 528; the killed, wounded, taken, and missing, before the 16th of October, to 2,933; in all, 9,213. The American army at its utmost consisted of 9,093 regulars. The militia varied much in their number at different periods. At the time of the convention they amounted to 4,129. The whole number, therefore, was 13,222, of which, however, more than 2,500 were sick. Future travellers will resort to this spot with the same emotions which we experienced, and recal with enthusiasm the glorious events of which it is the perpetual memorial. It is impossible that they should not kindle with patriotism. It is to be hoped, also, that many of them will glow with piety. Even a generous-minded Englishman must, I think, unite his views and feelings with my own countrymen. How immensely more important to succeeding generations were these transactions than those of the plain of Marathon. That im-

mediately affected the states of Greece only; few in the number of their inhabitants, and comprising but a speck of territory. Here was decided the destiny of a nation, inhabiting a million of square miles, independently of Louisiana, and already amounting to more than seven millions of people. Beside the vastness of these objects, every man of candour will admit, that the religion, the laws, the government, and the manners of these people, are as superior to those of the Greeks, as their numbers and the extent of their territory. Who could be willing that such a body of people, so circumstanced, should be conquered, and, what is the regular consequence, enslaved? Who, especially, could be willing that such an event should take place immediately before an era, at which the lights of human liberty and happiness have so suddenly, and in such numbers, been extinguished?

The majority of the British nation earnestly wished, that the Americans might not be conquered, while they wished also, that their country might not be separated from the national domain. The ablest men in the councils of the kingdom resisted the war, and the measures which led to it, with unanswerable arguments, and with irresistible eloquence. The great Chatham solemnly warned the parliament of the danger which was involved in reducing three millions of their fellow subjects under the dominion of the crown, and placing them at its absolute disposal. The consequences of such an event cannot be divined, but it demands no great degree of forecast to perceive that they might have been dreadful.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Saratoga. Fort Miller. Fort Edward. Cambridge. Argyle. The Baton Kill. Easton. Greenwich. Scotch Settlers. Journey to Williamstown. Petersburg. Pownal. Excursion to the Summit of Saddle Mountain. Natural Bridge.

DEAR SIR ;

THE township of Saratoga has been divided into two, Saratoga and Northumberland, perhaps into more. In 1790, the inhabitants, contained within its limits, were 3,071 ; in 1800, the present Saratoga contained 2,481 ; Northumberland 2,007 ; in 1810, the numbers in Saratoga were 3,183 ; and, in Northumberland, 2,041. Both townships are of considerable extent.

The journey from Saratoga to Sandy-Hill is very pleasant, except that the road is indifferent in many places ; a part of it being heavily encumbered with mud, and another part with sand.

The face of the country is very similar to that which was last described.

Several of the intervals, which we passed on this part of our journey, exhibit strong proofs of the manner in which they were formed. A bare inspection of them evinced beyond debate, that they were at first islands, which rose above the surface at some distance from the bank and were gradually extended towards it. The part which finally united each to the bank was last formed, and continued to be a channel to the stream longer than any other spot on the interval. Accordingly, this part of these grounds was almost without an exception lower than the rest.

Before the year 1783 there were few settlements in the region. The expedition of General Burgoyne obliged

inhabitants to fly, destroyed their buildings and fences, and plundered them of their cattle and their property. Since that event the number of planters has greatly increased; and they have considerably advanced in prosperity and wealth. Northumberland is, however, still in an infant state, many of the houses being built of logs; the fields imperfectly cleared; the girdled trees remaining; and the enclosures formed of logs and rubbish. These proofs of a recent settlement will soon vanish, and be followed by a superior cultivation.

Three miles above Carpenter's stood Fort Miller; a small, picketed work, built in 1756 or 1757, to check the incursions of the savages. Its remains have almost entirely disappeared; and the spot where it stood is now a corn field. At this place there is a sprightly fall in the Hudson, down which General Putnam is said to have descended in a small boat. Opposite to this spot General Burgoyne spent near two months in his long journey from Skenesborough to Saratoga.

We crossed the Hudson at Dumont's ferry, and through a road in the township of Argyle, extremely miry, made our way to Fort Edward, where we stopped some time to examine this work. It was planned by Captain Ayres, an engineer in the British service; and completed by General Schuyler in the year 1755, principally with a design to check savage incursions, to be a depot of military stores, and to protect the persons employed in transporting them. We found the work almost entire. It is built of earth, in the form of an irregular square, with three small bastions on the north-west, north-east, and south-east angles; and a counterfeit on the south-west. On two sides it was fronted by a ditch; under the third runs the Hudson; the fourth is the bank of a deep-water rivulet. From a sudden attack, therefore, it was well secured; but, being in the neighbourhood of several higher grounds, could not have been defended against artillery half an hour. Its original name was Fort Lyman; derived from Major General Lyman, who was mentioned in a former part of these Letters, and who at that time commanded the New-England forces encamped here.

Fort Edward is distant from Albany forty-seven miles, and from New-York two hundred and three. A small, scattered, less looking village is built in the neighbourhood.

From Fort Edward to Sandy-Hill (three miles), the road, after ascending a long acclivity, passes over the plain, on which that village is built. The evening I spent with Judge H——, a member of the senate of this state. This gentleman gave me much useful information concerning the surrounding country and its inhabitants.

Saturday, October 12, Messrs. C—— and H—— left us, and proceeded to Lake George. Mr. D—— and myself, intending to return to Carpenter's in the evening, stopped at Glen's falls; three miles on the road. It rained all night, and until ten in the morning. We were therefore late, and after spending an hour and a half at the falls returned to Sandy-Hill. The river was high, and all those fine varieties of water, which were so visible in the preceding autumn, were lost in one general accumulation of force and grandeur. The river rolled or fell everywhere in a violent and majestic torrent. A copious mist filled its bed, and descended on us in a shower.

We took a late dinner, and, crossing at Roger's ferry, a little below Sandy-Hill, pursued our journey on the western side of the Hudson. Here we found the road much better, and the scenery much pleasanter.

On Sunday morning, October 13, having been informed, that there would be no public worship in Saratoga, none, I mean, in which we wished to participate, and that there was a respectable Scotch clergyman at Cambridge, we left this place, and, crossing Dumont's ferry again, rode through the township of Argyle and a small part of Greenwich to the place of our destination, where we arrived just after the congregation had begun their morning worship. On our way, a decent Scotsman came up to us on horseback, and very civilly inquired why we travelled on the sabbath; observing to us at the same time, that such travelling was forbidden by the law of the state, and that the people of that vicinity had determined to carry the law into execution. We easily satisfied him, and were not a little pleased to find, that there were people in this vicinity, who regarded the law of the land, and the law of God with so much respect. When we entered the church, our companion obligingly conducted us to a good seat. We found in the desk a respectable clergyman from

Scotland, who gave us two edifying sermons, delivered, however, in the peculiar manner of the Seceders.

The country, from Dumont's ferry through the township of Argyle, is, for six or eight miles, a plain of pitch-pines. The soil is alternately clay and sand, everywhere replenished with slate, of a very fragile and dissolute texture. The surface then rises gradually into easy swells, and then into hills. The soil of these is loam mixed with gravel, generally of a moderately good quality. The forests contain oak, chesnut, and hickory; and abound in maple and beach. The rocks are principally granite.

On this road there is a small village in the township of Argyle; and another, in that of Greenwich. The latter is built around a collection of mills on the Baton Kill. This large mill-stream rises in the township of Dorset in Vermont; and, running south-westward through Manchester, turns to the west in the north part of Sunderland. Thence passing through Arlington, it crosses the county of Washington between Cambridge and Salem, Easton and Greenwich, and discharges its waters into the Hudson at the south-west corner of Greenwich. Its course is about forty miles. Here it is called Batten Kill. In this village there is a decent Baptist church; and about thirty houses of an indifferent appearance.

The township of Argyle contained, in 1790, when it included Greenwich and Easton, 2,341 inhabitants; in 1800, after Easton was separated from it, 4,595. In 1810, after Greenwich was separated from it, 3,813. In 1800, Easton contained 3,069; and, in 1810, 3,253. In 1810, Greenwich contained 2,752. The original township contained, in 1800, 7,764; and, in 1810, 9,818.

In 1790, the county of Washington contained nine townships, and 14,042 inhabitants; in 1800, sixteen townships, and 35,574 inhabitants; in 1810, twenty-one townships, and 44,289 inhabitants.

These facts will give you a tolerably just view of the progress of settlement and population in those parts of this state, which until very lately were a mere wilderness.

The township of Cambridge is both fertile and pleasant. On its western side runs the range of Taghkannuc, in a succession of hills, some of them approaching towards a mountainous

height. All the varieties of "hill, dale, and sunny plain," and beautiful interval, are here presented to the eye of a traveller. A considerable part of its extent is in various directions almost a continual village. The inhabitants, some of whom planted themselves here before the revolutionary war, are chiefly emigrants from New-England and Scotland. Those who came from Scotland particularly engaged my attention. They left their native country in the humblest circumstances; and, after encountering all the hardship and expense incident to a long and tedious voyage, had, at their arrival, no other objects of their reliance beside the goodness of the soil and climate, their own hands, and the common blessings of Heaven. Notwithstanding the difficulties, which I have described as attending the formation of a settlement in an American forest, they have already advanced to the full possession of comforts, and in some instances of conveniences. Their houses are warm and tidy, and their farms in a promising condition. In the church they were decently dressed, and apparently devout: out of it they were cheerful, obliging, and kind. To bring themselves into this condition, they have undoubtedly suffered many troubles; yet they have certainly acted with wisdom in transporting themselves into a country where all the necessaries and comforts of life are so abundant, and so easily obtained. The prospects of the poor brighten at once, their views expand, their energy awakes, and their efforts are invigorated, when they see competence rewarding of course every man possessing health, common sense, and integrity, labouring with diligence, and preserving with care the fruits of his industry. At the same time a mighty difference between the possession of a fee simple estate, and a dependant tenancy, even where the terms are mild, is perfectly understood and deeply felt by every man who has been a tenant. Of all the feelings derived from civilized society, that of personal independence is undoubtedly the most delightful.

We saw three churches in Cambridge; two of them belonging to the Scotch settlers, and all of them decent buildings. In 1790, this township contained 4,996 inhabitants; in 1800, 6,187; and, in 1810, 6,730.

From Cambridge to Hoosac Falls the country is rather pleasant, particularly the first six or eight miles. The rest of

the way it was too dark to allow us an opportunity of examining it. I have since passed through it three times ; in 1802, 1806, and 1810, and found it not a little improved.

In our way we crossed the Wallomscock, on which Colonels Baum and Brechman were defeated. Here we lost our way, and did not reach the place of our destination without considerable toil and perplexity.

Monday, October 14th, we left Hoosac, and rode to Williamstown in Massachusetts : sixteen miles. Our journey was in the valley of Hoosac river, and was uncommonly romantic and delightful.

A pretty village is begun at Hoosac Falls, and in ten or twelve years has increased from a single house to forty or fifty. The inhabitants are principally from New-England, and appear to be sober, industrious, and prosperous.

On the west of the river, at no great distance, rose the Taghkannuc range, in eminences of considerable height, and, as we advanced southward, became a succession of mountains. On the eastern side ran a range of hills, at times mountainous also ; a spur from the range of the Green mountains, which commences its departure in Pownal or Williamstown. At the bottom of this valley ran the Hoosac river, one of the handsomest streams in the world, over a fine bed of pebbles and gravel. Its waters are remarkably limpid, like those of the Saco ; and throughout the whole distance are a fine sprightly current. Its borders are an almost uninterrupted succession of intervals, nearly as wide as those of the Mohawk, extremely rich, and ornamented with the most lively verdure. Through these the Hoosac winds its course, alternated with luxuriant meadows and pastures, green to the water's edge, fringed with willows, or crowned with lofty trees. The hills on either side varied their distance from one half of a mile to two miles, and were, successively, beautiful and majestic.

Six or seven miles from Hoosac we came to an opening between the mountains, formed by a recession of two great divisions of the western range from each other. Here both directed their course to the south-west, and presented a magnificent vista, appearing as if designed to conduct the feet of man into other and distant regions. At the same place, and of the same appearance, a second vista lengthened before us

to the south-east, formed likewise by two fine ranges. A third, of which these appeared to be branches, separated at the parting by a point of the range on the south-west, lay immediately behind us. Through the two last the Hoosac finds its course; and through the first the inhabitants of the eastern country their passage to Troy and Albany. This spot is in Petersburg, a township of which we saw nothing, except the beautiful region which is here described.

Hoosac, in 1790, contained 3,071 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,141; and, in 1810, 3,117.

Petersburgh was incorporated in 1793. Till that time, I presume, it was a part of Hoosac; and contained, in 1800, 4,412; and, in 1810, 2,039: having been subdivided.

We forded the Hoosac about five miles from Noble's. The water was not more than knee-deep, although two days before it was impassable. Its course is between high mountains, and its current rapid. Hence it rises and falls greatly, within very short periods.

From Petersburg the road enters Pownal in Vermont. About six or seven miles before we reached Williamstown, the scenery was varied at once. The mountains extended their precipitous declivities, so as to form the banks of the river. Between them stood a mill. Over its dam a sheet of water, of great regularity and beauty, spread across the river. Up these precipices, from the water's edge to their summits, rose a most elegant succession of forest trees, chiefly maple, beech, and evergreens. The deciduous foliage had already been changed by the frost to just such a degree as to present every tincture, from the deepest verdure of the spring through all its successive shades to the willow green; and thence through a straw colour, orange, and crimson, to a reddish brown. Aside from the change of hue, the leaves exhibited their perfect forms and full vigour. The colours were among the richest, and were mingled in a manner defying description, and mocking the imitation of the pencil. The dark verdure of the evergreens, interspersed everywhere, set off the splendor of the whole.

Soon after we had passed this spot, three eminences of white limestone rose on the left, almost from the river's bank. Their fronts towards the north-west are bold bluffs, and

served to change the smiling scenery through which we passed into rudeness and grandeur. The clouds at this time flew low, and frequently capped the mountains on the west. At other times they moved along their sides, poured through several chasms between the neighbouring summits, with a progress resembling the motions of a mountainous billow. The wind tossed them unceasingly into wildly varied forms, and presented us with a continual succession of sublimities.

The same scenery is continued to Williamstown, and is unceasingly alternated with beauty and majesty.

In Pownal there is here a pretty village on the intervals east of the river, and a collection of good farms along the declivities on the west. Several mills and forges give this little cluster of houses the appearance of activity and business.

About three miles before we reached Williamstown, we saw in a hill, ascending from the road, several large rocks of breccia or pudding-stone, hanging in the side of a precipice. They were formed of an endless multitude of rounded stones, from the size of pebbles to the diameter of twelve or fifteen inches, embosomed in a mass of coarse sand, cemented to the hardness of a rock. Some parts of this mass I found, however, comparatively soft and friable, as if lately coagulated, or preparing for dissolution. This is the only specimen of pudding-stone, which I have seen, of which coarse sand is the matrix. So far as I was able to examine, the hill was wholly formed of the same materials. What I thought remarkable was, that the forest, growing upon it, was oak and hickory, while all the neighbouring eminences were shrouded by a thick growth of evergreens.

About a mile before we reached Williamstown, we turned into a field on the eastern side of the road, to visit a medicinal spring in the neighbourhood. This water rises in a basin, more than twenty feet in diameter, and perhaps three deep. It is pure and sweet, but impregnated with carbonic acid gas, detached, I presume, from the lime stone, which abounds in this region, and seen continually to rise with the water in many parts of the basin. The temperature was sensibly higher than that of the atmosphere, which was about 60° of Fahrenheit, but much lower than that of the human body.

About twelve o'clock we arrived at Williamstown.

The next morning, Tuesday, October 15, we set out in company with President Fitch, to visit the north-eastern summit of Saddle Mountain, the highest elevation in Massachusetts. This mountain rises in the townships of Adams and New-Ashford. The ascent commences from Hoosac river; but for a mile and a half is a very gradual, easy acclivity.

In our way we called on Mr. Jones, a respectable magistrate, who lives in the skirt of Adams, immediately opposite to the end of the mountain, on the site of Fort Massachusetts. This fortress was, for many years, the only defensive work in this quarter against the Indians. On the 20th of August, 1746, it was attacked by an army of nine hundred French and Indians, under the command of the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Colonel Hawks of Deerfield, the commander of the fort, had with him only thirty-three persons, men, women, and children. With this little garrison, very ill supplied with ammunition, he defended himself for twenty-eight hours, until his ammunition failed. He then capitulated upon terms offered by himself, one of them was, that none of the prisoners should be given up to the Indians. In direct violation of this article, the French general divided the prisoners the following day, and delivered the Indians half. One of them they butchered, the rest they treated kindly. Colonel Hawks lost one man, and the French forty-five. This was the only instance in which this work was assaulted in form.

Mr. Jones readily offered to accompany us in our excursion.

When I proposed this ride to the gentlemen at Williamstown, I was astonished to learn, that the only person here who had been known to ascend this mountain, was Mr. N——, one of the judges of the court of common pleas for the county of Berkshire, and that even he had ascended it to accompany a stranger, the Rev. Mr. Searle, of Stoneham, whose curiosity had led him to undertake this enterprise. Judge N—— informed us, that we must climb nearly the whole acclivity, as he had done. We had set out, therefore, with the fullest expectation of finding the effort extremely difficult and fatiguing.

Mr. Jones removed our fears by informing us, that the ascent might be accomplished with little inconvenience. After having

crossed the river, we rode a mile and a half to the house of a farmer, living at the foot of a mountain in a handsome valley. This active and industrious man, whose name is Wilbur, has here cleared in the midst of a forest, and reduced to a good state of cultivation, a farm, from which, beside other produce, he cuts annually one hundred tons of hay. The same spirit he has discovered in a variety of undertakings; particularly, he has cut a winding cart road from his house to the summit of this high eminence, rendering the ascent as easy and convenient as can be imagined.

Mr. Wilbur willingly accompanied us. Our ascent was a spiral circuit of three miles, and employed us diligently two hours. On our way we passed Mr. Wilbur's orchard, as it is here familiarly called, a handsome cluster of maples, from which in a single year he has made one thousand eight hundred pounds of sugar. Were every man, who enjoys equal advantages, possessed of the same enterprise, the quantity of sugar imported into this country would be materially lessened.

We alighted from our horses within twenty feet of the summit, and found our path better than a great part of the town and county roads throughout the hill countries of New-England. Two-thirds of it were formed as a passage to some valuable land, and the remaining third was finished to enable the proprietor conveniently to carry salt to his cattle, often disposed to wander to the summit. The rocks of this mountain are shining schist, of a beautiful light blue, and laminated with smooth, brilliant surfaces. The forests are maple, beech, cherry, and birch. There are also several large spots and streaks of evergreens, chiefly hemlock and spruce.

In passing through this collection of evergreens I observed, in every instance, an entire change in the appearance of the soil, and was struck with an immediate and very sensible alteration in the temperature, both when we entered and when we left them. In the former of these cases a sudden chill was felt by every one of the company, in the latter the return of an agreeable warmth. The cause of the chill I attribute solely to the evergreens. It was not in the height to which we had ascended, for the phenomena of both kinds were repeated at every elevation, where we found the evergreens. It was not the moisture of the ground, for we found the maple and beech

forests growing in full strength in places more, equally, and less moist, and, in all, accompanied by the same warmth of the atmosphere. The thick shade of the evergreens, particularly of the hemlocks, undoubtedly had its influence; but certainly was not the principal cause; for the shade of the maples was in several instances equally deep. Besides, the entire effect was felt at the moments of our ingress and egress. Whereas, if the shade had been the only cause, the warmth would have been conveyed a small distance, at least, into the clusters of evergreens by the wind, then blowing with considerable strength. The peculiar evaporation of these trees is, I believe, the principal source of this phenomenon. The vapour emitted must rise perpendicularly, and cannot spread, and therefore cannot be perceived in a lateral direction.

The soil of this mountain is here rich, quite to the summit, and at small distances below it is replenished with springs. A few feet from the highest point there is a pond, about four rods in length and two in breadth. The depth of the basin is about two feet. In very dry seasons it is empty; but had now about a foot of perfectly pure water.

That water should be found here is certainly no mystery although usually alleged as such. Clouds hang upon the summit a considerable part of every week, and while they shed their moisture on it, intercept the beams of the sun, and thus in a great measure prevent evaporation. The heat is always moderate. The cold continues late, and begins early. The surface is covered with leaves, moss, and other spongy materials, fitted to retain moisture. Rains and snows fall much oftener, and much more copiously, than on the subject country. With these causes in view, it cannot be wondered at, that water should always be found here sufficient to supply this reservoir.

When we had reached the highest point of the mountain we were struck with a novel appearance of the forest trees. In their figure they always resembled a dwarf, stunted in height, and laterally overgrown. The stems, boughs, and branches, were universally thick, short, and clumsy. As every tree on the higher part of this summit was of this peculiar figure, it must undoubtedly have been owing to the great elevation. It cannot be owing to the soil, which here, as well

the ground, was very rich. On ground, exactly resembling appearance, about one hundred feet below the point, Mr. sawed, the preceding year, the seed of the grass called . . . The growth, which sprang from this seed, was now h as a man's waist.

As the trees were on this summit, they were sufficiently and tall to prevent us from gaining the prospect which we expected. There was no remedy for this disappointment but to climb to their tops. Their peculiar figure, however, made this an easy task. The view was immense, and amazing grandeur. On the north-west rose the mountains of Lake Champlain, extending in a vast range, terminated by the capacity of the eye. The Green Mountains, almost directly beneath us on the east, stretched northward and southward through an astonishing extent. Beyond them on the north-east ascended the high conical point of Monadnock, at a distance of fifty miles. In the south-east, at the same distance, rose the peak of Mount Tom. Taghkannuc lifted its summit in the south, at the distance of forty miles. A little to the west of the other point of Saddle Mountain, the summits of the Kaatskill Mountains magnificently overtopped every part of the globe within our horizon. You will easily see, that we felt a total superiority to all the humble beings who were creeping on the footstool beneath us. The town of Williamstown shrunk to the size of a farm; and its houses, church, and colleges, appeared like the habitations of mice and wrens.

At this delightful spot we spent about two hours, and about an hour more in accomplishing our descent. Near the base we saw our companions, who had just arrived from Bennington, were preparing to ascend the mountain. Upon being informed that it would be impossible for them to compass their ascent at this late hour, they postponed it till the next day. At this mountain, and that immediately north of it, called Westtown Mountain, exhibit an interesting specimen of the progress of vegetation in the spring. At the bottom and throughout a certain extent of the acclivity, comprising some one-third, and sometimes a fourth, of the whole ascent, the trees shoot out their leaves about the same time with those in the valley beneath. Above this extent all the trees

retain their bare, wintry aspect. Within a week, another division of the mountain immediately above this becomes green also, while the superior parts still retain their barren, leafless appearance. Through these parts the vegetation ascends in the same successive manner, until the whole surface is covered with verdure. Ordinarily, three weeks, and sometimes four, are required to complete this curious progress.

From Saddle Mountain we proceeded to a curiosity, within the township of Adams, called the Natural Bridge, and situated between two and three miles north-eastward from Hoosac river, on the marginal base of the Green Mountains. Here, a stream sufficiently large, eight months in the year, to turn an overshot mill, has throughout the distance of one hundred rods worn a channel in different places from ten to fifty feet deep, in an extensive stratum of white lime-stone. At the surface this channel varies in breadth from two to ten feet, and at the bottom from six to twenty; being often much wider below than above. This remarkable chasm is, by the united power of the stream and the atmosphere, scooped out in an endless variety of both regular and irregular forms. In the horizontal, and sometimes the perpendicular direction, they are arched; are rarely cylindrical, and frequently on each side resemble a half pear. The prospect in this chasm from the brink, its great depth, the ragged wildness of the precipices on both sides, the dusky gloom with which it is everywhere shrouded, and the hollow murmur of the stream at the bottom all enhanced by the novelty of the scene, produce in the spectator an irresistible shuddering, like that which is felt in looking down the steep brow of a lofty mountain.

The natural bridge, which lies over this stream, is formed of a huge mass of lime-stone; and is, perhaps, thirty feet in length and fifteen in breadth. It seems to have been formed, or rather detected, in this manner. When the stream had washed away the earth down to the under surface of the rock, it found the cavity filled with other earth, stones, and small rocks which in the progress of time it forced away, and thus merely left the cavity in its original form. This form it has undoubtedly changed since that time, in the same manner and by the same means, with which it has scooped out the channel above and below.

About twenty feet directly beneath this bridge is another, of nearly the same dimensions, disclosed and fashioned in the same manner. The stream runs from twenty to thirty feet below this. As the second bridge was first discovered by one of our party after sunset, the chasm had become too dark to be examined with success. It was, therefore, impossible for me to obtain an accurate view of it, or of the subjacent objects.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IX.

*Journey to Pittsfield. Bursting of a Cloud. Observa-
on Forest Trees. Difference in the Quantity of
falling in Places near to each other. Curious Orig-
a Thunder Storm, and of a Tornado. Account of the
Rocks. White Frosts. Return.*

DEAR SIR;

WEDNESDAY, October 16th, Mr. D. and I
left our friends at Williamstown, and rode to Pittsfield.
several miles our journey lay in a different road from
which I had taken the preceding year. In this part of
route we were presented with two interesting objects.
of them was a semi-amphitheatre, formed to the eye, by
vast pile of mountains, only less magnificent than that
I formerly described*.

The other object was a spot on Saddle Mountain, where
use the language of the neighbouring inhabitants, a cloud
upon its western side, very near the southern summit.

This certainly was a very extraordinary phenomenon.
following account of it, an imperfect one however, is the
which I have been able to obtain. In the autumn of 178
the latter part of the night, a deluge of water descended
this mountain. A family, which lived in a house at some
tance from the foot of the mountain, not far from a brook,
were suddenly awaked out of their sleep by the united roar
of the wind and the torrent. In their fright they hastily
dressed themselves, and escaped from the house, the ground
floor of which was by this time six inches under water,
fled to that of a neighbouring inhabitant. When they return-

* See description of the Notch of the White Mountains.

in the morning, they found their own dwelling so completely swept away, that no part of it was left. The brook, through the channel of which this flood discharged itself, had never before, not even in the highest freshets, approached the house by a considerable distance.

Mr. C——, in his excursion to this mountain, on the day when we left Williamstown, followed the path of this torrent, from its commencement, through the principal part of the tract which it ravaged. He informed me, that the channel worn by these waters, began instantaneously, a little below the summit, and was there and in various other places, as he judged, twenty feet deep; and, where widest, at least twenty feet in breadth. A tract of about ten acres was entirely desolated of its trees, which the flood and the storm had thrown down, and which were lying on the lowest part of the tract in heaps of confusion. The face of this ground was now either bare, or covered with small shrubs, apparently sprung up since the period of this devastation. Every appearance, which met his eye, corresponded with the opinion and language of the people in the vicinity.

In the month of October, 1812, I received the following account of the same extraordinary event from the Rev. Bancroft Fowler, of Windsor, in Vermont. This gentleman explored the spot, soon after we ascended Saddle Mountain. I shall give it chiefly in Mr. Fowler's words.

The descent of water, which was a theme of our conversation, commenced on the western side of the highest summit of Saddle Mountain, at a point about two-thirds or three-fourths of its perpendicular height from the bottom. For two or three rods above the spot, where the ground first began to be broken, the trees and shrubs appear to have been swept away by the violence of this deluge. The broken ground is at first not more than six feet wide; but rapidly becomes wider as we descend, so that within one hundred and fifty feet it is about three rods in breadth, and in the widest place five or six. Towards the lower limit, its breadth gradually diminishes, until it terminates in a gutter, which in some places is five or six feet deep. This continues several rods, and then branches into other channels, which, though smaller and covered with leaves and moss, are discernible quite down to the brook

at the foot of the mountain. The whole length of the broken ground is about one hundred and thirty rods. In some part of this space the surface appears to have been washed away to the depth of from one and a half to two feet; but generally not more than from twelve to fifteen inches. The side of the mountain which is thus washed is stony, and in some places rocky; but far from being a smooth, continued rock, as has been sometimes reported.

But, although the broken ground is not more than five or six rods in breadth, yet the trees and shrubs are entirely swept away, to the distance of four or five rods further, on each side. Towards the bottom of this ground there are standing a considerable number of stumps and trees, from eight to fifteen inches in diameter, and from ten to twenty feet in height; the tops of which were broken off at the time of this deluge. Against these are lodged other trees, of various sizes, either broken off or torn up by the roots, and carried down by the violence of the torrent.

According to the best information, which could be obtained from the neighbouring inhabitants, this deluge, which they ascribe to the bursting of a cloud, took place in October, 1784. The first knowledge which they had of it was, that a Mr. Wright (if I remember the name), who lived in a small house on the bank of the stream, which flows from the foot of the mountain, was suddenly awaked, about the dawn of day, by the noise of the torrent, and perceived that his house was surrounded by water, which immediately rose so high, as to run in at the doors and windows. The family left the house as soon as possible; but not without much difficulty. The house itself was speedily overset by the current, and almost every article of the furniture which it contained washed away. The stream overflowed its banks, which are from four to six feet above its surface, about two miles. At this distance they are about ten and twelve feet in height, and the stream three or four rods wide; yet even here it is said to have risen to their edge. At this distance, also, a mill pond was almost entirely filled with the earth, which was washed from the mountain.

The point, where the deluge began its ravages, Mr. Fowler supposes to have been about 2,000 feet above the level of Williamstown. This number, however, and the others are

tained in this account, are not to be esteemed exact; but only such as he judged to be nearest the truth.

Few events in the natural world are more extraordinary than that which I have described. A similar phenomenon is mentioned in a subsequent part of these Letters, as having taken place on the Grand Monadnoc. I saw also the relics of another upon a mountain which rises at a small distance south of Manchester. The Honourable Timothy Edwards, who first mentioned to me the ravages, which I have just now recited, told me, also, that Dr. Rittenhouse gave him an account of a similar deluge which had taken place in the interior of Pennsylvania, and which, at the request of the American Philosophical Society, he had personally examined. Mr. Edwards afterwards, in a journey to the northern parts of Vermont, found evident traces of seven other instances of the like kind; six of them, if I mistake not, upon different parts of the Green Mountain range; the seventh, that in the neighbourhood of Manchester. Unfortunately, none of those, which have been known in New-England, have, so far as I am informed, been seen in their progress. Their effects are, therefore, the only sources of our knowledge concerning them, and these go but a little way towards enabling us to conjecture the cause. As they have happened wholly or chiefly in the night, and in solitary regions, we are unfortunately destitute of the advantages for explaining this phenomenon, which might have been derived from general and intelligent inspection.

So far as I have been able to learn, the inhabitants living in the vicinity of these deluges in New-England have adopted the same language with that of the people in Williamstown. To say that a cloud broke, or burst, is sufficiently unphilosophical; but is sufficiently expressive of the principal fact, viz. that a deluge of rain descended here in a moment. By what means such a mass of water was accumulated and suspended over this place, I am unable to divine. Chemistry has not yet shown, that oxygen and hydrogen can be sufficiently accumulated, and by combustion be converted into water in such quantities as to form such a deluge in a moment. Nor has any scheme of evaporation taught us how such a mass of water can be collected over a small point, and retained by the atmosphere, so as to burst upon the earth in a deluge of this magni-

tude. Even the torrid zone has not, I believe, been the scene of such instantaneous and violent devastations by rain.

The specimen of this nature, which took place at Manchester, is about thirty-four miles from Saddle Mountain, and nearly on the same meridian. The point where the desolation commences is within a very small distance from the apex. There is no space above where the waters could possibly accumulate. The side of the mountain is almost perpendicular. Yet the waters, at the place where the ravage begins, must have existed in great quantities; for the earth was instantaneously worn to a considerable depth, and over a considerable surface, although less than that on Saddle Mountain. The waters must, therefore, have descended upon this spot in torrents, however inexplicable may be the process of their accumulation or suspension.

The northernmost of the instances, observed by Mr. Edwards, is on the mountain of Mansfield. In the year 1806, I was informed that there had been a second on Saddle Mountain, upon the eastern side of the southern summit. With its history I am unacquainted.

In Nichols's History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, in England; as quoted by the British Critic, vol. xvi, p. 349, there is an account of a very uncommon flood, which on May 12th, 1606, came rushing down the forest hills near Beaumanoir, and deluged the farm yards, and all the meadows, in an extraordinary manner. This, the reviewer observes, was probably produced by the discharge of a cloud, or what is called a water spout; of which, he says, a similar instance occurred within these few years at Broomsgrove in Worcestershire; when a deluge came pouring from the hills, which overflowed the town, and the adjacent vale, to a height truly astonishing.

A water spout, if I mistake not, is always formed on the surface of a piece of water in this manner. A whirlwind, passing over such a surface, produces by its gyrations a vacuum in its centre. Up this vacuum the water ascends by the pressure of the atmosphere. From this mass a great quantity of vapours are detached by the violence of the current, and carried up to the highest region of air occupied by the whirlwind. Here it is sustained by the same violence in unusual quanti-

ties; and whenever it ceases to be sustained in this manner, descends again in a deluge upon the subjacent surface. But there is not, within a great distance from any one of these scenes of pluvial devastation in New-England, any water in sufficient quantity to admit of the existence of a water spout. This, therefore, cannot, I think, at all contribute to explain the phenomenon.

Of all the instances, in which a deluge of this nature has taken place within the present knowledge of mankind, it is observable, that they have existed in the interior; not one of them having been observed near the coast; and that they have all been discharged on elevated ground. In New-England they have descended upon mountains, most of them lofty.

We dined at Lanesborough, and lodged in Pittsfield. Here I was furnished with one of the numerous proofs, which have occurred during the progress of my life, that the north-west winds of this country often descend at once from the superior regions of the atmosphere. The wind, which through the day had blown from the south-west, and was warm, shifted instantly to the north-west about nine o'clock in the evening, and in a moment became severely cold. A violent rain fell; accompanied by lightning and thunder. Snow fell on Saddle Mountain, on the Green Mountains, and on Taghkanne; and the next morning we saw icicles, about ten inches in length, suspended from the eaves of the houses in Lenox. It was impossible, that this intense frost should have resulted from the mere floating of the atmosphere on the surface of the earth. The whole season hitherto had been warm, and the temperature, for several hundred miles in the direction of the wind, was the same as at Pittsfield. The cold was instantaneous, and the descent of the snow, and the freezing of the icicles, was completed within three quarters of an hour. During this period the wind could not have moved on the surface farther than from Albany, or at the utmost from Schenectady*.

In the progress of this journey I was forcibly struck with the wisdom of Divine Providence, displayed in the growth and decay of forests. The leaves of the vast collection of

* See this fact more largely considered, vol. 1, p. 29.

trees, denoted by this name, constitute an immense mass of vegetable matter. Were they to be heaped together, and vegetable substances often are by the hand of man, they would, I presume, go through the usual process of fermentation and putrefaction. In this case they must become throughout the surrounding country, not only offensive and intolerable, but productive of the various fatal diseases which owe their origin to decaying vegetables. It would be impossible, therefore, for man to fix his habitation in their neighbourhood, either with comfort or safety. Nay, a country universally forested, as North America was antecedently to the colonization of it by Europeans, would be absolutely uninhabitable to the end of time. For every planter, who made the attempt, would have perished, while he was endeavouring to clear sufficient ground to furnish himself and his family with sustenance.

The leaves of forest trees, it is well known, are universally deciduous; those of evergreens falling as usually and regularly as others. In this climate the leaves of all trees, except evergreens, are almost invariably bitten by frost before they fall. In consequence of this fact, the juices of the leaf are exhaled through the small ruptures, occasioned by freezing. The frame of the leaf, if I may give it this appellation is in this manner stiffened, while it hangs on the tree; and does not descend till it has become perceptibly ligneous, and is incapable of fermentation as the wood itself. When it reaches the ground, it lies of course lightly and loosely on the surface as do all the others which follow it; constituting, together, a mass so little compacted as to permit a free circulation of the air throughout every part of the accumulation. Hence the mass, whenever it is wet with rain, becomes soon dried; and the decay is suffered to go on, only with such a moderate degree of rapidity as to preserve the whole perfectly sweet and fragrant. By this curious process forested grounds are kept always healthy, and are not less friendly to the human constitution than those, which are under the most perfect culture. Of course, the planter sits down in them with an entire certainty that he has nothing to dread; an endemial disease is unknown, until settlements have advanced far towards complete cultivation.

The mass of leaves, formed and preserved in this manner, is, together with the trees which bore them, converted by a slow process of decay into vegetable mould. This mould appears to be the best of all manures; being suited to more kinds, and producing higher degrees, of vegetation than any other. Thus in forested grounds provision is made for a continually increasing fertility. Every subsequent growth of trees becomes of course larger and finer than the preceding, until the forest arrives to its utmost height and perfection.

In the mean time this mass of leaves, covering the surface entirely, prevents the springing of grass within the limits of the forest, and throughout a small breadth of the circumjacent ground. The seeds of forest trees will not germinate among grass. By preventing or destroying this kind of vegetation, therefore, an opportunity is furnished for these seeds to shoot, and thus to perpetuate, and gradually to enlarge the growth of the forest. But to this end it is further necessary, that the seed should lie on the surface; very few of them being capable of springing, when sunk below it even at a very little distance. Equally do they need to be continually enveloped in moisture. The leaves lying so loose, permit the seeds to descend to the earth, through their interstices; and the lowest stratum is regularly and sufficiently moist for this purpose. Thus they furnish all the means of enabling the seeds to germinate, and the stems to acquire ultimately their highest perfection.

Even this is not all. The vegetable mould supplies the first settlers with a vast quantity of manure, spread to their hands over every inch of their grounds; enriching them more, and enduring longer, than any other manure hitherto known. During the infancy of settlements, and amid the poverty which often gives them birth, the planters are assured of rich crops; and are thus encouraged and enabled to pursue the difficult employment of converting a forest into a cultivated country.

The next morning we rode to Stockbridge to dinner, and in the afternoon to the house of John Whittlesey, Esq., in the north-eastern corner of Salisbury.

The difference in the quantity of snow, which falls in the different parts of this country, has often been a subject of

much curiosity, and some investigation. That which fell the evening preceding this day's journey covered the summit of Saddle Mountain with a clear, dazzling white; Taghkanic with a less brilliant aspect; and the Green Mountains with a grisly appearance. Proximity either to the level or to the shore of the ocean, or elevation above the one, and distance from the other, have been commonly, and justly, considered as the general causes of mildness or severity of climate. Accordingly these mountains were enveloped in snow, proportionally to their elevation. But there are many local cases, which can be explained by any reference to these considerations.

There is ordinarily much less snow at Stockbridge than Northampton. Yet Stockbridge, as appears by a comparison of the descent of the Hoosienuc with that of the Connecticut, is several hundred feet higher than Northampton; and the spring usually commences from a week to ten days earlier at Northampton than at Stockbridge. These towns are in Massachusetts, in the same latitude, and at the same distance from the Sound. There is annually much less snow at Bennington than at Stockbridge, yet Bennington is forty-five miles farther north, just so much farther from the ocean, and near on the same level.

Usually there is not more snow at Middlebury in Vermont than at Northampton. Yet Middlebury is on a higher level than Northampton; one hundred and thirty miles farther from the Sound, and seventy from Massachusetts'-Bay.

There is much more snow at Albany than at Stockbridge, Bennington, or Middlebury; and ordinarily not more at Bennington than at New-Haven.

There is much more snow along the Mohawk river than the towns along the great western road to Buffalo Creek which lie beyond Manlius.

At Goshen in Connecticut, forty-two miles north of New Haven, there is commonly much more snow than at either of the places which have been mentioned. The height of Goshen above the sea imperfectly explains this fact: for at Litchfield six miles south of Goshen, the quantity of snow is much less although the elevation is nearly the same.

That other causes must be assigned for this difference is proved by the fact, that much less snow falls in some places

than in others, which lie at small distances. In the year 1791, I rode from Northampton to Norwich, the first township on the Green Mountains in a western direction, and distant about twelve miles. Four days before a snow four inches deep had fallen at Northampton, and had wholly disappeared. As I passed through Westhampton, the intervening township, lying immediately at the foot of these mountains, I saw in many places a thin layer of snow on the north side of the fences. When I had ascended about one hundred feet from the base of the mountains I found a hard sleigh path. Curiosity prompted me to alight, and measure the depth of the snow. It was twelve inches deep, compact and firm; and although open to the sun, and therefore partially wasted, was at least four times as much in quantity as had fallen at Northampton.

The following November I went to Bennington. At Windsor, the last township on the Green Mountains, which lies upon this road, the snow, mentioned in the preceding paragraph, fell, as we had repeated opportunities of observing, in the forested ground two feet deep. From Cheshire, a township at the foot of these mountains, to the house of Mr. Jones, the gentleman whom I have mentioned above, the distance was twelve miles, and occupied us the whole afternoon. Our road lay immediately under Saddle Mountain. East of it, from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth, spread the valley of the Hoosac; and immediately beyond it ascended the Green Mountains. We saw the snow falling on Saddle Mountain in the morning before we left Windsor. It continued to fall through the day, and during the whole of our passage along the base of that mountain it fell without any intermission, at the distance of five or six rods from our path, where the acclivity was not elevated more than from thirty to fifty feet above us. Yet not a flake fell in the road, nor in any part of the valley: while on the Green Mountains it snowed at intervals through the day.

More snow almost always falls on the Milford, than on the Stratford, bank of Hoestennuc.

There is commonly more snow in the county of Westchester, on the great road from New-Haven to New-York, than in the county of Fairfield. In both these cases the elevation is the same.

Mountains, it is known, strongly attract clouds. This is undoubtedly one cause of the superior quantity of snow on elevated grounds, but will not apply to the places last mentioned, nor to most of the others. Possibly there may be peculiar currents in the atmosphere, which, if they were sufficiently observed, might contribute to explain these difficulties.

Moist and cold soils have certainly more snow lying upon them in the ordinary course of seasons, than those which are warm and dry, although in the same neighbourhood, and at the same elevation.

Stockbridge and Bennington lie in narrow vallies, partially surrounded by mountains of considerable height. It is believed, that places situated in this manner rarely, if ever, experience great falls of snow, except from severe and long continued easterly storms.

The fact, that some places almost regularly have more snow than others, in the same latitude, on the same elevation, and at the same distance from the sea, appears to indicate, that the clouds are condensed over them by some permanent cause. Perhaps the inequalities of the earth's surface may furnish this cause. The wind, passing immediately over the surface, must always, when blowing from the same point, move in similar currents, and form similar convolutions. These will affect the course of the wind in the region immediately above the earth; and that, the current in a region still higher; and so on through an indefinite series of elevations. That this cause extends its efficacy high enough to reach the clouds is evident from the progress of thunder-storms. These, often where there are no considerable eminences to produce the effect, have in a good degree regular movements in particular places. Such storms, usually coming from the westward, when they reach the Hooestennuc, follow the course of that river southward to the Sound, between the townships of Milford and Stratford. Yet the country on both sides is very little elevated.

Immediately before the house of Mr. Whittlesey, towards the south, spreads a lake of pure water, about three miles in length. The manner, in which the ice in this lake breaks up, near the close of the winter, is, I believe, singular. In a warm day, though often not sufficiently warm to injure the sleighing.

with a noise like thunder, rises upon the shore in a squently three feet or more in height, as if forced into ion for want of room. This position it keeps until it ed by the vernal sun. Beneath the ridge of ice is ridge of sand, of exactly the same height and figure inferior surface of the ice. This fact takes place

entleman, in the course of other interesting conversa- s us the following account:—A number of years since tanding by the side of a lake, about six miles long, in ton, a township situated on the Green Mountains, in ty of Litchfield, when he observed a small cloud of nd from the surface of the water, and settle upon the f a neighbouring eminence. This was soon followed nd, a third, and, in the end, by a numerous series of alations. Every one of them proceeded directly to the re they soon formed a body of vapour, sufficiently mbosom the summit. In a little time the mass began through the atmosphere in a south-eastern direction. after it began to move, a flash of lightning burst from ed by a peal of thunder. In its progress it enlarged o the size of a wide-spread thunder-cloud, and thund d lightened till it had left the horizon.

r first journey to Vergennes, Mr. Chipman, a senator nited States, from Vermont, informed me, that he was itness, not long before, of a phenomenon at Burling- unlike this. From Lake Champlain a copious exha- ended in the form of long curved lines, or threads, lly directed their course to a small cloud, which hung ion river, at the distance of two or three miles. In d they all centred, and terminated their motions, ap- n some measure like meridians in the stereographic n of a sphere. After a little while, the cloud began to the river with great velocity, discharging frequent f lightning and loud peals of thunder in its passage. reat distance, the wind which carried it became a ornado, and spread desolation through the valley of r.

y morning, October 18th, we rode to the south end of , accompanied by Mr. Whittlesey, to examine a rock,

of which a singular, not to say an incredible, opinion prevails in the vicinity. Our road, for near half a mile, lay on a natural causey, about thirty feet in breadth, which separated the lake into two parts, and was formed of earth, probably washed up by its waves. The rock, which was the particular object of our curiosity, is said, by inhabitants long settled here, to have moved a considerable distance from the spot where it anciently stood, towards the south-western shore. You will not suppose we considered this story as founded either in truth or good sense. However, having long believed it to be prudent, and made it a regular practice, whenever it was convenient, to examine the foundation of reports credited by sober men, I determined to investigate this, as I saw that it was firmly believed by several discreet persons. One particularly, a man of unquestioned reputation, and long resident near the spot, declared, that, about forty years since, the top of this rock, at the ordinary height of the water, was at least two feet below its surface, and fifteen or twenty rods farther from the causey than when we saw it. The shore has unquestionably remained as it then was; for the trees and stumps standing on the causey are older than any man now living, and the space between them and the lake is very narrow, scarcely extending fifteen feet from the trees.

The top of the rock is now at least two feet above the water. This height it is declared to have gained imperceptibly, year by year, for many years, in consequence of its advancing towards the shore, and standing continually in water more and more shallow. The water is evidently of the same depth now as formerly, as is proved by the appearance of the shore.

When we came up to the rock, which was standing where the water was scarcely knee-deep, we found a channel behind it, towards the deeper water, formed in the earth, about fifteen rods in length. It was serpentine in its form, and was sunk from two to three feet below the common level of the bottom on its borders. In the front of the rock the earth was pushed up in a heap, so as to rise above the water, declining, however, at the distance of a few inches, obliquely and pretty rapidly. Not far from this rock we saw another, much less attended by the same phenomena, except that they were diminished in proportion to its size. The whole appearance

each was just such as one would expect to find, if both had actually removed from their original places towards the shore, throughout the length of their respective channels. How these channels were formed, or by what cause the earth was heaped up in front of these rocks, I must leave to the divination of others. The facts I have stated, as I believe, exactly.

Several years since this account was first written, I met with the following paragraph in the collections of the Massachusetts' Historical Society, vol. iii, p. 240 : — “ There is a curiosity to be seen in the Long pond in Bridgton. On the easterly side of the pond, about midway, is a cove, which extends about one hundred rods farther east than the general course of the shore ; the bottom is clay, and the water so shoal, that a man may wade fifty rods into the pond. On the bottom of this cove are stones of various sizes, which, it is evident from visible circumstances, have an annual motion towards the shore. The proof of this is the mark or track left behind them, and the bodies of clay driven up before them. Some of these are, perhaps, two or three tons weight, and have left a track several rods behind them, having at least a common cart load of clay before them. These stones are many of them covered with water at all seasons of the year. The shore of this cove is lined with these stones three feet deep, which, it would seem, have crawled out of the water. This may afford matter of speculation to the natural philosopher.”

Until I saw this paragraph, I did not imagine that a story, such as I received at Salisbury, would ever be repeated.

We parted with Mr. Whittlesey at Salisbury cataract, and rode to Litchfield. The next morning, October 20th, I left Mr. D—— at Litchfield, and reached New-Haven the same evening.

Twenty miles from New-Haven I observed, that the forest trees had suffered much less from the frost than those which grew farther in the interior, and that such as were exposed to the north-west wind were much less affected than others. Permit me to make a few observations on this subject.

A white frost is merely frozen dew. You have undoubtedly observed, that the crystals formed by this little mass of water are small needles of different sizes and lengths, standing at the usual angles of 60° and 120° . Wherever the parts of these

crystals cohere, the particles of water are drawn nearer together than they were in a fluid state. Everywhere else they are separated farther asunder. By the contracting process some parts of the plant are drawn nearer together than in their natural position. By the expanding one, if I may call it such, others are forced to separate. In this manner the delicate vessels of tender plants are broken, and the membranes of their leaves torn. The juices exude of course, and the whole growth, above the lowest rupture, perishes for want of nutriment. The only method in which this catastrophe can be prevented is to restore warmth to it very gradually, or, in the vulgar phraseology, to take out frost, by the affusion of cold water. In consequence of this application the several parts of the plant re-unite, and the wound becomes healed. If the warmth is communicated suddenly, as by the shining of the sun, this re-union never takes place, and the plant is ruined.

It is a common opinion throughout this country, that the way to preserve tender plants most effectually, from the injury done by the white frost, is to place them in a warm, southern exposure, sheltered from northerly winds. If the account have given of the subject is just, it will be easily seen, that this opinion is erroneous. The great object ought to be to prevent the dew from resting upon the plant. This can be effectually done, only by exposing it to the free access of the north-west wind, the source of almost every white frost in this country. Wherever plants have had such an exposure, within my knowledge, they have been either wholly, or chiefly safe from the ravages of this dangerous enemy.

The following facts will sufficiently illustrate these observations:—Major White, a respectable inhabitant of South Hadley, had an orchard, which stood on the north-western declivity of a hill, of so rapid a descent, that every tree was entirely brushed by the winds from that quarter. The spot lay about four miles directly south-eastward from the gap between Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke. Through this gap these winds blow, as you will suppose, with peculiar strength. Accordingly they swept the dew from this orchard so effectually, that its blossoms regularly escaped the injuries of such late frosts in the spring as destroy those of the surrounding country. So remarkable was this exemption, that the im-

habitants of South-Hadley proverbially styled such a frost "Major White's harvest," because his orchard yielded a great quantity of cider, which in such years commanded a very high price.

It has been commonly believed, that low grounds are peculiarly liable to frosts. This is universally true where such grounds are sheltered from the north-west winds, but not where they are exposed to them. A Mr. Lyman, of Hockanum, a hamlet on the southern border of Hadley, whose house stood at a small distance north-west from the above-mentioned gap, informed me, that in nine years, during which he had lived on this spot, the white frosts had never done any injury to the vegetables in his garden. This ground was part of an interval, elevated scarcely twenty feet above Connecticut river.

A Mr. Bradley, of Greenfield (Connecticut), in the year 1793, planted, very early, some cucumbers in the north-western corner of his garden, where the ground was completely sheltered by a close fence on the northern and western sides. At the same time he planted others in the middle of his garden. The great frost, on the morning of May 18th, destroyed all the former, while the latter entirely escaped. This frost was more severe than any other, at so late a season, within my knowledge. In many places it killed the leaves of the forest trees, and, in some, the rye, then in blossom, and the spear grass.

My own garden on Greenfield-hill declined easily towards the east, yet its position was such, that the western fence being an open one, it was brushed by the winds from the north-west even more effectually than most grounds which decline towards that point. Accordingly, I never lost a single plant by a white frost, during the nine years of my residence on that spot.

But a fact more remarkable than any of these is the following:—In the garden of the Rev. Dr. Ripley, of Green's farms, a row of bush beans, a plant particularly tender, had, at the time of the great frost specified above, grown on the western side of one of the alleys, running from north to south, to the height of perhaps eight inches. Immediately west of this row of beans stood six or eight double rows of peas, at right angles with the beans, each at this time being about two feet

in breadth, and a yard in height. Such of the beans as at the ends of the rows of peas, and were sheltered by from the westerly wind, were killed; while all those stood in the interstices (openings about six feet in breadth) were uninjured. Of these facts I was an eye-witness.

As nearly every such frost is produced by the north wind, it is evident, that plants, from which the dew is away by this wind, will escape; while those, which by sheltered from its current retain the dew, will be destroyed. The facts already mentioned, it is believed, prove this beyond all reasonable debate. Instead, therefore, of planting tender plants, or fruit trees, in a southern exposure, or situation sheltered from the north-west winds, they ought to be laid open to its influence as much as possible. Orchard kinds, particularly, ought to be planted on north-west, where they cannot be obtained, on western or north-east declivities, so that, as much as possible, every tree may have the benefit of this exposure. On a plain the trees in the interior of an orchard will be effectually sheltered by those on the border, and will therefore always be in danger.

I am, Sir, &c

STATE OF NEW-YORK.

LETTER I.

State of New-York. Its Extent and Population. Account of what has been done for the Support of Learning and Religion. The different Sects into which it is divided.

DEAR SIR;

THE state of New-York contains about forty-five thousand square miles, about five thousand less than England. Almost all of it is capable of cultivation. Probably the part which will be ultimately left in a forested state will be less than enough to supply the demands of the inhabitants for timber and fuel. As the soil is rich, the climate favourable, and the inhabitants sufficiently intelligent and industrious to avail themselves of their advantages, the state is capable of sustaining a population as great in proportion as that of England; or from seven to nine millions of inhabitants. If any thing should prevent this accumulation of people, it will probably be the want of fuel.

No country can be more advantageously situated for commerce. No commercial city can boast of a more advantageous position than that of New-York. The Hudson, in proportion to its size, is inferior to no river in the world in commercial facilities. The great lakes on the east, north, and west, yield a navigation nowhere equalled by waters of the same kind. Even the Susquehannah, obstructed as it now is, will one day furnish, with its branches, an extensive communication with the Atlantic. When the artificial aids to navigation are provided, which may be rationally expected from the future wealth and enterprise of the inhabitants, they will be able to transport the

products of their labour in vessels of different sorts, almo from their own doors.

Of this commerce the mineral, vegetable, and animal productions of the country will furnish ample materials.

Of the manufactures of this state I have already taken sufficient notice.

From the character of the inhabitants, the nature of the soil and climate, the proximity to navigable waters, always stimulating industry, and the abundance of gypsum found in many parts of the country, the agriculture of this state will in all probability advance at least equally with that of any other in the Union.

From these considerations it is evident, that the necessities and conveniences of life will be found here in a degree not inferior to that in which they are obtained in any other country.

The militia of this state are, like those already described, inferior in their discipline to those of Connecticut, and still more so to those of Massachusetts; and, as a body, somewhat less hardy and energetic than those of Vermont, New-Hampshire and Maine. Substantially they are the same men, and are regulated in much the same manner. Their number is not far from 120,000.

The rapidity, with which the population of New-York has increased, is without a parallel. In the year 1790 it amounted to 340,120; in 1800, to 484,620; and, in 1810, 959,220*.

A great part of the population, thus rapidly accumulated has been derived from New-England. From three-fifths two-thirds of the inhabitants have originated from that country. The proportion is continually increasing. New-York is, therefore, to be ultimately regarded as a colony from New-England. It is not to be expected, however, that this stream of colonization will continue to flow hither with the same rapidity for any number of years to come. The lands in this state have in many parts already risen to such a price as must discourage new settlers, such I mean as usually venture first in the wilderness; and the region north of the Ohio presents a vast tract, equally fertile, and in a climate still milder, to invite

* By the census of 1890 the population of this state was 1,379,989.—Pu

immigration. Accordingly, the current of population from the New-England states, during the year 1815, has principally flowed into its borders. Still the number of inhabitants in New-York will increase for a long time to come, from immigration as well as from the natural multiplication of its inhabitants. It is to be observed, that great numbers are continually crowding into this state for commercial as well as for agricultural purposes.

Antecedently to the revolution, little was done by the inhabitants of the province of New-York for the encouragement of literature. The original Dutch colonists came to this country with designs and dispositions exclusively commercial. They were under the control of the Dutch West-India company, consisting of a body of merchants, whose measures were entirely governed by considerations of pecuniary profit and loss. As the charter of this company was limited to a short number of years, the present profit and loss were alone regarded. In such a situation it was not to be expected, that any attention should be paid to learning, although the literature of the Dutch nation had at this very period risen to high distinction. The colonists themselves were mere adventurers, who had crossed the ocean in pursuit of gain, and were in a great measure discouraged from forming any permanent plans of improvement, by a consciousness of their exposure to the hostilities of the English, hostilities against which they were unable to make any effectual defence. They were also always threatened, and often harassed by the Indians.

But, notwithstanding these discouragements, the legislature of the colony passed a law in 1683* for the purpose of supplying the inhabitants with ministers. In this law it was provided, that in the city and county of New-York, in Richmond and King's counties, and in two precincts of the county of Westchester respectively, a Protestant minister, qualified to officiate and to have the care of souls, should be called, inducted, and established. It was also provided in the same act, that the freedolders of these places should every year be summoned to choose ten vestrymen and two churchwardens, who, together with the justices of each city, county, and pre-

* See Bradford's Collection, folio 19.

cinct, should be authorized to assess a tax for the maintenance of the ministry, and of the poor, in their respective districts.

This seems to have been the only law relative to any subject, literary or ecclesiastical, passed by the legislature to this period.

Lord Cornbury, then governor of the province, at the opening of the session of the legislature, in 1702, recommended in his speech the establishment of schools. But the bigotry of this nobleman was so apparent in all his measures, and was so intermingled with most of them, that the legislature, as well as the inhabitants, became too jealous of his designs to second them, even when they were not in themselves liable to objections. Those, who had framed the act mentioned above, insisted, that it was intended to embrace Protestant ministers of every denomination. His lordship, on the contrary, claimed that neither minister could preach, nor schoolmaster instruct without a licence from himself, a favour, which it was well known would never be granted to any but Episcopalian. His lordship, and a majority of the council, belonged to this class of Christians. A great majority of the representatives and of the inhabitants throughout the province, were either Dutch or English Presbyterians. Between parties formed on these materials, at that time in a state of absolute discordance, harmony could scarcely be expected, especially in such measures as respected these objects.

The jealousies, excited by the violent administration of this purblind bigot, continued for a long period. In 1752 and 1753, some attempts were made to create a fund for the establishment of a seminary of learning. Immediately it was suspected and reported, that the seminary was intended to promote the interests of Episcopacy. Such was the consequent alarm and agitation, as to occasion a resolve* of the House of Representatives in 1753, "that a report, that the deficiency of the fund, destined to support a college, was intended to be supplied by tax, was groundless, false, and malicious."

"On the 1st of November, 1754 †, the trustees appointed for managing the fund reported to the assembly a statement of their trust-fund; and that an offer had been made by the

* Journals, vol. ii, fol. 350.

† Journals, vol. ii, fol. 396.

rector and inhabitants of the city of New-York, in communion with the church of England as by law established, to give part of the church-farm for the erection of a college.

“ Mr. William Livingston, one of the trustees, who was afterwards governor of the state of New-Jersey, made a supplementary report, which disclosed, that the grant offered by the Episcopal church was on condition, ‘ that the head or master of the seminary or college be a member of, and in communion with the church of England as by law established; and that the liturgy of the said church, or a collection of prayers out of the said Liturgy, be the constant morning and evening prayers used in the said college for ever.’ This report he accompanied with a protest, containing a number of objections, which were ordered to be entered on the journals of the assembly*. Soon after which a bill was brought into that house for incorporating a college on a very liberal and comprehensive basis. But an incorporation having been effected by a royal charter, it never became a law. The bill has been preserved in the same journals with the reports.

“ The college-charter contained some pre-eminences of the Episcopal faith, which received no modification till after the revolution. Its practical effect was the resort of many of the youth of the colony to the colleges in the neighbouring colonies, whose principle and discipline were more congenial to the religious tenets of their parents and guardians.”

For the preceding account I am indebted to the Honourable Mr. Lansing, late chancellor of this state. Mr. Lansing subjoins, “ The munificence, which has so strongly marked the progress of the state government to promote the interests of literature, was undoubtedly one of the salutary effects of the equal rights secured by the revolution, which has infused a more manly and liberal spirit; and men of all religious persuasions have zealously united in the support of literary establishments, and in cheerfully opening the temples of science to all without discrimination.”

After the revolution, a corporation was created by the legislature, to consist of twenty-one members, the governor and lieutenant-governor being always of the number, and styled

* Journals, folio 400.

“The Regents of the University of New-York.” This body has the power of establishing colleges and academies in every part of the state where they shall judge it expedient, and of superintending its literature. The state of these seminaries they report annually to the legislature.

The three colleges of New-York have been already mentioned. The number of academies may perhaps be fifty; several of them flourishing, and probably all of them useful institutions. For all these seminaries the legislature have provided with a very liberal hand. They have also furnished very large funds for the establishment of common schools. No state in the American Union has discovered a more munificent spirit towards the promotion of learning.

Of the religion of this state it is impossible to obtain an accurate account, at least by any means within my reach. The following is the best which I am able to procure.

In the year 1815 there were forty-five Episcopal churches in this state; beside, as it should seem, several congregations so small as to be unable to build churches.

The number of ministers officiating in these churches, so far as I am able to learn it from the journal published by the convention, is thirty-two.

The return of communicants in the journal is imperfect. The number may be stated at three thousand two hundred and forty. Of these one thousand five hundred and sixty-eight are in the city of New-York; and one thousand six hundred and sixty-five in the country. The number of communicants in St. George's church, not being returned, is not included in either of these statements. Had it been added, the number in the city would probably have exceeded that in the country. Several of the returns state, that the number of communicants is about so many, and one, that it is between seventy and eighty. Several of the congregations in New-York are very large. Those in the country are chiefly small. It is understood, that many of them have been materially aided in building their churches, and several of them in supporting their ministers, by the corporation of Trinity church, in the city of New-York.

The number of Baptist congregations in this state, as reported in Benedict's History of the Baptists, printed at Boston

in 1813, the author of which, in his History of the New-York Association, as my informant, a respectable Baptist, observes, has grossly misrepresented a number of facts relating to it, and some of its members, is two hundred and eighty-six. The correctness of this account I must be permitted to doubt, but have no means of ascertaining the real state of the facts. It is however to be observed, that as the Baptists in the country congregations are under no obligation to support ministers, every little cluster of Baptists is considered as a congregation. The word "congregation" may be considered as denoting an assembly, made up of four families or four hundred. Some of the Baptist congregations in the city of New-York I suppose to be considerable for their numbers. Many of those in the country, if I am not misinformed, are supplied with preaching, when they are supplied at all, by itinerants. Their ministers, as in New-England, are chiefly uneducated men.

The following is the distribution of the Baptist congregations:—

In the New-York association	28	} Page 508 to 514.
Warwich, ditto	20	
Union	10	
Rensselaerville	16	
Saratoga	23	
Lake George	6	
Essex	6	
St. Lawrence	4	
Black river	9	
Otsego	34	
Franklin	16	
Madison	31	
Cayuga	40	
Holland purchase	10	
In Chemung association	12—p. 515	
Not included in associations	21—p. 550	

Total 286 Churches*.

The Presbyterian congregations in the year 1814 were one

* Ecclesiastical churches; not buildings.

hundred and seventy-five, distributed into nine presbyteries and three synods.

The number of ministers the same year was one hundred and thirty-two.

Many of the congregations are large, and few of them are small.

The great body of inhabitants throughout the state are of this denomination. But as a large number of the settlements are recent, and many of them sparsely formed, a considerable proportion of the inhabitants, hitherto, are unable to unite in collections sufficiently numerous and wealthy to build churches and support ministers. To lessen this evil, the missionary societies, both in New-England and in New-York, have for many years sent a numerous train of missionaries into the western and northern parts of this state, who, beside preaching to the inhabitants, have been employed in gathering churches, administering the sacraments, distributing Bibles, and other books, and tracts, and performing various other offices of benevolence. The consequences of these measures have been eminently happy.

There is a considerable number of Friends, or Quakers, in this state, but I am unable to say how great. Nor can I ascertain the number of their meetings.

The number of Methodists I have no means of ascertaining.

Beside these, there are a few congregations of Scotch Covenanters, one of Moravians, a few of Lutherans, three or four of Roman Catholics, one at least of Universalists, a small number of Shakers, a synagogue of Jews, some followers of Jemima Wilkinson, and possibly some others of whose existence I am ignorant.

Beside all these, there is also a considerable number of Nihilists, scattered in different parts of the state.

The thirty-eighth article of this state secures to all mankind when found within its limits, "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference;" excluding, however, acts of licentiousness, and practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the state.

On the 6th of April, 1784, an act was passed by the legislature, "to enable all the religious denominations of this sta

to appoint trustees, who shall be a body corporate for the purpose of taking care of the temporalities of their respective congregations, and for other purposes therein mentioned."

By the act every church assembled together at the place, where they stately attend for Divine worship, is empowered by a plurality of voices to elect not less than three, nor more than nine, discreet and prudent persons as trustees, to take charge of the estate and property belonging to them respectively, and to transact all affairs relating to their temporalities. In this meeting every male person of full age, who has been considered as belonging to the body assembled, is authorized to vote.

The names of the persons elected are, by the persons constituted the returning officers for this purpose, to be certified, and the certificate proved and acknowledged before the chancellor, one of the judges of the supreme court, or any one of the judges of the court of common pleas of the county. The certificate is to be recorded by the clerk of the county in a book, kept for that purpose, and is to contain the style, name, or title, by which the trustees are to be known as a body corporate.

The trustees thus constituted may receive, purchase, and hold, property for the use of the church, congregation, or society, to the amount of 3,000 dollars annual income, and are invested with all the powers necessary for the due management of it. They are empowered to have a common seal, to regulate pew-rents and perquisites, and all other matters belonging to the temporal concerns and revenues of such societies. Their succession is to be kept up in this manner: they are divided into three classes, one of which goes out annually, and their place is to be supplied, annually, by a new election.

The minister's salary is to be fixed by a vote of the majority of the electors, but confirmed and paid by the trustees.

After the first election, no person can be an elector, who has not been a stated attendant on Divine worship in the society, and contributed to its support according to its usages.

Every such body of trustees is required to exhibit, upon oath, between the 1st of January and the 1st of April, once in three years, an account and inventory of the real and personal property belonging to the society for which they act, to the chancellor, one of the judges of the supreme court, or any

of the judges of the court of common pleas, in the county where the society is situated; and in case of failure they thenceforth cease to be a body corporate.

Some small alterations were afterwards made in the provisions of this act, in compliance with a request from the Dutch churches in this state, by which the ministers, elders, and deacons, of the several Dutch churches were constituted their trustees.

Afterwards the corporation of Trinity Church in New-York was empowered to take and use the name of "the rector and inhabitants of the city of New-York, in communion with the Protestant Episcopal Church of the state of New-York."

Concerning the provisions of this law, it is to be observed, that for a vast proportion of the congregations in this state it proposes no kind of benefit whatever, viz. such as have no common property. This, it is presumed, is now, and probably will for a long period to come be the fact with respect to nineteen-twentieths of the whole, exclusively of the buildings in which they assemble for public worship. Without a minister such buildings are of little value, and the law, the only one concerning the subject, does not enable the congregation to provide any means for the support of a minister. This is left, as the legislature found it, to mere voluntary contribution. Where a congregation is very large, and the burthen of consequence very light, the object may be accomplished without much difficulty. Where this is not the case, ministers may indeed be settled, and for a time supported. But as every man knows that he can lay down this burthen whenever he pleases, multitudes will for this very reason lay it down. When the power is possessed, it will be exercised; and pretences will never be wanting to justify the exercise. At the best, the minister will hold his living on a tenour absolutely precarious; and this, of itself, will discourage men, qualified for the office, from entering into it. The people, therefore, may be left for religious instruction to men utterly unqualified; to men destitute of the knowledge, without which it is impossible that they should teach, and who thrust themselves into the pulpit merely because they are too lazy to work. No greater calamity can befall a people than this, if we suppose them in a state of health and peace, except being saddled with a corrupt ministry.

But this is not all. If the trustees fail to make the triennial

hibition specified, of the property belonging to the congregation, they cease to be a corporate body, and the affairs of the congregation are set afloat. Should the trustees, or the individual member of their board to whom the business of making this exhibition is delegated, choose to throw the affairs of the congregation into confusion, he has nothing further to do than barely to omit this duty till the 2d of April in the given year. For such an omission how many plausible justifications may be pleaded. Some years ago the congregation of East-Ballstown was broken up in this very manner, and the minister, to whom they were strongly attached, was dismissed, merely in consequence of the confusion occasioned by the measure.

No penalty is provided in the law to punish negligence. The loss of their corporate powers may, and in many cases will, gratify the trustees instead of mortifying them.

From these observations you will easily discern how uncertain the tenour is, by which ministers hold their places of settlement throughout a large part of this state. Accordingly, a considerable number of them have been actually dismissed, and such of them as have had it in their power have, in many instances, returned to New-England. It is to be hoped, that the inhabitants of New-York will, ere long, adopt wiser and better measures for the purpose of establishing among themselves, and providing for their children, a regular continuance of the public worship of God.

The Dutch congregations are to be regarded as a general exception to these remarks. This sober, steadfast people, deriving their birth from the United Netherlands, where the best plan for supporting the ministry of the Gospel, which the world has ever known, had been long adopted, came to America with fixed habits concerning this subject, and have hitherto retained them. They pay the salary, which they have once engaged, so long as the minister lives, whether he be able or unable to officiate. In this honourable conduct, it is believed, they stand alone, and exhibit an example worthy of being followed by those of every other religious denomination.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Constitution of the State. Legislature. Electors. Executive. Courts. Council of Appointment and Supreme Court of Errors, so constituted as to affect the State in a manner unfortunate and mischievous.

DEAR SIR;

THE constitution of the state of New-York consists of forty-two articles, most of them differing little from those found in other American instruments of the same nature.

The legislature is formed of a senate and house of assembly the former consisting, originally, of twenty-four, and the latter of at least seventy members. The senate can never consist of more than one hundred, nor the assembly of more than three hundred. The powers and privileges of these two bodies are much the same as in the other states. Neither house can adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other.

Every male inhabitant of full age, resident in the state six months before the day of election, if a freeholder possessing a freehold to the value of twenty pounds within the county, or having rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of forty shillings, and having been rated, and actually paid taxes to the state, is entitled to vote for the representatives of the county in assembly.

Electors of senators must possess freeholds to the value of one hundred pounds. By these the governor also is elected.

The governor continues in office three years, and is in

sted with the usual powers attached to the gubernatorial
air.

The governor, chancellor, and judges of the supreme court,
any two of them together with the governor, are constituted
ouncil, to revise all bills, about to be passed into laws by
a legislature, and for that purpose always assemble, when-
er the legislature is convened. All bills, which have passed
a senate and assembly, are presented to them for exami-
tion. If they judge it improper, that a bill should pass,
ey return it, with their objections in writing, to the senate
the assembly, *i. e.* to the house in which the bill originated.
hese objections the house is required to enter at large in
air minutes, and to reconsider the bill; but if two-thirds of
th houses adhere to the bill, it becomes a law.

If the council of revision do not return the bill in ten days,
becomes a law.

The assembly every year openly nominates and appoints a
nator from each of the four districts into which the state is
vided, to be a council for the appointment of the various
loers in the state, exclusive of those which are elected by
e people, or appointed by the legislature. Of this council
e chief executive for the time being, whether governor,
ntenant-governor, or president of the senate, is president,
d has a casting voice, but no other vote; and with the advice
d consent of the council appoints all the said officers.

The same senators cannot be elected to this council two
ms successively.

A majority of the council forms a quorum.

The chancellor, the judges of the supreme court, and the
st judge of each county court, hold their offices during good
haviour, or until they have respectively attained the age of
ty years.

Sheriffs and coroners are annually appointed, and are
nable of holding their offices more than four years re-
ectively.

The house of assembly has the power of impeaching all
loers of the state; but two-thirds of the members present
st consent to such impeachment.

The court for the trial of impeachments is to consist of the

president of the senate, the senators, chancellor, and judges of the supreme court, or the major part of them.

The same persons constitute the supreme court of errors.

No minister of the Gospel is eligible to any civil or military office or place within the state.

No acts of attainder can work a corruption of blood.

The trial by jury is established, and remains inviolate forever.

The legislature can at no time institute any new court, or courts, but such as proceed according to the course of the common law.

All persons within the state are secured in the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference.

Such are the principal features of the constitution of New-York. Some of them lie open to animadversion. Of those, the principal in its importance is the provision made for forming the council of appointment. This council has been at once the subject, and the source, of a kind of perpetual convulsion in the state. As this body appoints all the officers, except a very small number, in the state, every election of governor, senator, and representative, is contrived and carried on with a direct reference to the constitution of this council. All men, who wish for offices, either for themselves or others, give their votes and their influence for such persons as they believe will contribute to the choice of such a council, as will confer the offices agreeably to their wishes. Hence caballing, and electioneering, disturb the peace of the state, and deprave the minds of its inhabitants from one election to another. With the same spirit, the house of representatives appear to assemble, with a conviction that this is the principal object for which they meet; and to determine it agreeably to their wishes, appears to occupy their primary thoughts. To compass it this very year, a part of the assembly sacrificed, in the face of day, law, principle, and decency. While this engine of mischief continues, there is little reason to hope, that the inhabitants of the state will ever enjoy even a tolerable degree of peace.

The supreme court of errors is also little else than a nui-

since. You will remember, that it is composed of the senate, its president, the chancellor, and the judges of the supreme court. These, you will naturally say, must form a very respectable body. The French academy, if I mistake not, at the instance of Louis XIV, published a Dictionary of the French Language. It was universally condemned. Furetiere, one of their number, published another which was universally approved. The reason in both cases is obvious. The dictionary of the academy was formed by the worst votes, as well as by the best; and the worst are always a majority. Furetiere's was formed by his own vote; and that was probably the best, or one of the best, among the whole number. The votes of the chancellor and judges, in all cases of law, and perhaps of equity, may be regarded fairly as possessing the highest authority. A part of the senate may be supposed, also, to be able judges of these subjects. But the majority of a body, consisting of such numbers, chosen in such a manner, by such electors, and for the mere purposes of legislation; especially when they are often, to say the least, created by cabal and intrigue, carried into office by the mere spirit of party on the ground of a temporary and causeless popularity, and intended to be the instruments of sinister designs; must, from their ignorance of law, their total unacquaintance with judicial decisions, and not unfrequently their want even of enlightened education, be a most unfortunate tribunal for the decision of such questions as will often come before them, and for the final establishment of law.

The perpetual fluctuation of office in this state, growing out of its constitution, is also an evil, the magnitude of which it is difficult to estimate. Were the puisne judges of the county courts, the sheriffs, the clerks of the counties, and perhaps a few other officers of less importance, fixed permanently in their stations, the inhabitants of New-York would soon enjoy a quiet, which, I am afraid, lies now beyond the horizon of their view.

As the state of things actually is, they seem destined to suffer for an indefinite period the evils of political turmoil; and those in a degree which a traveller, passing through their country, and discerning the ample means of prosperity which

God has put in their possession, will deeply lament. I know no physical reason, why the people of this state may not be as prosperous and happy as any people on the globe. Their moral and political concerns certainly, and very seriously, demand a reformation. The defects in their constitution, which I have mentioned, are radical. Their council of appointment is one of the most unfortunate branches of government, which could have been devised for them by the bitterest enemy; a firebrand, which annually threatens a conflagration to the whole political edifice, and will ultimately lay it in ashes. Their supreme court of errors, also, though I am aware that examples are not wanting, which may and will be pleaded for its justification, is a political solecism of the grossest kind. Here men, and those usually a majority, sit to canvass and to reverse the judicial decisions of the ablest and wisest tribunals; some of whom through the want of principle, and all through the want of sufficient knowledge, are totally incompetent to decide on the questions proposed for their determination. A part of them will annually be farmers, merchants, speculators, and particularly that restless, bustling, office-hunting race of beings, who are customarily known by the title of demagogues. In seasons of quiet the senate of New-York will probably consist of respectable members, in a proportion sufficiently large to ensure the welfare of the community. During the reign of party this is scarcely possible. In either case there will always be found a deficiency of that legal knowledge, by which alone questions of law can be safely decided. Nothing can be more preposterous than to submit questions, involving in their nature profound learning and extensive science, to the determination of those, who possess neither. Virtue alone, in whatever degree existing, never qualified a man for the office of a judge.

So long as the violence of party, and the insatiable thirst for office and its emoluments, predominate in this state, it is not to be supposed, that its citizens will admit the justice of these remarks, or give them even a sober consideration. I may, however, be permitted to hope, as well as to wish, that the storm will one day be overpast, and be succeeded by serenity and sunshine.

hen, without any violence to probability, it may be held, juster views may be adopted, happier dispositions opened, and more auspicious measures be pursued. In such a case the people of this state would find abundant reason for congratulating themselves, and for acknowledging with ardent gratitude the smiles of Heaven upon their country. Until that time, their struggles will in all probability resemble not a case those which have ruined almost every republic. The greatest evil in republican governments is, ordinarily, fluctuation; the greatest blessing, stability.

I am, Sir, &c.



JOURNEY TO LONG-ISLAND.

LETTER I.

sage from Norwalk to Huntington. Lloyd's Neck. Town of Huntington. Smithtown. Setauket. Brookhaven. Riverhead: its Courts. Southhold. Oyster Point. Fisher's Island. Plumb Island.

DEAR SIR;

IN company with professor D——, of Yale college, S——, one of the tutors, and Mr. D——, a graduate of the institution, I set out, May 9th, 1804, on a journey to Long-Island. The first day we rode to Greenfield, twenty miles; and the next, to Norwalk, nine. Here we continued till Monday the 14th, the wind being unfavourable passing the Sound. On Monday, at five o'clock in the morning, we embarked with our horses on board the Huntington ferry boat. After leaving Norwalk river, the mouth of which is a good harbour for vessels of less than one hundred tons, the wind became very feeble, shifted suddenly and frequently throughout the whole day, and, what was very tedious, shifted, in almost every instance, in such a manner as to retard our progress. We had breakfasted early, and on meagre diet, and were miserably provided with food, both as to quantity and quality, for the day. My companions ate merely to satisfy the corrodings of hunger. I fasted till after three the succeeding morning. To add to our troubles, a thunder-storm overtook us in the mouth of Huntington harbour at nine o'clock in the evening. Our quarter deck was leaky, and permitted the rain to descend upon us in streams, not at

all resembling those of Helicon*. Time, patience, and apathy, however, helped us through the train of our difficulties, and at half after two we landed at the usual place. Here we found a very decent house. The family arose with a great deal of good nature, and entertained us very kindly, and very well. We went to bed between three and four, rose at ten, and between eleven and twelve pursued our journey to Saugatucket: twenty-five miles.

Huntington is an ancient settlement; the westernmost of those in the county of Suffolk, which were formed by colonists from New-England. The township extends from north to south through the whole breadth of the island, ten or twelve miles; and about the same distance from east to west. The town is built six miles from the northern shore, at the head of a bay, named Huntington Bay, and during the revolution the principal station for the British ships of war in the Sound. This bay is large, and deep enough to receive the greatest number of vessels, which ever assemble at any single place; furnishes good anchorage, and is safe from all winds. Its mouth is formed by two peninsulas, or, as they are here termed, necks; Eaton's on the east, and Lloyd's on the west. On the former of these is a light-house. Few places more demand such a structure, or furnish for it a more commodious situation. The rocks, which project from this neck, and are a continuation of its base into the Sound, have in several instances proved fatal to seamen. Captain Keeler, a worthy and intelligent inhabitant of Norwalk, returning from the West-Indies after a prosperous voyage, entered the Sound on the 16th of January, in the year 1791. I then resided at Greenfield, and distinctly remember the day; and never saw a winter day which was more pleasant. In the evening there arose a tremendous storm. The brig was driven upon these rocks, and every person on board perished.

* One fact concerning this boat well deserves to be recorded. The ferryman informed me, that it was built and had been employed for some time, I have forgotten how long, in crossing this ferry antecedently to the revolutionary war. It was now therefore more than thirty years old. This is a strong proof, that the oak of New-England and New-York, when managed with skill, furnishes a lasting material for ship-building. Very little had been done to keep this vessel in repair.

Lloyd's neck is a large and valuable estate, belonging to a respectable family of that name, which has been in possession of it for a long time. It is connected, at the western end, with the township of Oyster Bay, by a narrow strip of sand. On the southern side of this peninsula is a pretty romantic retreat, named Queen's Village, and handsomely celebrated by the late Governor Livingston, of New-Jersey, in his Philosophic Solitude. I visited the place formerly, and thought it not undeserving of the character attributed to it by that gentleman.

The town of Huntington we left on our right, intending to pass through it upon our return. As we failed of accomplishing this design, I am able to describe it only as it appeared to me many years since. It was then loosely and indifferently built. As we now passed by it, several good houses and a well-looking church, newly erected, showed us a handsome addition to its former appearance. The inhabitants, at the time to which I refer, were esteemed sober, industrious, and religious. The revolutionary war affected them unhappily in all these respects. Within a few years past several revivals of religion have extensively renewed their ancient character. The soil of the township is light, warm, moderately good, and well suited to all the productions of the climate.

Huntington lies about three miles south of the general line of the north shore. The country from Huntington to Setauket is, on the middle road (that which we took), formed of interchanging hills and vallies, and a few plains, none of them extensive. The greater part of it is forested, principally with oak and chesnut, but with an interspersion of hickory, cherry, and several other kinds of trees.

The best land, which we saw on this day's journey, is in and about Smithtown. Here we dined, or rather wished to dine; the inn at which we stopped, and the only one on the road, not having the means of enabling us to satisfy our wishes. In this humble mansion, however, we found a young lady about eighteen, of a fine form and complexion, a beautiful countenance, with brilliant eyes animated by intelligence, possessing manners, which were a charming mixture of simplicity and grace, and conversing in language which would not have discredited a drawing-room or a court. Her own declarations

compelled us to believe, against every pre-conception, that she was a child of this very humble, uneducated family; but nothing which we saw in the house could account for the appearance of her person, mind, or manners. I was ready, as believe all my companions were, when we left the spot, to believe, that some

" Flowers are born to blush unseen
And waste their sweetness on the desert air."

A small church stands near this inn, in the midst of a ~~hamlet~~ consisting of ten or a dozen houses. Not far from this little collection runs a sprightly mill-stream, an object, which in this region will engage the attention of every traveller.

Smithtown extends about half across the island, and is ten or twelve miles in length from east to west. It is formed almost universally of scattered plantations. The soil, taken together, is, I suspect, inferior to that of no township in this county. It received its name from two families, both named Smith, which first settled in it, and from which a considerable part of its present inhabitants derive their origin. Their number, in the year 1790, was 1,022; in 1800, 1,413; and, in 1810, 1,592.

In this township, near its southern limit, is a pond, having the Indian name of Ronkonkoma, which is said by authority, that cannot be rationally questioned, to rise regularly throughout seven years, and to fall with the same regularity through the following seven. No water, except from subjacent springs, runs into it, or out of it. It abounds with perch. I will not vouch for the truth of the story.

Brookhaven is a township, lying immediately east of Smithtown, extending east and west on the road nineteen miles; and from the north to the south side of the island; a distance varying here from thirteen to eighteen miles.

Setauket, the principal village in this township, is built near the north shore, and, like Smithtown and Huntington, is an ancient settlement. The number of houses within the compass of a square mile may be forty or fifty, thinly dispersed, and, with a few exceptions, old and indifferently repaired. The village contains two churches; a Presbyterian and an Episcopal, both ancient and ordinary; the latter in a ruinous condi-

tion*. The soil is sandy and light, but capable by a judicious cultivation of producing good crops.

Brookhaven contains several other villages and hamlets, beside a number of scattered plantations. In 1790, the number of its inhabitants was 3,224; in 1800, 4,122; and, in 1810, 4,176.

Brookhaven is the largest township on the island.

We lodged at the hospitable house of the Honourable S. Strong, where we spent our time very pleasantly until Thursday morning, being detained by a violent north-east storm, accompanied by a heavy rain. We then rode to a village in the township of Southhold, named Mattatuck, having passed through the remainder of Brookhaven, the township of Riverhead, and a part of Southhold; thirty-six miles.

When you read this, you may not have before you a map of Long-Island. It will not be amiss, therefore, to give you here a general view of its geography.

Long-Island is divided into three counties; King's, on the western point; Queen's, in the middle; and Suffolk, on the east; containing at least two-thirds of the whole island.

King's contained in 1790, 4,495; in 1800, 5,740; and, in 1810, 8,303 inhabitants. Queen's contained in 1790, 16,014; in 1800, 16,893; and, in 1810, 19,336 inhabitants. Suffolk contained in 1790, 16,440; in 1800, 19,464; and, in 1810, 21,113 inhabitants. The island contained in 1790, 36,949; in 1800, 42,097; and, in 1810, 48,752 inhabitants.

Queen's county is about thirty miles in length; Suffolk about one hundred. King's and Queen's counties contain each six townships, and Suffolk nine. Three of these townships, Oysterbay, in Queen's; Huntington, which borders on it; and Brookhaven, extend across the breadth of the island. In Queen's county, Newton, Flushing, and North-Hempstead, lie on the north side, and Jamaica and Hempstead on the south. In Suffolk, Smithtown, Riverhead, and Southhold, are on the north; and Islip, Southampton, and Easthampton, are on the south. Shelter-Island, the remaining township in Suffolk county, lies between the two great eastern arms of Long-Island, to be hereafter described.

* There are now two handsome churches here.—*Pub.*

hamlets in the township of Brookhaven, called]
meadow; the Old man's; Miller's place; and Wadi
partly in Brookhaven, and partly in Riverhead.

At Miller's place, and in several others, the prospe
Sound and the Connecticut shore is very extens
attractive.

During the second part of our journey this day, the
was chiefly a plain, occupying almost the whole dista
Wading river, which is fourteen or fifteen miles from
haven, to Southhold, near thirty miles.

The road over this plain is generally excellent. Or
I shall make some observations hereafter.

Riverhead is the shire town of this county. It was
a part of the township of Southhold, and was incorp
1792. Its name is derived from Peconic river, the
stream on the island. This river rises in the middl
island, and, running from west to east, empties its wa
the great bay in the eastern end, known by several
by one of which, viz. Peconic, I shall denominate it
The court-house, a poor decayed building, and a
hamlet, containing about ten or twelve houses, stand
efflux of this river.

From this account of the court-house you will

and adjourns almost always on the succeeding day also. In twenty years it has never sat later than till Thursday evening.

No lawyer, if I am not misinformed, has hitherto been able to get a living in the county of Suffolk. I entertain a very respectful opinion of the gentlemen of the bar, but both you and they will cheerfully agree with me in saying, that this exemption from litigation, while it is a peculiar, is also a very honourable characteristic of this county. Not far from this hamlet is a spot of ground about three miles in diameter, which, as I was informed by good authority, is covered with shrub oaks and pines, not more than five or six feet in height. In the whole tract there is not a single tree of the usual size, although it is surrounded by a forest of such trees. The cause of this phenomenon, in a place where the soil is substantially the same with that of the neighbouring country, it is not easy to assign.

Six or eight miles before we arrived at Mattatuck, the country on both sides of the road was chiefly settled, in scattered plantations, and the inhabitants appeared generally to be in comfortable circumstances.

Riverhead contained in the year 1800, 1,501 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,711.

Mattatuck is a hamlet in the township of Southhold.

Friday, May 18th, we rode through Southhold to the ferry. Thence we crossed to Shelter-Island, and, passing over it, crossed a second ferry to Hog's Neck, a peninsula, united to Southampton by a long, narrow isthmus of sand, bare only at low water. This isthmus we travelled over, when it was covered by the tide one-fourth of a mile in length, and in different places to the depth of two feet. Then, by a very circuitous course we proceeded to Sagharbour.

The country from Mattatuck to Southhold is almost a perfect level, and the road very good.

Southhold is a more considerable settlement than any other through which we had passed. The houses are generally better, more numerous, and more compactly built. The inhabitants, who are chiefly Presbyterians, have erected a church, which is the principal ornament of their town.

Southhold contains two parishes, the Town and Oyster

ponds. From the town to Oysterponds Point is ten miles— five to the beach, which connects the Point with Long-Island— and five thence to the extremity of the point.

The parish of Oysterponds, which occupies this ground— is only one mile in breadth, but is populous. The land is good— and the people are industrious and thrifty. A considerable number of the inhabitants are fishermen. The agriculture has lately been much improved, but the people suffer not a little from ecclesiastical contentions. It contains a Presbyterian church, and has a settled minister, but there are many sectaries. The houses are about as numerous as in Southhold, and of as good an appearance.

The township of Southhold includes also several islands. Of these the largest is Fisher's Island, lying eight miles south-east of New-London. It is nine miles in length, and contains about four thousand acres. The surface is uneven, and the soil moderately good. It feeds a great number of sheep, with a few neat cattle, and yields a considerable quantity of wool, butter, cheese, and corn. It was originally purchased by his Excellency John Winthrop, Esq., formerly governor of Connecticut, and is now the property of Francis B. Winthrop, Esq., of New-York. South-westward of Fisher's Island are two islets, named the Gull Islands; on the least of which is built a light-house. These stand in a rapid tide, called the Horse-race, by which, had they not a base of solid rock, they would long since have been washed away.

Immediately south-west of these islands, or rather west-south-west, lies Plumb Island, separated from Oysterponds Point by a channel, three-fourths of a mile wide, called Plumb Gut, through which also runs a strong and rapid tide. This island was first purchased by Samuel Wyllys, Esq., of Hartford, about the year 1667, for a barrel of biscuit, and a hundred awls and fish-hooks. The original proprietor was Wyandonse, called by Dr. Trumbull, Wyantanse, one of the principal sachems of Long-Island. Afterward it fell into the hands of a Mr. Beebee, of Plymouth, some of whose descendants are said lately to have had in their possession a manuscript history of the settlement of that colony, now supposed to be lost. This island contains about eight hundred acres of excellent land, and is inhabited by six families. Its water—

id in fine fish. Anciently it was called the Isle of
os; I suppose, from its solitary situation.

ere are also two or three islands in Peconic Bay included
e, of which the largest is Robin's Island.

these islands, except the last, lie in a line, and in the
al direction of the north shore of Long-Island in this
r, and were very possibly a part of it in distant ages.

the year 1790, Southhold, then including Riverhead,
ied 3,219 inhabitants; in the year 1800, without River-
2,210; in the year 1810, 2,613.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

General Observations on the Northern Parts of Long-Island, and on the Stones and Sand of which it is composed. Influence of the Gulf Stream in depositing Sand on the Eastern Coast of the United States. Cultivation of Wheat. Account of the Hessian Fly. Forest Trees. Fruit Trees. Improvement in Agriculture. Scarcity of Brooks and Mill-Streams. Fisheries.

DEAR SIR ;

IN the summary account, which I have given of this part of our journey, you have undoubtedly concluded, that many particulars were omitted which might have been mentioned with advantage. The truth is, this country is not distinguished, like others through which I have travelled, by a succession of varieties, continually inviting the eye, and furnishing a fund of materials for observation. A general sameness spreads over its face ; and in an excursion of twenty or thirty miles a traveller may be said, in a sense, to have seen it all. I have, therefore, chosen to throw together the remarks which occurred to me during this part of my progress.

Long-Island, from Huntington to Southhold, and probably from a considerable distance further westward to Montauk Point, is, like the peninsula of Cape Cod, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and a considerable tract in the southern part of Massachusetts, a vast body of fine yellow sand, rising in many instances from one to two, and in some to near three hundred feet above the level of the ocean.

Of the same sand is formed Shelter Island also ; and, I presume, most others in this neighbourhood, both within and without Peconic Bay. Of the same material is formed the immense beach, extending everywhere as a barrier against the

ocean, in front of the great bay, which reaches on the south side of the island from Hempstead to Southampton, about eighty miles, and communicates with the Atlantic by a few narrow inlets. Like the beach, formerly described on the eastern shore of Cape Cod, this also is tossed into innumerable wild and fantastical forms. On a multitude of grounds, in different places, the yellow sand, as on Cape Cod, is covered by a thin stratum of white sand, sometimes naked, but generally overspread with a layer of soil; and, as on that peninsula, so here, in Riverhead, Southhold, Easthampton, and Southampton, the sand in several places has been blown away to a considerable depth, leaving a number of small tracts absolutely desolate and useless.

When we commenced our journey on this island, I proposed to my companions to examine, with a continued and minute attention, the stones of every size, which should be visible to us throughout all the parts of our progress. This examination was made by us all with great care, and was extended to the stones on the general surface, to those washed out in hollow roads, to those uncovered on the summits and sides, and at the bottom of hills, to those found in the deepest valleys, and to those which were dug out of a considerable number of very deep wells. The result of this examination was, that all the stones which we saw were, without an exception, destitute of angles, limited by an arched exterior, appearing as if worn by the long-continued attrition of water, and in all respects exactly like those, which in a multitude of places we found on the beach of the ocean. In ten or twelve instances, possibly a few more, we observed small rocks of granite on our road. Every one of these exhibited what I thought plain proofs of having been washed for a considerable length of time, and strongly resembled rocks of the same kind, which have been long beaten by waves. I will not say that no other traveller would have considered these rocks as exceptions; but to my eye they exhibited manifest appearances of having been long worn by water. If this opinion be admitted, we did not find, in a progress of more than two hundred miles, a single stone which did not exhibit proofs of having been washed for a considerable period.

On Montauk Point the stones have a different aspect,

being angular, and wearing the common appearance of the granite rocks so generally found in New-England. After we had passed Jamaica, in our way to New-York, we found a similar change in the stones, most of them being here also angular, and presenting no evidence that they had ever been washed. Between these limits the stones are universally aquatic, if I may be allowed, for the sake of succinctness, to give them this name.

From this extraordinary fact it would seem to be a natural conclusion, that the great body of this island, or perhaps more properly the materials of which it is composed, were at some former period covered by the ocean; and, by a cause which cannot now be discovered, were thrown up into their present form. As there are in it no vestiges of a single volcano, the attribution of its origin to volcanic eruptions must be gratuitous. Were we to admit the existence of such a cause, its operations would in no measure account for the actual phenomena. Nor does it seem reconcilable with facts to suppose, that this mass of earth was thrown up to such a height by any movements of the ocean.

Among the schemes of philosophy, which may be resorted to for the purpose of explaining this point, none appears to promise so much as that of Whitehurst concerning the formation of this globe. This gentleman, as you probably have long since learned, supposes the land and the water to have been originally distributed on the surface of the globe in a very different manner from that which exists at present. The deluge, in his opinion, changed the face of the earth so materially; as in many places to convert that part of the surface, which was originally land, into ocean; and that which was ocean into land. This scheme, to which I see no satisfactory objection, will certainly go far towards explaining the phenomena exhibited by this island. Upon any other within my knowledge, an explanation seems impossible. Plainly no convulsion recorded in history, except the deluge, will account at all for these appearances, nor for innumerable others visible in many parts of both continents. That Long-Island was deeply affected by this great shock of nature is, I think, unquestionable from a variety of facts.

On the eastern border of Hempstead plain, near the middle

of the breadth of the island, some workmen, who were digging a well, found a log of wood, three feet in length and one in diameter, at the depth of one hundred and eight feet below the surface. The exterior was decayed near an inch deep; the rest was perfectly sound. This fact I had from Mr. R. of Fairfield. Mr. R. was on the spot, saw the log, and received the particulars of the story from a plain farmer, who was the proprietor of the well.

In digging a well also at the east end of the same plain, about thirty miles from New-York, and in the middle of the breadth of the island, the greater part of a tree was discovered at the depth of one hundred feet. A part of the wood was put upon the fire, and burnt very well.

In the township of Huntington, about the middle of the breadth of the island also, the neighbouring people were, by some facts at present unknown, induced to believe that there was a silver mine in a particular spot. With the inquisitive spirit, which is usual in such cases, they dug to a considerable depth, and in their progress found a tree with its branches, buried in solid earth thirty feet below the surface. The branches were chiefly decayed.

At Newtown, in Queen's county, a deep pit was sunk in the side of a hill, in the autumn of 1804, for the purpose of forming an ice-house. The hill is about twenty rods from the shore of the Sound, and about fifty feet above high water-mark. When the workmen had proceeded to the depth of twenty feet, they threw out a great number of frogs, lodged in the coarse gravel, of which to that depth the hill was composed. They differed very little from those which are common in this country, except that their colour was a less vivid green. The ground in which they were discovered was the property of General Stevens, of New-York. My informant was his son, Samuel Stevens, Esq., of that city. When Mr. Stevens saw the frogs, they had been dug up somewhat more than an hour; and although perfectly torpid at first, had regained all the activity of their species. They were originally thrown from the bottom of the pit upon a scaffold, erected half way down to receive the earth as it was dug by the workmen. Mr. Stevens saw them at the time when, together with the earth, they were

thrown out upon the surface. The warmth which they acquired upon the scaffold renewed their agility.

Clam shells and oyster shells have also been dug up in several places at great depths. An instance was mentioned to me, in which a quantity of marine shells was thrown from a well of considerable depth, by the workmen who were digging it, a short time before I took this excursion. Through inattention I failed to note either the place or the time in my journal.

It has been supposed, that Long-Island was once a part of the continent; and that by the great convulsion which I have mentioned, it was separated from it by the intervention of the Sound. Permit me to make a few observations concerning this subject.

Every person acquainted with the geography of this country knows, that the whole eastern coast of North-America, from Cape Florida to Cape Cod, is formed of sand, almost without a mixture, and wears the general appearance of a vast beach, apparently washed up, at least in part, by the ocean. The beach (appropriately so called), which lines this immense length of coast, and which is known to be formed in this manner, generally differs in nothing, either as to its appearance or its composition, from the country which it borders, when examined at a considerable distance from the sea, except that the former is, and the latter is not, washed by its waves; and that the former is naked, while the latter, having emerged at an earlier period, is covered with trees and shrubs. Sand appears, I think evidently, to be a congeries of multifarious materials brought together, and not an original composition of the particles which form the globe. If this opinion be admitted, we are here presented with a cause apparently sufficient for the accumulation of these particles. That vast basin, which is called the Gulf of Mexico, not improbably was originally land, and in the long progress of years has been scooped out by the united agency of the trade winds and the tides, which heap up the waters of the ocean to an uncommon height in the region between Florida and Terra Firma. The subsidence of this aggregation of waters has always been, and is now produced by that vast, and perhaps singular current, known by the

same of the Gulf Stream; a current compared with which the Amazon is a rivulet. This current, it will be easily believed, directed its course, before the formation of Cape Florida, nearer to the shore of North America than at the present time, and conveyed with it the particles washed from the shores of Terra Firma, Mexico, and Florida, until they were finally deposited. To these particles the strong and frequent westerly winds, agitating the ocean here more beyond comparison than any other, naturally gave a new direction towards the American coast*. By this alluvion, continued through many centuries, were probably heaped up the immense sandy coast already specified, a vast extent of beach separated from the main by intervening arms of the ocean, a multitude of sandy islands lining the coast, and a great number of banks and shoals still lying beneath the waves. All these are composed of the same materials, and extend in a chain, not however uninterrupted (as the operation of tides and other causes would lead us to expect), from Cape Florida to the borders of Newfoundland. From Cape Cod to Cape Florida the whole eastern shore of this continent, except the tract which lies between the Raritan and the harbour of New-Bedford in Massachusetts, is uniformly sandy, light, and lean. If we suppose Staten-Island and Long-Island to have been originally a part of the coast, and to have been continued to Falmouth on the peninsula of Cape Cod (a fact of which the intervening islands give some indications), the eastern shore of this continent will be seen to have been originally of one description.

That this shore has been thus formed to a considerable extent, seems probable from the multitude of marine substances found in different parts of the country near the coast; and some, indeed, at a considerable distance in the interior. Marine shells and marsh mud (the latter an indubitable proof of a long-continued presence of the ocean) have been dug up in various places at the depth of twenty, thirty, and even fifty feet†. You will understand, that it is the margin only of this

* If any person will cast his eye on a map of Asia, he may perhaps satisfy himself without much difficulty, that similar ravages have been accomplished by the same causes from the eastern coast of New-Holland to Behning's Straits, which separate America from Asia.

† Professor Kalm, who came to America from Sweden in the year 1748,

country, which I here suppose to have been formed in this manner; and even that must have been greatly increased in its height by the alluvion, for several thousand years, of earth from the interior hills and mountains.

That Long-Island was once united with the main, towards its western end, has been believed by a great multitude of persons, from a bare inspection of the scenery. The narrowness and winding of the straits in many places; the multitude of intervening rocks and islands; the projection and course of the points between this island and the counties of New-York and West-Chester, and the general aspect of both shores, have

received from his countrymen, who at an early period formed settlements in Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, the following information.

One of them, whose name was King, told him that a relation of his, who lived about eight miles from the Delaware, on a hill near a rivulet, found at the depth of forty feet, while digging a well in his court-yard, a quantity of oyster and muscle shells, a great quantity of reed, and pieces of broken branches.

Peter Rambo, near sixty years of age, assured him, that in a number of places he had seen great quantities of muscle shells and other marine animals dug up at considerable depths; logs of wood found at the depth of twenty feet, some petrified, and others apparently burnt; and bricks very deep in the ground.

Muonskeen, above seventy years old, asserted, that, on digging a well, he had seen, at the depth of forty feet, a great piece of chesnut wood, together with roots and stalks of reed, and a clayey earth like that which commonly covers the shores of salt-water bays. This clay had a similar smell and the same taste. He and others also knew, that at a great depth a trowel, such as the Indians use, had been found.

In various other instances, wood, oyster shells, clam shells, branches of trees, blocks of wood, and Indian trowels were dug up, from twenty to thirty feet deep; and in one instance a whole bundle of flax was brought up from a depth of between twenty and thirty feet, as little damaged as if it had been lately put under ground. Professor Kalm conjectures, that it is what is called the wild Virginian flax. But, whatever it was, it was tied together in a bundle.

Raccoon, the place where these several things were dug up, is more than 120 English miles from the sea-shore.

To these facts I will add another, communicated to me by General Dearing.

Anthony Sherman, digging a well for Mr. Roderick Havens, on Shelter Island, in the year 1808, found, at the depth of fifty-seven feet below the common surface, an Indian pestle, beach gravel, like that on the sea beach of the island, and a multitude of clam shells.

produced this opinion in minds, which have been formed to very different modes of thinking. That it has not been generally united to the opposite main since the deluge is unanswerably evident, because there are no traces of any channels, worn by the rivers which lie westward of the Connecticut, particularly the Hooestennuc.

The surface of Long-Island, along the north shore, is from Wading river to the western point a continual interchange of hills, vallies, and plains; but without any distinguished specimens of the beauty, which might naturally be expected from such a variety of surface. Throughout the whole extent there is nothing which approaches towards the appearance of a mountain; nothing bold and masculine, and, except in a few of the necks, or points, nothing particularly soft and elegant. From Wading river, eastward, the country is almost an absolute level.

The soil on the north side has but two considerable varieties. It is either the thin mould, already mentioned as covering the layer of white sand, and of no great value; or a loam of a yellowish brown, spread from the depth of one to perhaps three or four feet, mixed with an abundance of gravel, and by a skilful husbandry capable of being rendered eminently productive. It is not, however, friendly to grass. We travelled through this country in the month of May, when New-England is universally covered with a fresh and glowing verdure, promising by its brilliancy the future luxuriance of the pastures and meadows. Here, with a small number of exceptions, chiefly in Huntington and Brookhaven, the natural verdure was faint and bluish, indicating that the soil, whence it sprang, was unfavourable, and the cultivation imperfect. The meadows, created by the plough, yielded a considerable growth of clover and herdsgrass.

To wheat the best soils of this island are peculiarly suited. In favourable years they have often yielded, with a good dressing of manure, particularly of white fish, from thirty to forty bushels an acre. To maize they are less congenial. This, however, I learned from information; the season not being far enough advanced to enable me to judge from inspection.

Flax has heretofore been cultivated with success; but for

two years past the crop has failed. A black rust has settled in spots, on the rind or coat; eaten it through, and destroyed its texture. Happily this evil, unknown till within this period is already decreasing.

The Hessian fly has, some years, seriously injured the wheat; but generally has done little mischief.

So far as I have been able to learn, this insect, so insignificant in its appearance, and yet so important by its ravages to the labours and happiness of mankind, was first found in a field of wheat, on or near the Hessian encampment in the neighbourhood of Brooklyn, and opposite to the city of New-York. This was in the year 1784. Thence it spread, at the rate about twenty miles a year, through most parts of the northern and middle states; faster with, and slower against, the southern west wind. So many descriptions of this insect have been given to the public, that a minute account of it must be unnecessary here. It will be sufficient to observe, that its form as an eruca, is that of a small, white maggot; that its enclosure, when a chrysalis, is hard, firm, nearly cylindrical, of the colour of flax seed, and scarcely one-fourth of an inch in length and that, when a fly, it is less than a gnat, like that insect figure, and of a dark cream colour. Its eggs are laid in the autumn, immediately above the first joint of the wheat; in spring, above the second; and, in the summer, above the third. When this nidus is not attainable, it betakes itself to other vegetables, and, it should seem, of many kinds, for the same purpose. The maggot perforates the stalk of the wheat, off the interior rind, together with the principal part of the vessels, and lives upon the juice, which would otherwise serve as nutriment to the ear. Wheat is its favourite food. Its greatest ravages are accomplished in the autumn, when the want of wheat it will sometimes destroy rye and barley. Yellow-bearded wheat, having in the exposed joints a nearly solid, is more secure than any other kind against its enemy; but yields less; is more exposed to the injury in winter and spring, and, when made into bread, becomes much sooner than the bald wheat. Upon ground, also, has been manured with ashes, as the wheat grows more gradually and with a firmer stalk, it is less exposed than when sown after a dressing from the stable. When it is sown

in the season, it commonly escapes the ravages of the fly in the autumn, and, unless destroyed by the frosts in February and March, may with a good degree of probability be expected to yield a crop. But, notwithstanding these and all other remedial efforts, the mischief, which it accomplishes, is prodigious. Twenty years since, I was informed by a merchant in West-Greenwich, whose business gave him the best opportunities of knowing, that the inhabitants of that parish, before the arrival of the fly, used to export, annually, 10,000 bushels of wheat; but were then obliged to import 3,000. Where grass, or maize, does not furnish the farmer a substitute, the evil is still greater. In Connecticut, the cultivation of wheat has for more than twenty years been in a great measure discontinued*.

Nothing can more strongly exhibit the dependence, or the littleness of man, than the destruction of his valuable interests by such minute, helpless beings; nor can any thing more forcibly display the ease with which his Maker punishes his transgressions. The animals, which from our infancy we regard with terror, are the fierce and voracious inhabitants of the desert: the serpent, the rhinoceros, the catamount, the tiger, and the lion. But these, mercifully on the part of Heaven, are few in number, solitary in their life, and unfrequent invaders of human happiness: sources, rather of solemn amusement, and fireside affright, than of rational, or even real anxiety. The great army which God sent upon the Jews, before which the land was as the garden of Eden, and behind as a desolate wilderness, on account of which an alarm was sounded, a fast sanctified, and a solemn assembly proclaimed, was levied from the race of the canker-worm, the caterpillar, the palmer-worm, and the locust. These, and their compeers, have in every age been the army of God, which has humbled the pride, frustrated the designs, and annihilated the hopes of man. The Hessian fly, as I observed, is less than a gnat, and, when settled in its usual manner on the ground, is commonly invisible; being seen only as it rises in small clouds immediately before your steps. It is feeble and helpless, also, in the extreme; defenceless against the least enemy, and

crushed by the most delicate touch. Yet for many years it has taxed this country annually, more, perhaps, than a million of dollars.

Most insects, which in this country have been seriously mischievous, are generally believed to appear and disappear in regular periods; at least most of those, which disturb the labours of mankind. This has been in the United States twenty-seven years, and will probably continue here as long as it can find sustenance. Hitherto its progress has resembled that of men. Its numbers have been multiplied or diminished as the means of its subsistence have been palatable and abundant, or disagreeable and scarce. In the tracts, which are far from the coast, both in New-England and New-York, it has, however, been less numerous and less mischievous than in those, which are near the ocean. This, not improbably, is owing to the length and severity of the winter. The canker worm has never made any considerable depredations at the distance of more than forty or fifty miles from the shore; although it has existed in this country more than one hundred and fifty years.

A great part of this island is still forested. Formerly, four fifths of the county of Suffolk were considered as barrens, &c. not literally, but tracts of poor land; left to nature, and regarded as incapable of useful cultivation. A considerable part of these tracts is now devoted to agriculture. Still a great portion of the county is a mere wood: so great a proportion, that the city of New-York, and many other places, are to a considerable extent furnished with fuel from this source. One half, at least, of these forests, as I judge, is yellow pine: the rest is made up of oak, chestnut, hickory, &c. The trees of every kind are low and small, compared with those of New-England. I should estimate them as a medium between the common New-England forests, and the largest on the peninsula of Cape Cod. Until they have grown about thirty-feet, they appear thrifty; but afterwards, though increasing considerably in height, and somewhat in bulk, are stunted; indicating the want of sufficient nourishment to continue their growth. From Huntington, throughout our circuit to Brooklyn, not a single large tree was visible from the road:

Fruit trees abound everywhere on the north side of the

island, particularly those which belong to the garden. The houses in great multitudes are encompassed by them; and vast numbers stand in the highways. No land in the United States appears to suit them better. Nowhere do they more generally, or in greater abundance, yield fruit of an excellent quality: nor are they anywhere less injured by frost, or exposed to fewer enemies. The tree yielding the Madeira nut succeeds better here than on the opposite shore of Connecticut. Of these advantages the inhabitants have availed themselves in a commendable manner.

Their agriculture has within a few years been greatly improved. For a considerable period before the fifteen years preceding the date of this journey, the land had become generally impoverished by a careless husbandry, in which the soil was only exhausted, and no attempts were made to renew its strength. The usual consequences of this culture (but too common on the continent as well as here), such as miserable crops, discouragement, and listlessness, on the part of the farmer, prevailed everywhere. Within this period the inhabitants, with a laudable spirit of enterprise, have set themselves to collect manure wherever it could be obtained. Not content with what they could make and find on their own farms and shores, they have sent their vessels up the Hudson, and loaded them with the residuum of potash manufactories, gleaned the streets of New-York; and have imported various kinds of manure from New-Haven, New-London, and even from Hartford. In addition to all this, they have swept the Sound; and covered their fields with the immense shoals of white-fish, with which in the beginning of summer its waters are replenished. No manure is so cheap as this where the fish abound, none is so rich, and few are so lasting. Its effects on vegetation are prodigious. Lands, which heretofore have scarcely yielded ten bushels of wheat by the acre, are said, when dressed with white-fish, to have yielded forty. The number caught is almost incredible. It is here said, and that by persons of very fair reputation, that 150,000 have been taken at a single draught. Such, upon the whole, have been their numbers, and such the ease, with which they have been obtained, that lands in the neighbourhood of productive fish-

ries are declared to have risen within a few years to the four, and in some cases to six times their former value.

You will easily believe, that the factor, of which I complained in a former Letter, was at least equally troublesome here. Wherever the fish was gathered in considerable quantities near the road, their effluvia filled the atmosphere, and made our journey sufficiently unpleasant. The farmers, however, by the force of habit and the prospect of gain, are reconciled to this odour. Indeed many of them must, I think be insensible to it, for they feed their swine in the neighbourhood of their houses, and some of them directly before their doors, with the fish called horse-feet; the remains which yield a smell still less supportable.

Among the serious disadvantages, under which the inhabitants of the tract already described labour, the want of water is the greatest. At the time when we passed through it, streams of every size are usually full. Yet we saw, I remember right, during the first twenty-four miles of journey, but one small brook, which is in Huntington; and mill-stream, mentioned above in the account of Smithtown. In Setauket, however, we found three small brooks. Between this village and Southold, a distance of more than forty miles, we crossed but one, *viz.* Wading river: as significant rill, from two to perhaps six feet in breadth. The want of mill-streams obliges the inhabitants to have recourse to windmills; which are erected in all these settlements except the hamlet, through which we passed in Smithtown. The want of brooks to water their cattle, forces them in many instances to dig basins in the earth, near their houses. During the wet seasons these excavations furnish them with a tolerable supply; but the water is often muddy and bad. In rare cases this want is relieved by ponds; but even these do not relieve their inconveniences, particularly during the hot season, when they become corrupted and unhealthy. Their wells also are commonly dug to a great depth, before they will yield a sufficient quantity of water. A traveller accustomed to wells, brooks, and mill-streams of New-England is at a wonder in what manner these people can live comfortably under this embarrassment.

The best lands on both sides of the island are, with some exceptions, the points; or, as they are sometimes termed, the necks. They have usually a stronger soil, and are often enriched by a variety of marine shells, deposited here through a long succession of ages by the Indians, converted with a gradual decay into valuable manure, and thus supplying the nutriment drawn off by vegetation. Not unfrequently also are these lands furnished with springs, which break out on the shore, both above and below the high water mark, and with tide mills erected on the inlets in their neighbourhood.

The small breadth of this island, and its numerous inlets, accommodate the inhabitants, almost everywhere, with a harbour near to their doors, and enable them to convey their produce to market with little expense. In the ocean, also, they find on both sides a considerable portion of their food, and materials for half of their commerce. Fish, of most kinds found in this climate, abound in the waters of this island. Within a few years, however, oysters have in several places greatly decayed; particularly at Blue Point, in the southwestern part of Brookhaven. The oyster beds at this place were not long since supposed to be inexhaustible; and supplied, not only the inhabitants of Long-Island, but the inhabitants of New-York, the county of Westchester, and the south shore of New-England, with immense quantities of this valuable fish. Now they have become lean, watery, and sickly, and have declined still more in their numbers than in their quality. Formerly they were large and well flavoured, now they are scarcely eatable; and, what is worse, there is reason to fear, that they will soon become extinct.

Bass are caught in vast numbers along the shore.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Shelter Island. Sagg Harbour. The Peninsula of Mattauk. Indians who inhabit it. Light House. East Hampton. Manners of the Inhabitants. Honourable Efforts of the People to maintain the Government Law and to discountenance Vice. Settled from New England. Suffolk County. Gardiner's Island. Brookhampton. Southampton. Canoe Place. Westhampton. The Fireplace.

DEAR SIR ;

THE ferry from Southhold to Shelter-Island is attended with the inconveniences usual in places where there is little travelling to defray the expense of good accommodation. We found neither wharf, nor ferry-stairs, on either side. The shore was a gradual slope. We were, therefore, obliged to ride to the boat, and with much difficulty to force our heads into it by leading them over the gunwale. The boat itself was inconvenient, and was managed by a single man. The breadth of the ferry is three-fourths of a mile. To make us amends for these troubles, the weather was perfectly serene and pleasant ; and we crossed the strait without any accident.

Shelter-Island lies in Peconic bay, at about an equal distance from Southhold and Hog's Neck ; and, with that peninsula, renders the bay a secure harbour for vessels ; not differing more than four fathom. The passages on both sides are perfectly safe. There is, however, little reason to believe that this bay can ever be much used as an anchoring ground unless by the ships of an enemy. In the revolutionary war it was frequently occupied by the British shipping.

The Indian name of this island was Manhansack-quatauwomeck ; signifying an island sheltered by other islands. Its present name, intentionally a translation of

original one, ought to be Sheltered Island. It is about seven miles in length from north to south, about five in breadth, and not far from thirty in circumference. Its area is between eight and nine thousand acres. Its surface is much more undulating than that of the neighbouring country. A great number of small hollow grounds are dispersed over it, containing, usually, a considerable quantity of water, and covered with a thick growth of swamp shrubs. These spots are unsightly, and, indeed, offensive to the eye: but they furnish the farmer with the great convenience of water for his cattle. There is not, I believe, a spring on this island above high water mark. The forest growth, which consists of oak, chestnut, &c., is thinly planted, and chiefly without underwood. The British cut down a great part of the wood during the revolutionary war, and thus greatly lessened the value of the lands. Three thousand cords were taken from the estate of Thomas Dering, Esq., a man of such excellence of character, as would, if any thing could, have disarmed the spirit of plunder.

The soil is lighter and thinner than that of the good lands on Long-Island. Yet in a field, belonging to General Dering, it yielded, under a skilful husbandry, between thirty-nine and forty bushels of wheat an acre, the year preceding the date of this journey. Exclusive of grass, for the growth of which it is rather too dry, it seems well fitted for all the productions of the climate. To sheep it is peculiarly suited: the sweet feed, which it yields, being remarkably grateful to that animal, and the snow lying, ordinarily, so short a time, as very little to interrupt the pasturing of cattle. The wool of the Shelter Island flocks is thought inferior to none in this country.

The property of this island is principally in the three families of Dering, Haven, and Nicoll. It was incorporated in 1788; and, in 1790, contained 201 inhabitants; in 1800, 260; and, in 1810, 270.

To the credit of the inhabitants, especially of the principal proprietors, it ought to be observed, that they have customarily made considerable exertions to support schools, and to obtain the preaching of the Gospel.

Two of our company left us here, and proceeded imme-

directly over Hog's Neck to Sagg Harbour, and thence to East-Hampton. We went a considerable part of the day at the house of General Dering. In the afternoon this gentleman politely accompanied us to the ferry; and assisted us not a little to obtain a comfortable passage. The wind being boisterous, we sent our horses over first, and followed them without accident, although not without disagreeable apprehensions. We then found our way, with some difficulty, over Hog's Neck; and proceeded, unpleasantly enough, through the waters, which overflowed the long, narrow, and winding isthmus, connecting this peninsula with Southampton. Thence we had a circuitous, solitary, and tedious ride to Sagg Harbour; where the hospitality of Mr. D. amply compensated us for the troubles of the journey.

Sagg Harbour is a pretty village, lying partly within the township of Southampton, and partly in that of East-Hampton. It is situated on a mere mass of sand. The harbour, which is excellent, and the only good one for a great distance on the eastern end of the island, allured the inhabitants to this unpleasant ground; not unpleasant from the want of prospect, but because it furnishes unpleasant streets and walks, and is unfriendly to every kind of vegetation. The village contained at this time about 120 houses; the principal part of which are on a winding street, terminating at the shore; the rest, on some other streets of less consequence. Many of the houses, out-houses, and fences, are new and neat: and an appearance of thrift, elsewhere unknown in this part of the island, is spread over the whole village. Several of the inhabitants have acquired considerable wealth by commerce and fishing: both of which have been regularly increasing since the revolutionary war. When we were on the spot there were three, and there are now (1811) six ships, employed in the whale fishery on the coast of Brazil; each of which is supposed, on an average, to return annually with one thousand barrels of oil. The other vessels, owned here, may amount to fifty. Mechanical business is also done here to a considerable extent. Ship building, particularly, is carried on with skill, spirit, and success. There is a printing office in this village; the only one on the island, except at Brooklyn. The inhabitants have a small Presbyterian church; old, and of design ill-repaired: a

much larger one being necessary to accommodate their increasing population*.

Sagg Harbour is now, and probably will continue to be, the most considerable village in the eastern part of Long-Island. The number of inhabitants at the date of our journey was about 850; in 1810, they amounted to 1,168.

We left Sagg Harbour, Saturday morning, May 19th, and rode to East-Hampton. Our journey lay on a sandy, solitary plain, covered with oaks and yellow pines, through which flowed a small brook or two, the first seen by us in travelling sixty miles. In the neighbourhood of East-Hampton we passed by a considerable field, blown in the same manner, although in a less degree, as those formerly described on the peninsula of Cape Cod. Here also I saw, for the first time since I left that peninsula, the beach grass, the extraordinary and the only preventive of that misfortune.

When we arrived we found that our companions had gone to Montauk Point. After dinner we followed them, in company with the Rev. Mr. B——, the minister of East-Hampton, as far as the beach, which unites the peninsula of Montauk to Long-Island. Here my remaining companion left me to visit the point. Mr. B—— and myself in the mean time examined the fantastical scenery presented by this spot. The beach has been thrown up by the conspiring force of winds and waves, in the same manner as those which are annexed to the peninsula of Cape Cod, but is far less wild and magnificent. This tract was, however, once a plain of firm ground, but occasionally overflowed. Mr. Benjamin Hodges, now † living on Montauk, at the age of ninety-six years, remembers this fact. It is named Nipeag, “Niep,” water; “eag,” land ‡.

This peninsula is nine miles in length, and generally from two to three in breadth. Its surface is uneven, nowhere in the proper sense forested, but ornamented in several places by groves and scattered trees. The soil is a mixture of loam and gravel, yielding short, sweet grass, and furnishing good beef and mutton. With a few small exceptions, it is owned by the

* A large and handsome church has since been erected.—*Pub.*

† 1811.

‡ John L. Gardener, Esq.

citizens of East-Hampton, being a vast common with township, on which the cattle of the inhabitants are fed miscuously during the mild season. The number of prod is about one hundred and twenty.

A few years since, a large pond of fresh water, ~~ab~~ miles from the point, was broken in upon by the ocean from that time has been replenished with oysters of size and flavour. These are principally caught by Indians, the remains of the Montauk tribe, who live n pond, and sell them for corn, cider, and other commod

The Montauk Indians are a branch of the Mohekane is proved decisively by their language. I have not be to ascertain their number, but it is very small. Lik mentioned in the account of Stonington, and all others among the English, they have lost the proud and spirit of their ancestors, and assumed in its stead a stupid character. The amount of all their aims is to the bare necessaries of life, and to doze away their rest time in that sluggish inactivity, which is the middle st between intellectual and animal existence. A few of th employed in fishing, and, when at sea, are said to p their duty well; but as soon as they have returns received their wages, they become mere Indians ag pending their hard earnings chiefly for rum, the only enj which they appear to covet.

There are four or five English families on this pe These, unfortunately, are from two to three miles a that each house is a hermitage. One of them has the the light-house, a structure eighty feet in height, stan an elevated situation on the point, distinguished soon a colonization of this country as a landmark of the f portance. Perhaps no building of this useful kind w erected on this side of the Atlantic in a spot where more necessary for the preservation of man.

About twelve hundred acres of this peninsula are stil possession of the Indians. The fee of the land is not but they hold it partly by lease and partly by permissi is a remarkable fact, that a number of words in their la are the same with the corresponding words in the lang

a tribe, discovered by Sir Alexander M'Kenzie, between three and four hundred miles from the Pacific Ocean*.

It is also remarkable, that none of the stones on the surface of the peninsula, except those which are now within the reach of the waves, show any marks of having been washed by the ocean.

Between the beach and the town of East-Hampton, the land is generally undulating, moderately good, settled, and under culture.

The town of East-Hampton is built principally on a single street, running very nearly from north-east to south-west. Its site is a perfect level. It is compactly built, and contains an ancient Presbyterian church, an academy, and about one hundred dwelling-houses. The academy is resorted to by a considerable number of students, and, with a little more spirit and enterprise on the part of the people, might be rendered extensively useful. The houses are generally of long standing. I saw but a single new one, and that was erected where another had been lately pulled down. Scarcely any of them are painted. In other respects they are generally in a tolerable state of repair. The passion for appearance, so far at least as building is concerned, seems hitherto to have fastened very little on the inhabitants of East-Hampton. A general air of equality, simplicity, and quiet, is visible here in a degree perhaps singular. Sequestered in a great measure from the world, they exhibit scarcely a trace of that activity which everywhere meets the eye in New-England. There is, however, no want of the social character; but it is regulated rather by the long-continued customs of this single spot, than by the mutable fashions of a great city, or the powerful influence of an extensive country, intimately connected in all its parts, and controlling, by the general opinion and practice, the personal conduct of every inhabitant. Living by themselves more than the people of most other places, they become more attentive to whatever is their own, and less to the concerns of others. Hence their own customs, especially those which have come down from their ancestors (and these are almost all that exist among them), have a commanding influence on their conduct.

* John L. Gardener, Esq.

Removed to a great distance from most of their countrymen, reports may be easily raised, and for a long time circulated among them, without any contradiction, if a few individuals, who may be regarded as the travelling members of their community, should happen to unite in the wish to keep them alive. Thus the character of a person, even in the most public life, if living at a distance, may by such individuals, for an indefinite period, be completely inverted. If a villain, he may pass for a man of worth; if a man of worth, for a villain. Thus, also, any event, or any conduct, may be misstated and misbelieved, and often without a remedy. I have rarely been struck with so much surprise as at finding the strange and mistaken apprehensions of some discreet and worthy people in this town, concerning several individuals of distinction in their own state; men, whom I perfectly knew, and with some of whom I had been long and intimately acquainted.

You are not, from these things, to suppose the inhabitants of East-Hampton to be in an uncommon degree either injudicious or ignorant. They are as respectable for their understanding, and in other things as well informed, read as much, and converse as well as most of their countrymen. But their insular and remote situation precludes them from the means, either of acquiring sound information, or detecting that which is false, concerning persons and facts existing in different parts of their country. Hence, as in the same circumstances all other people would be, they are exposed to misjudge, because their confidence can be, and often is, abused; while the detection of the abuse is beyond their power. In truth, they are better acquainted with many subjects, deeply interesting to man, than most of their countrymen.

Their moral and religious character also are much above the common level. By this I do not intend, that they are free from loose and profligate manners; but that the town contains a larger number of virtuous citizens, that morality and religion hold a higher place in the public estimation, and that transgressions of their dictates are felt by men of any reputation to be more dangerous, than in most other places.

As a proof of the justness of this opinion it may be observed, that a society has been voluntarily established here for the express purpose of strengthening magistrates in the prevention

and punishment of petty crimes, exposing all licentiousness, and promoting every kind of virtuous conduct. The measures of this society, in which all or nearly all the respectable inhabitants of the town are united, have, in an eminent degree, been harmonious, useful, and happy. They have not merely formed a constitution; assembled, deliberated, and resolved, according to the spiritless and useless examples of too many such societies; but have executed their resolutions in a manner highly honourable to their character. Vice has been really discouraged, virtue really strengthened; and the execution of law, in those inferior cases in which it is but too frequently unexecuted, and which thus lay the foundation of no small part of human degeneracy, really promoted. At the same time, while their measures have been firm and energetic, they have been cautious and prudent. Their prudence has ensured them success, and their success has invigorated their energy. May the blessing of Heaven rest upon all who are engaged in this excellent design, and upon every justifiable effort for its accomplishment.

Equally honourable to these people are their industry and frugality, their exemplary behaviour at church, their spirit of good neighbourhood, their mutual decency and respect, and the interest which they take in the enjoyments and sufferings of each other. I need not say, that they have their faults; but I can say truly, I wish that the inhabitants of this country, generally, had as few.

These observations are extensively applicable, with some qualifications, to the county of Suffolk at large.

I have already observed, that this county was originally settled from New-England. A considerable number of the colonists came from Lynn, and others, probably, from some of the other towns in the neighbourhood of Boston. These planted themselves near the western end of the island. The Dutch, who had already begun some small plantations in that quarter, quarrelled with them, and finally drove them away. They then removed to Southampton, and stationed themselves without molestation. Here they were joined by other emigrants from the same colony.

In the year 1640, the colony of New-Haven purchased and settled Southhold, the Indian Yennycock. The same

year, the colony of Connecticut purchased a tract containing a great part of the townships of Oyster Bay, North Hempstead, and placed on it a considerable number of settlers. All these settlements were from the beginning claimed by the colonies of Connecticut and New-York. Southampton sent representatives to the general assembly of Connecticut twenty years; from 1644 to 1664. In 1664 plantations in the neighbourhood of the Dutch settlement sent a petition to the legislature of Connecticut, praying to be taken under their jurisdiction. The legislature voted they would "use such just and lawful means as God put into their hands for the indemnity and safety of the plantations, until his majesty should make known his pleasure on this subject." In the year 1664, the Dutch territory was rendered New-York to Colonel Nichols, and Long-Island was thenceforth annexed to that province. The inhabitants of Suffolk county, however, have always been, and are in every other respect New-England people. Descended from one source, they have to this day sustained the same character. From their neighbours in the two western counties they are distinguished by their names, their pronunciation, their manners, their attachment to the education of the children, their intelligence, their morals, and their religion; these are of New-England origin. The very manners, which I distinctly remember to have been, forty years since, the prevailing manners of such places and people as I visited at that time, and better and happier in many respects than the manners which have been substituted for them, are now the manners of a great part of this county. The insular situation of the inhabitants, while it has precluded them from many motives of improvement, has also preserved them from many sources of corruption. Their houses and churches are less splendid and beautiful; but their minds are more susceptible of noble impressions, and their lives less stained by vice.

The old New-England hospitality, which welcomed a stranger because he was a stranger, a neighbour, or a friend, and which because it coveted an opportunity of displaying wealth and taste, or acquiring admiration, prevails generally throughout this county. A traveller is received with an air of frankness and good-will which he cannot distrust, and which ende

entertainment much more than manners however polished, or accommodations however convenient. He feels that he has been received not only with civility, but with kindness; and leaves the house of his host with affection.

In passing through this county, a traveller is forcibly struck with a sense of stillness and sequestration from the world. Every place seems to him a retirement. Noise and bustle clamour at such a distance that the din is not heard. Profound contemplation and playfulness of mind scarcely meet with an interruption. Every thing indicates and cherishes repose; and he will hardly believe that disorder and disturbance, of any kind, can here intrude upon the peace of man.

A gum tree, of the kind which is here called the Balm of Gilead, or the black poplar, is now growing before the house of Mr. William Hunting, of this town. The stem was a branch wafted upon the south shore by the ocean. There it was found by a member of Mr. Hunting's family, and set out where it now stands.

Gardiner's Island, or the Isle of Wight, lies across the mouth of Peconic Bay, between Plumb Island and Montauk; and is about seven miles in length and one in breadth, containing not far from three thousand acres. The soil is excellent, and yields, very plentifully, wheat, maize, and grass, and furnishes excellent beef and mutton, cheese and wool. It was purchased originally by Lyon Gardiner, Esquire, who commanded the fort at Saybrook several years, and was also granted to him by James Torrett, the British nominal proprietor of the whole island. Mr. Gardiner began a settlement here in 1639; the first British settlement within the state of New-York. From this original proprietor it has descended regularly in his family to the present owner, John Lyon Gardiner, Esquire. Until lately it was an entailed estate, now it is holden in fee simple. Its Indian name was Munshougonuc, and signified, a place where a multitude of Indians had died: like the character given of Carthage, when it is styled, "the grave of Europeans."

It is believed here, and generally along the southern shore of the island, that fruit trees cannot be cultivated with success when they are exposed to the sea winds. That these winds blow here with great strength and are very damp is certain;

but that they destroy or prevent the growth of fruit trees, particularly apple trees and pear trees, is questionable. On the land of the Rev. Mr. B., at East-Hampton, I saw a considerable number of young trees, which were very flourishing. I saw also several orchards, in places entirely open to the winds, which were well grown and prosperous, and some of them in full blossom. It may, therefore, be concluded, that this opinion has been hastily taken up. Yet so extensively has it been adopted, that there are few orchards, and very few fruit trees of any kind in this township, or Southampton; and indeed very few for sixty or seventy miles along the shore.

East-Hampton is uncommonly healthy, as is evident from the number of old people which it contains. Notwithstanding the frequency, dampness, and strength of the sea winds, the inhabitants appear to be liable in no peculiar degree to any particular disease, except the hypochondria. This evil is said to be unusually frequent here, at Bridghampton, and at Southampton. What is called land air, can hardly be said to be breathed at all at East-Hampton; and the people are healthy, from the same cause which produces the health of seamen.

East-Hampton contained, in 1790, 1,497 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,549; in 1810, 1,484.

On Monday, May 21st, we left our friends in East-Hampton, and rode through Bridghampton and Southampton to West-Hampton; twenty-six miles.

Bridghampton is a parish of Southampton. Its surface is agreeably undulating, the soil better or better cultivated than any tract of the same extent on our journey, and the houses are in more instances neat in their appearance. We saw no village in this parish.

There has lately been a considerable revival of religion, both here and in East-Hampton.

Southampton is said to have been formerly a flourishing settlement; the whaling business having been vigorously pursued, and become a source of wealth to the inhabitants. At present it wears the aspect of decline. Some of the houses are better than any in East-Hampton, but the general appearance is less agreeable and prosperous. The town is not —

compactly built, and the inhabitants are said to be less industrious.

The soil of Southampton is more sandy and light than most of that through which we had travelled.

Southampton contained, in 1790, 3,408 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,690; and, in 1810, 3,899. This increase is probably all found in the village of Sagg Harbour.

From Southampton, to what is here called "the Canoe-place," about four miles, the country is a succession of disagreeable sand-hills; a considerable part of which are blown, like the grounds formerly mentioned in the description of Cape Cod, and exhibit a desolate and melancholy aspect. These hills were once cultivated; but, from the poverty of the soil and the ravages of the wind, appear to have been finally forsaken*.

From the Canoe-place, where there are two or three indifferent houses, to West-Hampton, the country is a mere forest, chiefly of yellow pines. The surface is a plain, the soil a lean sand, the trees are small and unthrifty, and the road is difficult and tedious. In this part of our journey we met with nothing that was agreeable, except the solemn roar of the ocean, the prospect of the great bay already mentioned, the magnificent beach by which it is bounded, and the immeasurable waters lying beyond it. These objects, occurring in several instances, through vistas opened in the forest, were highly sublime; and, amid our otherwise unvaried scenery, peculiarly delightful.

West-Hampton is a parish of Southampton, and a scattered settlement. It is here commonly designated by the dismal Indian name, Catchebonnuc; properly the name of a point of land within its limits. To complete the list of unfortunate titles of this abused place, two hamlets belonging to it are named Quaug, or Speeunk. Yet here, on a point of land south of the road, we found good accommodations obligingly furnished at an inn, kept by a Mr. Howell.

The next morning, the 22d, we left West-Hampton, and

* Since the date of this journey I have been informed, that the remains of a tribe of Indians, called the Shinnakaughs, are the proprietors of these lands; and that some of them still undergo Indian cultivation.

rode to Douglas's, in Islip, through the remaining part of Southampton, a part of Brookhaven, and a part of Islip thirty-six miles. We dined at Carman's, in what is called the Fire-place, in Brookhaven, and fared comfortably; but were obliged to lodge at a miserable house, half in ruins, kept by very poor and very ignorant people, the inn at which we intended to lodge having been pre-occupied by some sportsmen from New-York who had come hither to catch trout.

The country from Howell's to the Fire-place is a continuation of the same plain, almost wholly forested; less sandy, less covered with pines, and more productive of oaks. The road also, being on a firmer surface, was generally better; but, in some instances, was still sandy and tedious. The settlements though few, were more numerous; and, together with several fields of wheat growing vigorously on the borders of our road varied the generally dull scenery of this region. The preceding day we had crossed a few rivulets, this day we found a greater number, and among them several fine sprightly mill streams. One of these, which runs by Carman's, is named Connecticut river; the largest, after Peconic, in the island, and replenished with fine trout. From this spot the road became still firmer, the forests more and more composed of oaks, the wheat-fields more numerous and flourishing, the settlements though thinly scattered, more frequent, and the country universally more pleasant. While we were at Douglas's, a thunderstorm passed over us, and the rain distilled plentifully through the roof and sides of our shelter. Part of our company were disagreeably sprinkled while in bed, but experienced no distressing consequences from the wetting. Our horses, which passed the night without any other hay than sedge, had more reason to complain than ourselves.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Islip. Hempstead Plain. Grouse Plain. Huntington. Oyster Bay. Hempstead. North-Hempstead. Flushing. Mr. Prince's Fruit-Yard. Jamaica. Ride from Jamaica to Brooklyn. Vegetation on different Parts of the Island affected by the prevailing Winds. Bushwick.

DEAR SIR ;

WEDNESDAY morning, May 23d, we pursued our journey through the remainder of Islip, through Huntington, Oyster bay, Hempstead, and a part of Jamaica : thirty-eight miles.

The country on this day's journey, until we came to the border of Hempstead plain, generally resembled that which was last described ; but in all the particulars mentioned in that description became more and more pleasant. Of Islip I know nothing beyond what I have already said, except that the township includes three or four islands of no importance, and contained, in 1790, 609 inhabitants ; in 1800, 853 ; and, in 1810, 885.

Near the western border of the township of Huntington we passed through a hamlet, consisting of about a dozen neat houses, all of them new, and built in a modern style. This was the first settlement of any importance which we saw after leaving Southampton (a distance of about sixty miles), and the first indication of the neighbourhood and commercial influence of New-York. Soon after we left this village we turned to the north-west, over a country of an indifferent appearance, containing a few miserable settlements, but principally covered with a forest of pines, and an underwood of shrub oaks. Four or five miles from the commencement of this forest, we entered upon what is called the Grouse or Brushy plain ; the south-eastern border of Hempstead plain, extending about

three or four miles in breadth. From this ground we enter Hempstead plain, and dined at a place called the Isle of Pines, situated near its centre.

Hempstead plain is a continuation of that vast level which extends from the Canoe-place to Jamaica, about eighty miles and occupies throughout this distance the southern half of the island. It is not interrupted by a single hill. About twenty miles from the eastern limit it is covered with yellow pine then with a mixture of pines and oaks, then with oaks only until within a few miles of Hempstead plain the pines make their appearance again. The eastern division of this level is unfit for agriculture, and useful only as the basis of a forest. Thence to the western boundary of Huntington the soil becomes gradually better, and thence to the border of Hempstead plain it is almost absolutely barren. From the southern border of this level a number of points shoot out into the great bay, which are generally covered with a good soil, and owned by men of property and consideration. Several of them have long been entailed estates.

That part of this extensive level, which is called Hempstead plain, is distinguished from the rest only by the appearance of the soil, which is a dark, rich-looking mould, or a brown loam spread over a coarse gravel; and by its vegetation, which from the earliest knowledge of European settlers has, with the exception of the little spot called the Isle of Pines, been nothing but a long, coarse wild grass. Many attempts, as I am informed, have been made to cultivate this ground, but without success. It is now what it ever has been, a mere and very indifferent pasture.

The Grouse plain is distinguished from it by nothing, except its covering, which, instead of grass, is formed of shrubby oaks, the most shrivelled and puny that I ever met with scarcely exceeding in size a large whortleberry bush. On this ground there is always a multitude of grouse, the heath-cock and hen of New-England; and hither a great number of sportsmen annually repair from Long-Island, New-York, and the county of West-Chester, to hunt this bird: hardly an amusement being more coveted in this quarter.

The forested parts of this great level abound with deer. A large number of these are every year killed by hunters, and a

carried chiefly to New-York, where they never fail to command a good price.

Hempstead plain is, I presume, the easternmost of those "American prairies which are too fertile to produce forest trees;" unless it should be thought that the little cluster of pines, amid which we dined, vitiates its title to this extraordinary character. To my eye, both now and in two excursions which I made to it formerly, the appearance of its border strongly resembled that of a lake. Its length is about sixteen miles from east to west; its greatest breadth eight, and its least five. Like Montauk, it is almost entirely a common, and supplies indifferent pasturage, and a sufficiency of water, throughout the mild season, for a great number of cattle. The Isle of Pines, at a distance, resembles not a little a real island.

Between the western limit of Huntington and Hempstead, we passed through the southern part of the township of Oyster Bay. Heretofore I had repeatedly passed through the northern. This tract is undulating and fertile. It is also better supplied with springs and brooks, and wears more proofs of prosperous industry than many other parts of the island. In two of these excursions also I passed through North-Hempstead; and in one of them through Flushing into Newtown. These townships have a good soil, and a surface in many places not unpleasant. In several places they exhibit, particularly the two last, a cultivation, which within a few years has been greatly improved. In Flushing Mr. Joseph Prince, and afterwards his son, Mr. William Prince, have for many years collected, raised, and sold the greatest number and variety of valuable fruit-trees ever seen in a single spot on this continent. These they have extensively spread through the United States, and have even sent them to several parts of Europe. They may, therefore, be fairly reckoned in the list of benefactors to their country.

In these townships the effects of their vicinity to New-York are abundantly conspicuous in the wealth of the farmers, and in the beauty of the villas with which they are handsomely ornamented.

Oyster Bay contained, in 1790, 4,097; in 1800, 4,548; in 1810, 4,725 inhabitants. North-Hempstead contained, in

1790, 2,696; in 1800, 2,621; in 1810, 2,700 inhabitants. Flushing contained, in 1790, 1,607; in 1800, 1,814; in 1810, 2,230 inhabitants. Newtown contained, in 1790, 2,111; in 1800, 2,309; in 1810, 2,437 inhabitants.

Hempstead is a small and rather pretty village, containing several neat houses, an Episcopal and a Presbyterian church, both decent, and a court-house, this being the shire town of Queen's county. The ministers of both churches preach in them a part of the time only, having other congregations under their care.

Hempstead lies on the south-western skirt of the plain, and on some gently rising grounds, by which it is bordered in this quarter. In the year 1790, the township, which is extensive, contained 3,828 inhabitants; in 1800, 2,413; in 1810, 3,804.

From the village of Hempstead to Jamaica the appearance of the county continually improved. The surface was still plain, but the soil was sensibly better, the forest trees now appearing singly, or in groves, were larger and more thrifty; the cultivation was more skilful, and the produce was more vigorous. The influence of New-York was continually more and more evident, until we arrived at Jamaica.

Jamaica is the largest and handsomest village in this county, containing about a hundred houses, three churches, a Dutch, a Presbyterian, and an Episcopal, and an academy of long standing, but supported with less spirit and uniformity than could be wished. The houses are built principally on a single street, running from east to west, and are generally good. The churches are not distinguished for their beauty. This town, from its neighbourhood to New-York, and from having long been a customary resort for the inhabitants of that city, has acquired a polish not visible in the towns further eastward. Its buildings and fences are neater, and the manners of its inhabitants have more of what may be called a city air; in persons of refinement and virtue extremely agreeable; but in such as are vulgar and vicious, pert, impudent, gross, and profane. The latter manners are unhappily the most common and the most prominent in all such places, are the most visible to every traveller, and enter, perhaps, more than they ought into the estimate which he forms of their character. In such a place I have often felt, that if life were not now and then refreshed by

refined sentiments and conduct of the small number, the coarse and protuberant vices of the clumsy and insolent multitude would render it intolerable. But happily the gentleman and then found, reanimates the spirits under the stupor to which they sink within the contagion of the market.

In the year 1790, Jamaica contained 1,675 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,761; and, in 1810, 2,110. Jamaica and Hempstead, with a strip of Oyster Bay, occupy the whole of Queen's county on the southern shore.

Thursday morning, May 24th, we rode to New-York to breakfast, through the remainder of Jamaica, a small corner of Dutchess, and the township of Brooklyn. The country between Jamaica and Brooklyn, being generally owned by persons who have grown rich with the aid of New-York, and being manured from the streets and stables of that city, is under high cultivation. The soil also is naturally good, a stiff sand approximating to clay, and differing materially from any which we had seen on this island. I remember no spot, of the same extent, where the produce of so many kinds appeared so well. The wheat, winter barley, flax, and oats, were remarkably fine; and, wherever the country was cultivated, as almost all of it was, its face resembled a rich garden. The surface here is generally undulating, and in some places rough; the ridges and points of the hills being formed of jagged rocks. This discord was, however, particularly agreeable to me, as I had been wearied with the monotony of the scenery which we had left behind us. The buildings on this part of the road are generally good, and are surrounded by neat appendages. Upon the whole, I thought this part of our journey peculiarly agreeable.

About two miles west of Jamaica, as I estimated the distance, we quitted the smooth circular stones, which before we had found everywhere, except on Montauk; and came suddenly upon such as were universally rough and angular. These continued to the ferry.

In the course of this journey I was struck with the diversity of the progress of vegetation in the different places which we visited. We left New-Haven on the 9th of May, and arrived at Huntington on the 15th. Here we found the vegetation

On the 24th we rode from Jamaica to New-Haven. Here the vegetation was advanced at least a week beyond what we found at New-Haven; being more forward than we found on the 29th. The season at Jamaica, Bushwick, and Lyn, was therefore three weeks earlier than in the soil of Huntington and Oyster Bay. This difference may be owing to the difference either of soil or climate, both are in favour of these parts of Huntington and Bay; the soil being sandy and warm, the situation miles further south, and the distance of the two extremes more than forty.

Facts, generally resembling this, exist in various parts of this country, and probably in many others. No experiment of the subject has, within my knowledge, been attempted. I will communicate to you that, which, after a good deal of reflection, appeared to me to be most satisfactory. The wind which principally brings warmth to the southern parts of England, and, I presume, to the United States at the south-west. When it strikes East-Hampton, it carries the country generally to the western line of Oyster Bay, and over an extensive tract of the ocean. Of course it brings with it the chilling influence of the vapour, exhaled at that point from its waters. From that point to Jamaica, the

greater distance from the shore. From both these causes the vegetation at this season is gradually quickened, after passing the western limit of Oyster Bay towards New-York. Westward of the town of Jamaica, the south-west winds, from the shore of New-Jersey, cross only a narrow arm of the sea, about eight or ten miles wide. Hence, whatever warmth they have retained during their progress from the southern states to the Jersey shore, they bring, with little diminution, to this spot. Here, of course, commences a new and very different atmosphere from that which is found but a little farther east, and a new and proportionally different vegetation. Something may undoubtedly be allowed to the superior richness of the soil, and skill in cultivation. The former of these advantages (perhaps both) is balanced by the superior warmth of the soil at the places where the vegetation is most backward. That both are of little weight in forming this estimate I was furnished with complete proof in the month of May, 1811. In a journey, which I then took to Perth Amboy, I found the vegetation of the spring advanced a full week beyond that on the island of New-York, without any peculiar advantages either of soil or culture. But at Amboy the south-west winds blow over land, without any interruption, except by the little estuary of the river Raritan.

The land at this season is sensibly warmer than the sea; that is, the land from New-York to Cape-Florida, and indeed from New-York to the 44th degree of latitude. Of this a complete proof is furnished even by Connecticut river. When the freshets are high, the towns on the borders of that river experience a sensible change of temperature, a chill which lasts till the river subsides to its proper bed.

Accordingly the cold winds from the north are perceptibly warmed, as they pass from the higher to the lower latitudes of New-England and New-York; and the south-western winds from Florida, although cooled to some degree in their progress to the north, are yet much less so than those which blow over the ocean. A south-west wind at New-Haven, in April or May, although blowing over a considerable tract of ocean, and therefore less warm than in the tracts surrounding New-York, yet, after continuing two or three days, becomes always

warm, and produces a rapid change in vegetation. Sometimes, indeed, it renders the weather uncomfortably hot, even within this short period. A south-west wind reaches New-Haven from the Jersey shore, by crossing the arm of the Sound between Sandy-Hook and Long-Island, passing through the principal part of Queen's-county, the north-west corner of Huntington township, crossing the Sound in an oblique direction about thirty miles, and then passing over the breadth of the township of Milford. It ought however to be observed that these winds, although universally named here south-west winds, blow regularly from south-west by west, and should therefore be placed in a course more westerly than that which I have assumed. By a person who casts his eye upon a map of the United States, it will be seen, that these winds have the same course on the vast plain which extends from the Raritan to Cape Florida, and from the Atlantic to the mountains in the interior. The level of this plain being raised but little above that of the ocean, and its soil being principally sandy must have less influence to cool these winds than almost any other tract which might be supposed to occupy the same position.

In conformity to this view of the subject, the countries east of New-Haven on the south shore of New-England have a later spring, particularly those which are at a considerable distance. The south-west winds there having the same chilly character which the south and south-east wind have here.

When the northern winds, or the south-eastern, blow during the months of April and May, the state of the weather is materially different from that which has been here described. The northern winds, though somewhat milder on the coast than in the interior, diffuse nevertheless a temperance equal to that of the south, so that the difference of vegetation bears very little proportion to the latitude, from the northern boundary of Massachusetts to the Sound. When the south-east wind blows at this season, they are chilly and piercing, and affect the tables much in the same manner as they affect men in winter. In a season the spring is always more forward at New-Haven, and as forward at Northampton

811, the vegetation was as far advanced on the 20th at New-Haven as at New-York. These winds had then for a long period been more uniformly prevalent than during any other vernal season, except one (1792), within my remembrance.

Of Bushwick, as we passed through a corner of it only, I know nothing, except that it is said to be pleasant and fertile; that it was settled by Dutch colonists, and is inhabited by their descendants; that it is possessed of the common prosperity of this neighbourhood; and that, in 1790, it contained 540 inhabitants; in 1800, 656; and, in 1810, 798.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER V.

Brooklyn. Prospect from the Heights. Battle between the British under General Howe, and the Americans under General Putnam. Retreat of the American Army to New-York. The East River. King's County settled by the Dutch. Character of the Inhabitants. Quake's Return.

DEAR SIR;

BROOKLYN is the shire town of King's county, directly opposite to New-York. It is the largest and handsomest town on Long-Island, and the most pleasantly situated. It is built on the summit and the sides of a pretty elevation, and commands a noble prospect of the east river; the city and county of New-York; the Hudson; the shore of New-Jersey beyond it; New-York Bay, and its islands; a considerable tract on Long-Island; Staten-Island; and the high hills of Navesink, in the county of Monmouth. The field of view is extensive, various, and rich; and includes a great multitude of the beauties both of nature and art. The city of New-York is an object which in this country is singularly splendid; the groves are numerous and fine, the plantations are remarkably gay and fertile, and the villas rise in perpetual succession on the shores and eminences; embellishing the landscape, and exhibiting decisive proofs of opulence in their proprietors. The waters here presented to the eye are charmingly diversified and nobly limited. An immense number of vessels, assembled at the numerous wharfs, anchored in the streams, moving in a thousand directions over their surface, and over the great bay in which they terminate, present to the eye one of the liveliest images of vigorous activity which can be found in the world. For a view of all this fine scenery, this elevation is probably the best position.

Brooklyn itself is a beautiful object, and from the opposite shore is seen with the greatest advantage. Several of the streets are straight and spacious. The houses are generally good; many of them are new; many handsome; very many painted white, and therefore cheerful and brilliant. The town contains three churches, a Dutch, an Episcopal, and a Methodist. The inhabitants are, extensively, descendants from the original Dutch settlers; the rest are a casual collection from all quarters. Their number, in 1790, was 1,603; in 1800, 2,378; and, in 1810, 4,402.

Brooklyn will long be remembered from the battle, fought in its neighbourhood by the British and Hessians, under the command of General Howe, with the Americans, under the command of Major-General Putnam, and immediately under that of Major-General Sullivan. In this engagement the army of the enemy outnumbered that of the Americans in the proportion of about two to one. The British army was also composed of regular, well disciplined, and extensively of veteran troops. The Americans were militia, or raw recruits, and had no dragoons, not even enough to serve as videttes. They were stationed chiefly on a chain of hills, running from Yellow Hook towards Hempstead, and the British, from the ferry between Staten-Island and Long-Island, through the level country to the village of Flatland. From the last mentioned place a strong column, under the command of General Clinton and Lord Percy, marched into the Jamaica road through an unoccupied pass in this chain of hills, in the night of the 26th July, and turned the left of the American army. General Grant at the same time attacked the right of the Americans, under the command of Lord Sterling, posted near the ferry, while the fleet commenced a powerful cannonade upon a battery at Red Hook, principally to draw off the attention of the Americans from the main attack, that directed by Sir Henry Clinton.

As soon as the Americans perceived the British to have gained their rear, they were thrown into confusion. An attack was then made upon the centre, commanded by General Sullivan, and the right, commanded by Lord Sterling, and both divisions were speedily put to flight. A gallant, but unavailing attempt was made by Lord Sterling, which however was not

without its advantages, as it facilitated the retreat of a considerable part of the troops under his command. The victory was complete on the part of the British. The loss of the Americans cannot be ascertained. By General Washington it was estimated at not more than one thousand. This estimate unquestionably comprised all that came within his knowledge, and he knew, probably, better than any other man, the real state of the subject. General Howe computed it at three thousand three hundred. This computation may be regarded as a mere conjecture; it certainly was very remote from the truth. The number killed may be estimated at about four hundred; the wounded and the prisoners, among whom were General Sullivan, Lord Sterling, and Brigadier-General Woodhull, may have amounted to one thousand.

The number of Americans on the heights was less than six thousand. The British exceeded them greatly in numbers, and not less in discipline and generalship. The neglect of the pass, through which the main enterprise of the British was conducted, was fatal, and can never be excused, unless on the score of inexperience. The distress, occasioned by this defeat, was very great. Throughout every part of the colonies it spread alarm and terror; but it was productive, also, of some beneficial consequences. Particularly, it diffused a general conviction, soon after riveted by the disasters which followed it, that, if the country was to be saved at all, it must be saved by the vigorous discipline and firm efforts of a standing army, and not by the feeble and desultory exertions of militia.

The situation of the Americans was now critical. General Washington, who during the heat of the action had passed over from New-York to the camp at Brooklyn, perceived that he could succour the troops, which were engaged, neither with the body which were within the lines, nor with the battalions left behind at New-York. Nothing, therefore, could be done to preserve the army, and, perhaps, the American cause, but to accomplish a retreat with the utmost expedition. The British waited only for a wind to move the shipping into the East river. The success of such an attempt would render his retreat doubtful, and this without any improbability might be accomplished the following day. He determined, therefore, while the British were encamped within six hundred

yards of his works, to withdraw his troops to New-York on the night of the 28th.

Throughout the evening, and until eleven o'clock, the wind was unfavourable to the enterprise. It then blew gently from the south-west. The water became smooth. A thick fog covered all the neighbouring region, and the army commenced their embarkation in boats, which were waiting to receive them. With such order, and such perfect silence, was the retreat conducted, that the whole army, their field artillery, a part of their heavy ordnance, their ammunition, provision, horses, waggons, &c., had passed over the river before the rear-guard suspected that they had left the ground. The British were so near, that their spades and pickaxes were distinctly heard within the American lines; yet they never discovered the retreat until half an hour after the works had been evacuated. This, however, could not have taken place but for the rain, which fell during a considerable part of the time, and for the fog, styled by Dr. Gordon, "that heavenly messenger."

Seldom has an army been placed in more critical circumstances than the American, antecedently to this retreat. They were miserably armed in many instances; ill disciplined; commanded generally by officers, imperfectly acquainted with military affairs, and opposed by an enemy nearly treble their original number, commanded by officers of great skill and experience, and amply supplied with every thing, which could contribute to the success of their operations. The works, by which the Americans were defended, were of little strength, and, had the British attacked them, must in all probability have been carried, whatever resistance might have been made. In this case the army would have been ruined, and it may be very seriously doubted whether the colonies would have ever raised another. The retreat was timely, masterly, and, by the blessing of Providence, completely successful.

The East river (as it is called) is a continuation of the Sound, and has probably derived its present name from its resemblance to a river in appearance. It is not far from a mile in breadth; and, being the principal harbour of New-York, is always filled with shipping. The tide moves here with very great rapidity, and renders the ferry disagreeable, except at

high and low water. We arrived just before high water, and found the passage tolerably pleasant.

I have already observed, that King's county was principally settled by the Dutch. This is partially true of Queen's county also. The general character of the Dutch settlers in the state of New-York and New-Jersey, I propose to give elsewhere. I know of nothing, by which their descendants on Long-Island are distinguished from their brethren.

The other inhabitants of these two counties are a mixed people, derived from many sources, and exhibiting a great variety of character. In religion they are Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists, Methodists, and Nihilists. They are generally industrious, frugal, and thrifty. Their advantages for marketing are not exceeded. You will not wonder, therefore, that they are wealthy. The breeding of horses has for a long time been here a favourite business; and horse-racing (of which Hempstead plain is the great theatre) a favourite amusement. Wherever this kind of sport prevails, no man, acquainted at all with human affairs, will expect any great prevalence of morals or religion. There are few spots of the same extent, settled at so early a period, where these great concerns of man are less regarded. Young men, even of wealthy families, are usually taught scarcely any thing more than to read, write, and keep accounts. The state of society is, therefore, humble, and involves very little of knowledge or sentiment. Intelligence is in truth disregarded by the body of the inhabitants, except as it aids them to the acquisition of property. The young men of ambition and enterprise, when they set out in life, generally quit their native soil, and seek residence in a superior state of society, or at least where they find more extensive means of business.

In various parts of these two counties the sabbath is considered by many of the inhabitants as scarcely sustaining sacred character. It is devoted extensively to visiting, amusement, and, during the seasons of mowing and harvest not unfrequently to labour. In some places there are, for long periods, no ministers; in others the people are the prey of ignorant teachers, recommended by nothing but ardour and vociferation.

The clergymen, who are actually settled in the ministry, in these counties, are, so far as I am informed, of the same respectable character possessed by those in other parts of this country; but the people are so generally split up into sects, that their congregations are in most instances small.

The Quakers, the number of whom is considerable, differ little from their brethren elsewhere, except that they are more uninformed and more listless than in several other places.

The insular situation of these three counties has a very perceptible influence upon the inhabitants as a body. Their own internal concerns must always exist upon a small scale. Their views, affections, and pursuits, must of course be always limited. Few objects can be presented to them, and few events can occur of sufficient magnitude to expand thought, or of sufficient importance to awaken energy. Almost all their concerns are absolutely confined to the house or to the neighbourhood, and the neighbourhood rarely extends beyond the confines of a small hamlet. Habitually bounded by these confines, the mind is neither very much inclined, nor very able to look beyond them. Its views, in most cases, will, after a little time, be of choice occupied within these small circles; its affections will all centre here, and its pursuits will break through, only to reach the market. The tenour of life, therefore, will be uniform; undisturbed on the one hand, and tame on the other. What the mind might have been cannot be known, because it has never been stimulated to any attempts for the expansion of its views, or the exertion of its powers. What it is may, from one instance, be easily conjectured in a thousand.

The inhabitants of this island are destitute of other advantages, which contribute not a little to diffuse information, and awaken energy. There is very little travelling here beside their own. The attention excited, the curiosity awakened, and the animation produced, by the frequent arrival of strangers, are here in a great measure unknown. At the same time, comparatively few persons of talents and information reside here. There is nothing sufficiently inviting in the circumstances of the island itself to allure persons of this character hither from the continent, and the allurements of the continent are such as commonly to entice men of this description,

who are natives of the island, to remove from it for the sake of obtaining them. A considerable number of such men here, are accordingly found in New-York and elsewhere. The advantages derived from the conversation and examination of persons distinguished for superiority of character, are there enjoyed in a very imperfect degree; and that luminous and those improvements in the state of society, which everywhere shed upon the circle around them, are imperfectly realized. Such, it would seem, must, till an indefinite period, be the situation of Long-Island.

We continued in New-York until Monday, the 28th, then commenced our journey to New-Haven, where we arrived the following day.

I am, Sir, &c.

FIRST JOURNEY TO LAKE GEORGE.

LETTER I.

*ey through Goshen, &c., to the head of Lake George.
age across the Lake. Excursion to Ticonderoga.
urn to the Head of the Lake. Manner of Hunting
r. Huntsman. Overtake a Buck swimming on the
ie. Fort William Henry. Bloody Pond.*

DEAR SIR;

ON Saturday, September 18th, 1802, I set out on a
journey to Lake George, accompanied by Mr. S——, a
member of the senior class in Yale college. We left New-
Haven at eleven o'clock, and arrived at Litchfield in the
evening. Here we were detained, by the heat and moisture of
the weather, till Tuesday morning. We then rode to Goshen,
and continued till three in the afternoon. The Rev.
Mr. ——, pastor of Goshen, joined us here on a journey to
bury in Vermont. The weather still continued in-
tensely hot, and the sky threatened us with rain.

At a hill in the north part of Goshen, at a small distance
from our road, we regaled ourselves with an interesting
view of the Kaatskill Mountains. After our return to the
road, which is a turnpike lately completed, we speedily reached
the eastern summit of the Green Mountains in this quarter.
The road descends into a valley, several miles in length,
formed by a separation of the mountains, and furnishing an
easy gradual descent to the plains below. Through the chasm
between the spurs, which to the eye are the extreme bounda-
ries of the vallies on the north-east and south-west, we were
afforded with a most interesting prospect. The valley itself
is very fertile.

was a fine object, narrow, deep, and wild, with here and there a solitary farm, and a few scattered houses. The mountains by which it is bounded are bold, majestic promontories, advancing towards each other, and intruding into the valley, with steep and lofty precipices. Beyond these spreads the expansion of the Hooestennuc, and still farther beyond ascended the summits of Taghkannuc, gilded by the declining sun, and spotted by the shadows of several clouds, which floated slowly and solemnly along its summit, and continually changed its dark form as they moved over its bosom. Behind the mountain rose a black and awful cloud, highly charged with the electric fluid, whence the lightning streamed and the thunders rolled with uncommon grandeur.

At the bottom of this valley runs, with a rapid current, a brook, of sufficient size for a mill-stream. Its margin on each side is formed by narrow intervals. The settlements here are recent, compared with most others in the state. The grounds are imperfectly cleared. The agriculture is indifferent, and the houses are chiefly new and small. The prospect of the mountains from the valley is scarcely less striking than that which has been already described.

About five o'clock we stopped at an inn, eight or nine miles from Goshen, to escape the shower alluded to above. The roaring of the thunder in this mountainous region, the flashing of the lightning, the murmuring of the rain, and the noise of the torrents, almost instantaneously formed by it, produced impressions not easily imagined by persons accustomed only to an open country.

When the shower was ended we set out for Sheffield. Our road passed for a considerable distance directly under the Green Mountains, whose precipices presented us with a continued succession of wild sublimity. On the western side extended a solitary forest, rising out of low, marshy ground, destitute of cultivation. In this absolute solitude we found a new handsome church, just built, where the forest had been cleared to make room for it. The sky was overcast and threatened us with rain. Before we arrived at the bridge, which crosses the Hooestennuc at the south end of Sheffield, the night came on, and was extremely dark. When we came to the bridge we dismounted and walked over it. It was so

decayed and tremulous, that we were not a little relieved when we found ourselves on firm ground. Our anxiety we afterwards learned was but too well justified, and the inhabitants considered us as having escaped from serious danger.

Four miles of our journey still remained. But we consoled ourselves with the remembrance, that our road lay wholly on a smooth plain, where there could be neither obstruction nor difficulty. With regard to this fact, we were however sadly deceived, for a number of workmen were employed in converting the road through this very distance into a turnpike. The earth had been very lately thrown up, and by the rains was changed into a deep mire. The old path, which was serpentine in its direction, frequently crossed the new one, throughout the whole distance. In this case it passed over the ditches on each side, into which the descent was often perpendicular. Trenches were also cut in various places to carry off the water which might be accumulated by rains. Instead of the smooth way which we expected, we found one more irregular and embarrassing than any which either of us remembered, except in grounds partially cleared, such as I found on the mountains of Littleton. The darkness was so profound that our horses were unable to grope out their course, and became fearful and hesitating. At times they refused to advance, and at times, with a trembling, tripping step, they appeared ready to plunge us in the mire. With a continual alternation of ascents and descents between the path, the ditches, and the drains, we found our way entangled and distressing until we arrived with a creeping, snail-like pace, at our inn. Before we reached it the rain began to fall in torrents. To complete our mortification, the inn-keeper informed us, that his own house, and the only remaining inn in the town were full. Finally, however, we obtained lodgings at a private house.

The next morning we were detained until eleven o'clock by the rain, when we employed the interval between two showers in making the best of our way to Great Barrington. A succession of dark, misty clouds, sailing magnificently along the summits and bosom of Taghkannuc, in some measure compensated us by the solemnity and grandeur of their motions for a wetting, which we received from one of them during the latter part of our ride.

At the inn where we dined, we were again detained by the rain until three o'clock, when we proceeded pleasantly enough to Stockbridge. Here we were delayed by the same hindrance two days more, but passed our time so agreeably in the combined enjoyments of hospitality, friendship, and refined conversation, as to leave us no room to regret the detention.

Saturday morning, September 25th, there was a slight frost, but not of sufficient power to affect the tenderest vegetables. It was followed by a very fine day, which enabled us to proceed very pleasantly to M'Gown's, five miles from Albany.

In the morning we reached Albany in sufficient season for Divine service. Here we continued till Tuesday. Then, visiting the Cohoes in our way, we rode to Ensign's at Stillwater; and the next day, having dined at Sandy-Hill, alighted from our horses at the head of Lake George, and lodged in an inn kept by a Mr. Verner.

The country, as far as Glen's Falls, I found much improved in its appearance. The forests, which heretofore bordered the road in many places, were gone. The ground was inclosed. The houses were better and more numerous, and every thing wore the aspect of increasing prosperity. The road from Sandy-Hill to Lake George passes along the Hudson, as you may remember, to Glen's Falls, three miles. Throughout the remaining distance it crosses a pine ground, generally poor and barren. The road is indifferent, being alternately encumbered with sand and stones, and the settlements are few, recent, and very unpromising.

The next morning, Thursday, September 30th, our host very readily and very civilly offered to conduct us over the lake. Preparations were, therefore, immediately made for our voyage, and we set out between ten and eleven o'clock. The boat, which conveyed us, was built the preceding year at Schenectady, for the use, and under the direction of General Schuyler. Thence it was removed, partly by water, and partly over land, into the Hudson; up that river to Fort Edward, and thence over land into Lake George. Here this gentleman, then more than seventy years of age, embarked with a part of his family; and, crossing the several portages, proceeded down Lake Champlain and the river St. Lawrence to Quebec.

By the same route he returned to this place, and, leaving the boat for the accommodation of future passengers, proceeded by land to Albany. No vehicle could be lighter or more convenient. It was built in the form of a batteau, and was thirty feet in length, and about eight or nine in breadth. Over the middle half, a canopy of painted canvas, with curtains of the same material descending from it, sheltered passengers from the sun, wind, and rain. This room, for such it was when the curtains fell, was neatly floored, and furnished with seats and other accommodations, perfectly fitted for ease and pleasure. The day was fine, and the scenery above, beneath, and around us enchanting. We were in the best spirits. Our conductor was exceedingly obliging, and the rowers followed his example. No excursion could be pleasanter than this, except that, during the latter part of the voyage and of the day, the wind, for about two hours, blew from the north with sufficient strength to retard our progress, and to prevent us from reaching the landing till the evening was somewhat advanced. During the last two or three miles the air in this manner became cold enough to be disagreeable.

From the landing we proceeded to the house of Judge K. The family were in bed, but they rose immediately and entertained us with the utmost hospitality.

Very early the next morning we took a waggon and rode to the peninsula, so often mentioned in American history by the name of Ticonderoga. Our driver, who was perfectly acquainted with the spot, conducted us sedulously to every thing which we wished to see. We first examined the old French lines, a mound raised by a body of that people across the isthmus, while they were in possession of it, for the purpose of defending the approach to the fort. Across these, the principal object of my curiosity in visiting this place, lay our road to the fort. We then surveyed the fort itself, and then the grenadiers' battery. Thence we proceeded to the shore of Lake Champlain, that we might see the difference between the waters of the two lakes, the one pure as chrystal, the other turbid with clay, and disgusting to the eye. After our curiosity was satisfied we returned to the house of Mr. K., breakfasted, bade adieu to this worthy family, and began our voyage to the head of the lake.

The morning had been foggy, but the vapour was dispersed, and the weather became bright, serene, and soft, like that of the preceding day. Our voyage was in the highest degree delightful.

On our way we called at a house, standing upon the western shore, to supply ourselves with bread. The man and his wife had just then taken, not a solemn, but very violent resolution to part for ever; and were busied in preparing for their separation. They were, it seems, veterans in this species of contest; and had adopted a similar resolution very often before. The man was a sot, and the woman a termagant.

Two or three miles higher up the lake, we saw at a considerable distance what appeared to us to be a bear, mounted upon a tall, dry tree, leaning towards the lake, on the extremity of one of the points, which stretched out from the western shore. As we approached the place, we found the bear changed into a stout boy, about sixteen years of age, who had taken possession of this watch-tower, for the purpose of observing the first entrance of the deer, which some neighbouring huntsmen were endeavouring to drive into the water. We were all forcibly struck with the position, attitude, and general appearance of this stripling; nor did I ever before mistrust how much a human being can resemble a monkey.

Deer abound in the mountains on both sides of Lake George. — To me, the manner in which they are taken was new. The huntsmen with their hounds rouse them from their retreats in the forest: when they immediately betake themselves to the water, and swim towards the opposite shore. Other huntsmen, engaged in the business, place themselves on the points, to watch their entrance into the lake. Each of these is provided with a small, light batteau, which he is able to row faster than the deer can swim. When he has overtaken the deer, he dispatches him with a stroke or two of his oar, and then tows him back to the beach.

We landed on the point next above. Here we found a huntsman, who had a little before taken a handsome buck, three years old, which was then lying by him on the shore. He informed me, that his companion, who was then with a pack of hounds at a small distance in the interior, and whom he

expected every moment, usually took from twenty to thirty in a year.

Bears are caught here in the same manner, except that they are shot: as being too dangerous to be closely approached.

On this point we dined without ceremony or dainties; but we had keen appetites, and were satisfied. Before our departure we heard the hounds advancing near to us. Our hunting companion instantly took fire at the sound. His eye kindled, his voice assumed a loftier tone, his stride became haughty, his style swelled into pomp; and his sentiments were changed rapidly from mildness to ardour, to vehemence, and to rage. The boy above-mentioned, whose aerial station was full view from this point, had disappeared. Wrathful at this desertion, and assured of the immediate appearance of the deer, he vented his mingled emotions in a singular volley of magnificent promises, impious oaths, and furious execrations.

I was forcibly struck with the sameness of the emotions, produced by hunting and by war. The ardour of battle, the glitter of arms, the roaring of cannon, the thunder of shouts, and the shock of conflict, could scarcely have produced, in a single moment, more lofty, more violent, or more fierce agitations, than were roused in this man by the approach of the hounds, the confident expectation of a victim, and the brilliant prospect of a venatory triumph. To him, who has been a witness of both objects, it will cease to be a wonder, that the savage should make the chase his darling substitute for war, and a source of glory, second only to that acquired in battle: or that Nimrod, and his fellow hunters, were speedily changed into warriors, and learned from preying on beasts to fasten upon men.

All human expectations, however firmly founded, or confidently entertained, are liable, alas! to disappointment. Our hunter was not exempted from the common lot of man. His partner came up with the hounds; but, sad to tell, without a deer. The magnificence of our companion dwindled in a moment. The fire vanished from his eye, his voice fell to the natural key, and the hero shrunk into a plain farmer.

From this point we easily made our way to the house of a blacksmith, named Edmund, on the western side of the lake, eleven miles from Fort George. We arrived just as it be-

came dark. The man had heard the sound of the oars, and with a civility, common among new settlers, came with a candle, to aid us in landing, the shore being rough and inconvenient. He readily consented to lodge us, and both he and his family entertained us with as much hospitality and kindness as we could have expected from particular friends.

These people furnished a complete contrast to the pair mentioned above. The man was six feet and two or three inches in height, and a Sampson in his appearance. His wife also was tall and of a vigorous frame; and, had a controversy arisen, they would together have been no ill match for our whole company. But they were gentle-minded, affectionate, and even polite, both to each other and to those around them. This character was not assumed, but habitual; as was evident from the easy and native appearance, which it uniformly wore. Plain, indeed, they were in their manners; but there is something in the unaffected civility of plain people, which is peculiarly pleasing and amiable; and to my eye, at times, peculiarly graceful.

This man had a framed house of two stories, with two rooms on a floor. He told us that he raised it on the 1st of the preceding March, and removed his family into it on the 13th of the same month. He further informed us, that he had sown twenty-seven bushels of wheat the preceding year; from which in ordinary seasons he would probably have reaped twenty bushels per acre, and in good seasons thirty; and that, although he had gathered all, which was worth the labour, he should not get more than fifty bushels from the whole. This disappointment, to him a very serious one, he bore with entire equanimity, and even with cheerfulness. A blast in this region is uncommon, and such an one as has prevailed the present year was never before known.

In the morning, Saturday, October 2d, I took a survey of our landlord's farm, and was pleased to see it exhibit all the proofs of fertility and thrift, which could be expected on so new a plantation. We breakfasted early; and taking our leave of this friendly family, began our voyage homeward: the weather was a mere continuation of that fine serenity, which had smiled upon us the two preceding days. Scarcely had we advanced two miles on our way, when we saw a buck

swimming in the lake half a mile before us. As soon as he perceived us, he exerted all his strength to gain the point of an island, which a little southward of our course projected far into the water. To my great satisfaction, he reached it before we came up with him. As soon as he struck the shore, he flew rather than ran into the forest, and was out of sight in a moment. Our conductor and his men were much less satisfied with the disappointment than we were. But fortune, if I may use their language, soon made them amends. When we had proceeded about half a mile farther, another animal of the same species, but still larger, appeared at a little distance, making his way across the lake, and too far advanced to retreat. Our companions pursued him with no small degree of the spirit mentioned above, generally however with entire decency; and, speedily coming up, made him their prisoner after having given him a few strokes with the oar. They then drew him into the bow of the boat, where he lay just by my side in a posture, and with an eye of as affecting supplication as I almost ever beheld. Indeed it was a stronger resemblance of the suppliant aspect and attitude of a suffering infant than can easily be conceived.

At the first sight of this animal I was convinced that we should overtake him, and therefore hardened my heart, as well as I could, in order to be prepared for the event. I recollected, that it was as vindicable to kill a buck as an ox; and that his flesh would be a substitute for other meat, which must be obtained at the same expense of life and happiness. Nor could I deny, that our companions were unexcusable for their wishes to possess themselves of such a dainty; or refuse to exculpate them from the charge of any peculiar cruelty. I acknowledged, that they felt and did exactly what their fellow-men, as a body, would in the same circumstances have felt and done. But all my efforts were to no purpose. The appearance of the unfortunate animal put my philosophy to flight; and made so strong an impression upon my mind, that for several days his image, in spite of every exertion, was almost incessantly before my eyes, and is at this distance of time fresh and vivid in my remembrance. "Poor unhappy creature," I thought within myself, "like Christianity, without an earthly friend, and everywhere denied a safe, quiet retreat.

Wherever thou wanderest thou art persecuted, and thy persecutors are everywhere wolves, catamounts, and men: the last, thy worst persecutors: the two first, symbols of the men and the fiends who have ever combined to persecute Christianity also."

Our conductor, however, and his rowers exulted in their victory. Amid many other expressions of joy he remarked, that he would not for a considerable sum have failed of meeting with this adventure, that I might mention it in the journal, which he perceived I kept. He also informed us, with an air of no common panegyric, that a Mrs. D., of Sandy Hill, had caught one of these animals with her own hands, and brought it to the shore. Mrs. D., I presume, is of the true Amazonian breed; and, had the register of her genealogy been correctly kept, would find her ancestry reaching directly to the Thermodon.

The buck which we had taken was five years old, the largest and fattest that I ever saw.

A fine breeze now sprung up from the north-west. We hoisted our sail, and made the rest of our way as easily and pleasantly as can be conceived. We landed at the south-west corner of the lake, for the sake of seeing the remains of Fort William Henry. This fortress stood on a small eminence, rising gradually and immediately from the beach. It was a regular square work, with three, and I presume with four bastions; for I had not curiosity enough to examine. On the north is the lake, on the west a valley, on the south and south-east a thick swamp, and on the east a beach, very little elevated above the water. The immediate access was therefore difficult, but the spot is entirely commanded by more distant grounds; particularly by the eminence on which Fort George was afterwards erected. The walls were built of earth, rather sandy and loose; yet, having been always covered with the verdure, which spontaneously springs up everywhere in the eastern parts of the Union, are chiefly entire, except where they are broken down by the great road, which passes into the north-western parts of this state, and runs directly over them. In their best state they would have been a defence only against desultory attacks of Canadians and savages.

After we had satisfied our curiosity, we returned directly to the inn, mounted our horses, and set out for Sandy Hill. Before we began our voyage over the lake, we had examined with minute attention Fort George, and the remains of the works erected in its neighbourhood. On our return we surveyed several places which we had before passed in the evening, particularly the pond called Bloody Pond*; a name, which it received from the fact, that the French, and probably the English also, who fell in the battle between Baron Dieskaw, and the detachment of English and Indians, under Colonel Williams and the great Hendrick, were thrown into its waters. We also marked the rill called Rocky Brook†, where this battle began. At Glen's falls we turned aside, and viewed this fine piece of nature's workmanship. At Sandy Hill, where we arrived about three o'clock, we took a light dinner, and then without any inconvenience, except the heat, reached Carpenter's a little after sunset: our whole journey having been forty miles.

I am, Sir, &c.

* Bloody-Pond is at a small distance from the road on the eastern side, somewhat more as I should judge than three miles south of Fort George. It received its name from the fact, that the French threw their slain into it, after the engagement with Colonel Williams's party.

† Rocky-Brook, or Four-mile Brook, crosses the road about four miles south of Lake George, near where the rocky ground terminates.

LETTER II.

Description of Lake George. Prevalent Winds. Fish. Water of the Lake uncommonly pure, and supplied by subjacent Springs. Mills and Forges. Fine Scenery of the Lake. The Water. Islands. Shore and Mountains. View while returning from Ticonderoga.

DEAR SIR;

LAKE GEORGE lies between $43^{\circ} 25'$ and $43^{\circ} 55'$ north latitude, and between $73^{\circ} 25'$ and $73^{\circ} 43'$ west longitude from London. Its southern termination is in the township of Queensbury; its northern, in that of Crown Point. Its length is thirty-four miles, its greatest breadth four. At the head, or southern end, its breadth is about one mile. From this place it increases to a remarkable point, called "Fourteen Mile Point" (being at that distance from the head of the lake), to three miles and a half. Here it opens on the left hand into a large bay, called North-West Bay, running back six miles into the country. Above Fourteen Mile Point to Scotch Bonnet Point (ten miles), the whole distance is called the Straits, being generally from a mile to a mile and a half in breadth. Here it expands again into an opening, called Macdonald's Bay, five miles in length, and four in breadth. After this it gradually narrows into a river, which name it may fairly sustain for a mile and an half above the landing. Here it is not more than forty or fifty yards in breadth.

The depth of this lake is very various; the greatest is sixty fathoms.

Its water is perfectly pure; inferior in this respect to none, perhaps, in the world. All travellers remark this fact; a strong proof that it is nearly singular. By the inhabitants on its borders, who freely drink it at all times, it has been abun-

dantly proved to be entirely salubrious. We drank it often, and found it to be of the best taste and quality. On the surface it was, at this time, too warm to be agreeable. Six feet below it was cool, and, lower still, cold. These facts result from its formation by subjacent springs.

North-east winds are here frequent, and often violent, blowing nearly in the longitudinal direction of the lake. Winds from the east are rare, as they are also from the south-east; but, when coming from this quarter, they are usually tempestuous. In the winter they blow almost wholly from the north-east or the north-west. From the latter point they have the same character as in the New-England states. A west wind is scarcely known. The south-west winds prevail principally in the summer, and are generally mild and pleasant.

The snow usually begins to lie permanently about the middle of November, and continues till the 1st of April. There is, however, a great difference in this respect in different years. During the winter preceding our journey, very little snow fell. That which falls is as frequently blown into drifts as in the country near the ocean.

The lake is commonly frozen between Christmas and the 1st of January. It continues frozen from three and an half to four months: and once, within the knowledge of my informant, was frozen till the 3d of May. The ice does not sink, as in Lake Champlain, but gradually dissolves.

There is no perceptible current in its waters, except within a small distance from the north landing. A log thrown into it floats with the winds and the waves with equal ease in every direction, and in still weather is perfectly quiescent.

The fish of this lake, which are brought upon the table, are trout, bass, and perch. The first are large, but not numerous. Our landlord informed me, that he had seen one which weighed thirteen pounds, and that some had been caught which weighed eighteen. I ate of them several times, and found them good. The bass seldom exceed five pounds; and the perch, two. Both are in sufficient plenty.

Few water-fowl frequent this spot except the loon, which is not eaten. The common birds of the country abound on the borders. Eagles are numerous. Of this, the number which we saw furnished sufficient evidence.

The surface of Lake George is said by Dr. Morse to be one hundred feet higher than that of Lake Champlain. The inhabitants on its borders estimate it at three hundred. So as I was able to judge, from a loose observation of the falls, thought this estimate not very remote from the truth. There are three sets of falls in the stream which carries the waters into Lake Champlain. The lower falls, with the rapid at the bottom, cannot be less, but are probably more than one hundred feet in perpendicular height; and in the spring, when the lake is full, must be a cataract of uncommon magnificence. Now they were a collection of small and beautiful cascades. The bottom of the lake is probably about the same level with the surface of Lake Champlain. Its waters must, I think, be almost all supplied by subjacent springs. This is evident from two considerations. The first is, that the streams which flow into it are so few, and so small, as scarcely to supply the waste occasioned by evaporation. The other is, that the water of this lake differs materially from those of all the neighbouring country. The waters of the Hudson, of Lake Champlain, and generally of the whole region between the Green Mountains and the Mississippi, are impregnated with lime. Those of Lake George are pure and potable, as are almost all others which are eastward of the Green Mountains. The vast ranges on both sides of this lake furnish ample reservoirs; and the earth and the rocks, of which they are composed, are both of the kinds whence pure waters are usually derived.

The lake was probably formed at the deluge, by the sinking of the exterior convex of the earth, in the manner so ably illustrated, and as I think completely proved, by John Whitehurst, Esq., F. R. S. and Philip Howard, Esq., in his *History of the Globe*; and indicated by Moses in the expression, "The fountains of the great deep were broken up." To my eye, at least, the general aspect of the whole scene; the appearance of the strata; the forms of the mountains; the manner in which they descend to the lake; the figures presented by the several points; the continuation of those points under the water; the manner in which they are connected with the islands; the appearance of the islands themselves, the surfaces and strata of which, in many instances, are horizontal, and where they are oblique have their obliquity easily

explained by their reference to the neighbouring shores; all evinced this fact so strongly, as to leave in my mind not a serious doubt.

When the snow dissolves in the spring, the water of Lake George rises at the utmost only two feet. The variation is distinctly marked on the rocky parts of the shore, which, between two horizontal lines, are in a small degree discoloured. It is said, that before the erection of the upper dam, near the north landing, the variation was only one foot. About a mile and a half south of the landing the soil changes to clay, and the water becomes somewhat turbid and disagreeable, though far less so than that of South Bay; and, like that bay, is deformed by bulrushes. This is the part which I have mentioned as assuming the appearance of a river.

On each of these falls mills are erected; and forges also, in which a considerable quantity of iron is manufactured. The ore is brought from the border of Lake Champlain in boats, which come to the bridge, built over this river, about half way between the two lakes. It is said a method of blowing the fire, peculiarly ingenious, is adopted here; and, it is supposed, here only. We were not able to visit the place where this operation is performed.

The shores are composed of two ranges of mountains; sometimes meeting the water abruptly, and sometimes leaving a horizontal, or very gradually rising margin, extending from a few rods to as many miles. Upon this margin settlements are begun on the eastern, and much more frequently on the western side. The lands are said to be generally good; being chiefly loam, mixed with gravel, and yield abundantly every product of the climate.

The forested grounds contain no animals which are not common to the country at large.

The borders are eminently healthy, and the fever and ague is unknown.

The rocks, so far as I had opportunity to observe them, were chiefly granite, and generally stratified. In contradiction to all other strata in this state, lying in the same longitude, the strata here lie obliquely. They are formed of the common grey granite of this country. On the mountain, called An-

thony's Nose, on Buck Mountain, and in several other places, they are stained with iron.

Limestone, exactly the same with that at Glen's Falls, and elsewhere in this region, blue, horizontally stratified, and fantastically seamed by the weather, abounds at the head of the lake.

By persons who love the fine scenes of nature, and probably by all who have visited this spot, I should be thought unpardonable were I to omit a particular description of those which are here presented to the eye.

Lake George is universally considered as being in itself and in its environs, the most beautiful object of the same nature in the United States. Several European travellers who have visited it, and who had seen the celebrated waters of Switzerland, have given it the preference. The access from the south is eminently noble, being formed by two vast ranges of mountains, which, commencing their career several miles south of Fort George, extend beyond Plattsburg, and terminate near the north line of the state, occupying a distance of about one hundred miles. Those on the east are high, bold and in various places naked and hoary. Those on the west are somewhat inferior, and generally covered with a thick forest to their summits. The road for the three or four last miles passes through a forest, and conceals the lake from the view of the traveller, until he arrives at the eminence on which Fort George was built. Here is opened at once a prospect the splendour of which is rarely exceeded.

The scenery of this spot may be advantageously considered under the following heads: The Water, the Islands, Shore, and the Mountains.

The water is probably not surpassed in beauty by any in the world; pure, sweet, pellucid, of an elegant hue when immediately under the eye, and at very small as well as at great distances, presenting a gay, luminous azure, and appearing as if a soft lustre undulated everywhere on its surface with continual and brilliant emanation. This fine object, however visible only at certain times, and perhaps in particular situations. While employed on its shores, or in sailing in its bosom, the traveller is insensibly led into an habitual

in-istible consciousness of singular salubrity, sweetness, and elegance. During the mild season he finds an additional pleasure. The warmth of the water on the surface diffuses a soft and pleasing temperature, cooler in the day, and warmer in the evening, than that of the shore, and securing the traveller alike from inconvenience and disease. A fresh north wind met us in our voyage down the lake in M'Donald's Bay; and the coolness of the atmosphere became disagreeable. When we reached the river, the wind had ceased, but the cold was very sensibly augmented in a moment. When we landed, it was suddenly increased a second time.

The islands are interesting on account of their number, location, size, and figure. Their number is very great, fancifully computed at 365. Few pieces of water, and none within my knowledge, are so amply furnished. Their location is exquisite. They are solitary, in pairs, and in groups, containing from three to perhaps thirty, arranged with respect to each other and the neighbouring shores with unceasing variety, and with the happiest conceivable relations.

Both the size and the figure of these islands are varied in the same delightful manner. The size changes from a few feet to a mile and a half in length. The figure of most of them is oblong. A small number are round. But the variety of their appearance is peculiarly derived from their surface. A small number of them are naked rocks, and by the power of contrast are very interesting features in the aspect of the group. Some are partially, and most are completely, covered with vegetation. Some are bushy, others ornamented with a single tree—with two, three, or many; and those with and without their bushy attendants. Others still, the greater number, exhibit an entire forest. Some of them, of a long and narrow structure, present through various openings in their umbrage the sky, the mountains, the points, and other distant beautiful objects, changing to the eye as the traveller approaches and passes them. On some stand thick coppices, impenetrably interwoven. On a great multitude the lofty pine, with its separate boughs, lifts its head above every other tree, waving majestically in the sky. On others the beech, maple, and oak, with their clustering branches and lively ver-

ture, present the strongest examples of thrifty vegetation. At the same time, on a number not small, decayed, bare, and falling trees are finely contrasted to this vivid appearance. He, who wishes to know the exquisite and diversified beauty of which islands are capable, must, I think, cross Lake George.

The shores of this lake exhibit a similar and scarcely less striking aspect. On one part of the lake you are presented with a beach of light-coloured sand, forming a long-extended border, and showing the purity of its waters in the strongest light. On another you see a thick, dark forest, rising immediately from the rocky shore, overhanging and obscuring the water with its gloomy umbrage. Here the shore is scooped by a circular sweep. The next bend is perhaps elliptical, and the third, a mere indent. The points also are alternately circular, obtuse, and acute angles. Not a small number of them are long, narrow slips, resembling many of the islands, shooting either horizontally, or with an easy declension, far into the lake and covered, as are all the others, with a fine variety of forest. In many places a smoothly-sloping margin, for the distance of one, two, or three miles, presents a cheerful border, as the seat of present or future cultivation. In many others, mountainous promontories ascend immediately from the water.

The beauties of the shore, and of the islands, are at least doubled by being imaged in the fine expanse below, where they are seen in perpetual succession, depending with additional exquisiteness of form and firmness of colouring.

The mountains, as I have already remarked, consist of two great ranges, bordering the lake from north to south. The western range, however, passes westward of the north-west bay, at the head of which a vast spur, shooting towards the south-east, forms the whole of the peninsula between that bay and the lake. On the latter it abuts with great majesty in sudden and noble eminence, crowned with two fine summits. From this spot, fourteen miles from Fort George, it accompanies the lake uninterruptedly to the north end, and then passes on towards Canada. Both these ranges alternately approach the lake, so as to constitute a considerable part of its shores, and recede from it to the distance sometimes of three miles. They are visible, also, in smaller portions and greater

from one to twenty miles in length. Generally they are covered entirely with forests, but in several instances are dappled with rocks, or absolutely naked, wild, and solitary. This appearance is derived chiefly, if not wholly, from conflagrations.

The summits of these mountains are of almost every figure, from the arch to the bold bluff and sharp cone; and this variety is almost everywhere visible. In some instances they are bald, solemn, and forbidding; in many others tufted with lofty trees. While casting his eye over them, the traveller is fascinated with the immense variety of swells, undulations, slopes, and summits, pointed and arched with their piny crowns, now near, verdant, and vivid; then gradually receding and becoming more obscure, until the scene closes in misty confusion. Nor is he less awed and gratified with the sudden promontory, the naked cliff, the stupendous precipice, the awful chasm, the sublime and barren eminence, and the vast heaps of rude and rocky grandeur which he sees thrown together in confusion, and piled upon each other by the magnificent hand of nature.

The three best points of view are Fort George, a station a little north of Shelving Rock, fourteen miles, and another at Sabbath-day Point, twenty-one miles from the head of the lake. The last view is to be taken southward; the other two northward.

From Fort George the best prospect is taken of the lake itself, which is here seen to the distance of fourteen miles, together with the north-west bay. Here the mountains on both sides are visible twenty-five miles. Six fine islands are also in full view; and the mountain at the end of the peninsula, which I shall take the liberty to call *Mount Putnam*, rises in the back ground with the utmost advantage, as does Shelving Rock, a promontory shooting out from the east far into the lake.

The scenes of the two remaining prospects are, however, clearly superior to these, both in beauty and variety. The islands are far more numerous and varied, the shores more diversified, the promontories more frequent and abrupt, the summits more lofty and masculine. Between these views I was unable to form a preference.

From Sabbath-day point, advancing northward, the scenery evidently declines in beauty. Still it is fine; and some of it

...the person who was concerned, with his usual success, in
down a narrow and steep valley at the south end of the rock, thirty
rods from the precipice which abuts upon the lake. The Indians
him to have fallen down the precipice, and therefore gave over the
Rogers made his way on the ice, near the shore, to a garrison kept
distance on Friends' Point; but, according to his usual fortune, lost
part of his men. Colonel Cochrane, then young, and an officer in
corps, made his escape in the same way, together with several
This gentleman, being employed to run the line between the counties
Essex and Washington, told his attendants, when he came to
that he would show them a tree in which was lodged a musket-ball
himself between thirty and forty years before, in this rencounter.
ingly he pointed out the tree, and his men cut out the ball.

† "Anthony's Nose" seems to have been a favourite name with the
inhabitants of this state, for mountains distinguished by bold peaks
There is a mountain of this name on the Hudson, forming the south
of the high lands on that river; two more on the Mohawk, and a
this lake. The first and last are lofty summits, faced with perpendicular
precipices. As I am very little versed in legendary lore, I know
whether the nose of St. Anthony was or was not so remarkably prominent
in a striking manner to resemble the figure of these mountains. Some
extraordinary must have induced the inhabitants of New-York to erect
them perpetual memorials of the shape and size of this prominent
face of the saint.

Some years before our excursion, a fisherman was pursuing his
near the foot of this mountain; when a huge rock fell from the top
and, plunging into the lake at a little distance from his canoe, came
sinking him by the surge which it produced.

scape is of a superior cast, and in most other regions would present uncommon attractions.

The whole scenery of this lake is greatly enhanced in beauty and splendour by the progressive change, which the traveller, sailing on its bosom, perpetually finds in his position, and by the unceasing variegations of light and shade, which attend his progress. The gradual and the sudden openings of scoops and basins, of islands and points, of promontories and summits; the continual change of their forms, and their equally gradual or sudden disappearance, impart to every object a brilliancy, life, and motion, scarcely inferior to that which is seen in the images formed by the camera obscura, and in strength and distinctness greatly superior. Light and shade are here not only far more diversified, but are much more obvious, intense, and glowing, than in smooth, open countries. Every thing, whether on the land or water, was here affected by the changes of the day; and the eye, without forecast, found itself, however disposed on ordinary occasions to inattention, instinctively engaged and fastened with emotions approximating to rapture. The shadows of the mountains, particularly on the west, floating slowly over the bosom of the lake, and then softly ascending that of the mountains on the east, presented to us, in a wide expanse, the uncommon and most pleasing image of one vast range of mountains slowly moving up the ascent of another.

As a specimen of the peculiar variegation of light in this region, you may take the following. On Thursday the 30th of September, a little before the setting of the sun, I saw one of the mountains on the east arrayed in the most brilliant purple, which can be imagined. Nothing could surpass the lustre which overspread this magnificent object, and which was varied through innumerable tints and softenings of that gorgeous colour.

The dim lights, frequently seen in the night upon the shore, sometimes of candles, feebly starring the midnight gloom of the forest, and sometimes of fires, glimmering from fields and mountains, presented a strong contrast to the cheerful splendour of the day.

On the evening of Friday, the 1st of October, while we were returning from Ticonderoga, we were presented with a prospect superior to any which I ever beheld. An opening

lay before us between the mountains on the west and those on the east, gilded by the departing sunbeams. The lake, alternately glossy and gently rippled, of a light and exquisite sapphire, gay and brilliant with the tremulous lustre, already mentioned, floating upon its surface, stretched in prospect to a vast distance through a great variety of larger and smaller apertures. In the chasm, formed by the mountains, lay a multitude of islands, differing in size, shape, and umbrage, and clothed in deeply-shaded green. Beyond them, and often partly hidden behind the tall and variously-figured trees, with which they were tufted, rose in the west and south-west a long range of distant mountains, tinged with a deep, misty azure, and crowned with an immense succession of lofty pines. Above the mountains, and above each other, were extended in great numbers, long, streaming clouds, of the happiest forms, and painted with red and orange light, in all their diversities of tincture. Between them the sky was illumined with a vivid yellow lustre. The tall trees on the western mountains lifted their heads in the crimson glory, and on this back-ground displayed their diversified forms with a distinctness and beauty never surpassed. On a high, and exactly semi-circular summit, the trees, ascending far without limbs, united their crowns above, and thus formed a majestic and extensive arch in the sky; dark, exactly defined, and exactly corresponding with the arch of the summit below. Between this crown and the mountain, the vivid orange light, shining through the grove, formed a third arch, equally extended and elegantly striped with black by the stems of the trees.

Directly over the gap, which I have mentioned, and through which this combination of beauty was presented to us, the moon, far southward, in her handsomest crescent, sat on the eastern, and the evening star on the western side of the opening, at exactly equal distances from the bordering mountains, and, shining from a sky perfectly pure and serene, finished the prospect.

The crimson lustre, however, soon faded. The mountains lost their gilding, and the clouds, changing their fine glow into a dull, leaden-coloured hue, speedily vanished. The lake, though still brilliant, became misty and dim. The splendour of the moon and of Hesper increased and trembled on its sur-

face, until they both retired behind the western mountains, and, just as we reached the shore, left the world to the darkness of night.

To complete the scenery of this lake, the efforts of cultivation are obviously wanting. The hand of the husbandman has already begun to clear these grounds; and will, at no great distance of time, adorn them with all the smiling scenes of agriculture. It does not demand the gift of prophecy to foresee, that the villas of opulence and refinement will, within half a century, add here all the elegances of art to the beauty and majesty of nature.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Battle of Lake George. General Johnson wounded. General Lyman takes the command of the English Army, and defeats the French. Vindication of General Lyman's Character. Hendrick, Chief of the Mohawks. Baron Dieskau.

DEAR SIR;

WHEN I began this journey, I had two principal objects in view. One was to examine the scenery of Lake George, the beauty of which had always been mentioned to me in strong terms of admiration: the other, to explore the grounds, on which the military events of former times had taken place, at its two extremities. The first of these events was the battle, fought at the head of Lake George, September 8th, 1755, between the provincial troops under the command of Major-General, afterwards Sir William, Johnson, aided by a body of Indians, led by the celebrated Hendrick; and a body of French, Canadians, and Indians, commanded by Monsieur le Baron de Dieskau. This nobleman arrived from France, in company with Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor general of Canada, and brought with him from Brest 3,000 regular troops, destined to act under his command against the British colonies. Of these six hundred were taken, with the Lys and Alcide men of war, by Admiral Boscawen. A thousand were left at Louisburgh. The remainder were landed at Quebec. The baron was instructed to reduce Oswego, a fortification on the south side of Lake Ontario, and on the eastern side of the river Oswego, or Onondaga. This fortress was of considerable importance, from its position in the country of the Iroquois; and enabled the English in a great measure to exclude the French from any very dangerous communication

with that people. In obedience to these instructions he proceeded directly to Montreal, and, having dispatched seven hundred men up the river St. Lawrence, made preparations to follow them. Before his departure, however, intelligence reached that city, that a considerable army was assembling at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, now Lake George, with an intention to reduce Fort Frederic, since called Crown Point, and perhaps to invade Canada. At a council, convened upon this news, Baron Dieskau was vehemently solicited, and with no small difficulty prevailed upon, to direct his course up Lake Champlain. At Fort Frederic he waited some time for the arrival of the English army; but finding no prospect of their approach, determined to go and seek them. Accordingly, he embarked with 2,000 men in batteaux, and landed at the head of South-Bay, in the township of Skeensborough, now Whitehall; about sixteen or eighteen miles from Sandy-Hill, and, in his route which he took, about twenty-eight or thirty from the head of Lake George. An English prisoner, taken by his scouts, informed him, that Fort Edward, then called Fort Lyman (from Major-General Lyman, under whose direction his fortress had been erected the preceding summer), was defenceless, and that the army of General Johnson was in the same state, being without fortifications and without cannon. Upon this information Dieskau determined immediately to attack the fort. As soon as he formed his determination, he explained to his troops the advantages of the proposed measure, which was certainly worthy of his military character. Had the design succeeded, and in the infant state of the works, it would in all probability have been successful, the army under Johnson would have been cut off from all supplies, and must either have marched immediately back and fought the enemy, when formidable by success, as well as numbers and skill, furnished with cannon and other supplies from the fort, and choosing his own ground for action, or they must have surrendered at discretion. The great body of his troops, however, consisting of Canadians and Indians, were ill-fitted to comprehend a measure of this magnitude, and as little disposed to venture upon its execution. Either they had been informed, or they suspected, that the fort was defended by cannon; objects of peculiar dread to both these classes of men. In spite

of the exhortations of their commander, they absolutely refused to advance against the fort, but professed their readiness, at the same time, to attack the army under Johnson entirely destitute, as the Baron had told them, and as he himself believed, of both cannon and works. In vain did he attempt to overcome their reluctance. There was, therefore, no alternative left, but either to attack Johnson, or to retrace his course to South-Bay. Without hesitation he marched his army towards the head of Lake George.

General Johnson's first intimation of the approach of the enemy had been given by a scout, who discovered the French army on their march from South-Bay towards Fort Edward. Upon the receipt of this intelligence he dispatched several messengers to advertise Colonel Blanchard, who commanded that fortress, of his danger.

On the night of Sunday, September 7th, at twelve o'clock, information was brought, that the enemy had advanced four miles on the road from Fort Edward* to Lake George, half way between the village of Sandy-Hill and Glen's Falls. A council of war was held early in the morning, at which it was resolved to send a party to meet them. The number of men determined upon at first was mentioned by the general to Hendrick, and his opinion was asked. He replied, "If they are to fight, they are too few. If they are to be killed, they are too many." The number was accordingly increased. General Johnson also proposed to divide them into three parties. Hendrick took three sticks, and, putting them together, said to him, "Put these together, and you can't break them. Take them one by one, and you will break them easily." This hint succeeded, and Hendrick's sticks saved the party, and probably the whole army from destruction †.

The party detached consisted of twelve hundred, and was commanded by Colonel Ephraim Williams, whose character has been already given in these Letters; a brave and skillful officer, greatly beloved by the soldiery, and greatly respected by the country at large. Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting, of New

* Then commonly styled "the carrying place," and "the great carrying place."

† This fact I had from Joseph Bart, Esq., of Westmoreland, New York who was on the spot.

Haven, was second in command, and brought up the rear. Colonel Williams met the enemy at Rocky Brook, four miles from Lake George. Dieskau had been informed of his approach by his scouts, and arranged his men in the best possible order to receive them, extending his line on both sides of the road in the form of a half-moon. Johnson did not begin to raise his breast-work until after Williams had marched; nor, as a manuscript account of this transaction, now before me, declares, until after the rencounter between Williams and the enemy had begun.

Williams marched his men directly into the hollow of the half-moon. This will be explained by the fact, that the whole country was a deep forest. When the enemy saw them completely within his power, he opened a fire of musketry on the front and on both flanks of the English at the same moment. The English fell in heaps, and at the head of them their valiant commander. Hendrick also was mortally wounded, fighting with invincible courage in the front of his people. He was shot in the back, a fact which filled him with disdain and anguish, as he thought that he should be believed to have fled from the enemy. The truth was, the horns of the half-moon were so far advanced, that they in a great measure inclosed the rear of the English, and fired upon them from the rear. From his fire Hendrick received the wound, which terminated his life*.

Upon the death of Colonel Williams, Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting succeeded to the command of the detachment. He was an officer of great merit, and had gained much applause at the reduction of Louisburgh†; and, in consequence of his gallant conduct at that siege, had been made a captain in the regular British service. Whiting, seeing the danger of his men, immediately ordered a retreat, and conducted it so judiciously, that he saved the great body of them from destruction, in circumstances of extreme peril, in which their own confusion and

* In General Johnson's official account of the action, he styles him "old Hendrick, the great Mohawk sachem." In the manuscript account he is declared to have been a "valiant warrior, and a faithful friend."

† Review of the military operations in North America from 1753 to 1756, ascribed to the late Governor Livingston.

alarm, and the situation of the ground, threatened their extermination no less than the superior numbers of the enemy.

The noise of the first fire was heard at Lake George. Efforts began then to be made in earnest by the general for the defence of the camp, and a party of three hundred men were dispatched under Lieutenant-Colonel Cole, to support the retreating corps. A few stragglers, both English and Indians, came into the camp, and announced what had indeed been already sufficiently evident from the approaching sound of the musketry, that the French army was superior in numbers and strength to Colonel Williams's corps, and was driving them towards the camp. Some time after "the whole party that escaped," says General Johnson*, "came in, in large bodies;" a decisive proof of the skill and coolness with which Lieutenant-Colonel Whiting conducted this retreat. These men also arranged themselves in their proper places, and took their share in the engagement which followed.

About half-after eleven o'clock the enemy appeared in sight, marching up the road in the best order towards the centre of the English. When they came to the bottom of an open valley, directly in front of the elevation on which Fort George was afterwards built, and on which the centre of the English army was posted, Dieskau halted his men about fifteen minutes, at the distance of little more than one hundred and fifty yards from the breast-work. I have never seen a reason assigned for this measure. I think I can assign one. The Indians were sent out on the right flank, and a part of the Canadians on the left, intending to come in upon the rear of the English, while the main body attacked them in front. The ground was remarkably favourable to this design, being swampy, thickly forested, and therefore perfectly fitted to conceal the approach of these parties. The Indians, however, were soon discovered by Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy, who immediately mentioned the fact to the general, and observing to him, that these people were extremely afraid of cannon, requested that one or two pieces might be pointed against them

* Official letter.

They were then near the ground on which Fort William was afterwards built. The general approved of the assault. A shell was instantly thrown among them from a mortar, and some field pieces showered upon them a quantity of grape shot. The Indians fled.

The Baron, in the mean time, led up his main body to attack the centre. They began the engagement by firing regularly in volleys, but at so great a distance, that they did very little execution. This circumstance was favourable to the English; soon recovering from the panic into which they had been thrown by the preceding events of the day, they fought with great spirit and firmness.

General Johnson, at the commencement of the battle, received a flesh wound in his thigh, and the ball lodged in it, he bled freely, but was able to walk away from the army to rest*. General Lyman then took the command, and conducted in it during the action. This gentleman, who seemed to have no passions, except those which are involved in the love of humanity, immediately stationed himself in the front of the breast-work †, and there, amid the thickest danger, issued orders, during five hours, to every part of the army, as occasion demanded, with a serenity, which many covet, and some attain, but very few acquire. The main body of the French held their ground, and preserved their order for a considerable time; but the artillery, under the command of Captain Eyre, an English officer, who performed his part with much skill and reputation, played upon them with such success, and the fire from the musketry was so warm and well-directed, that their ranks were soon thinned, and their efforts slackened sufficiently to show that they despaired of success in this contest. They then made another effort against the right of the English, stationed between the road and the site of Fort William Henry, and composed of Ruggles's regiment, Williams's now, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy, and Titcomb's. Here a warm fire was kept up on both sides an hour, but on the part of the enemy was unavailing. At four o'clock the English, and the Indians who fought with them, leaped over their breast-work, and charged the enemy.

* Mr. Burt.

† Colonel Pomeroy.

They fled, and were vigorously pursued for a short distance. A considerable number were slain in the pursuit. The wounded, and a very few others, were made prisoners— Among these was Dieskau. He was found by a soldier resting on a stump, with hardly an attendant. As he was feeling for his watch, in order to give it to the soldier, the man, suspecting that he was searching for a pistol, discharged the contents of his musket through his hips. He was carried into the camp in a blanket by eight men, with the greatest care and tenderness, but evidently in extreme distress*.

Sound policy would have directed an immediate and continued pursuit of the enemy. General Lyman urged this measure with a warmth which he rarely exhibited †. Had his opinion been followed, there is little reason to doubt, that the whole body would have either been destroyed or taken prisoners; for they were exhausted by their fatigues on this and the two preceding days. It is said that Baron Dieskau, after he was brought into the camp, informed General Johnson, that he had a body of troops in reserve, who would speedily renew the attack: and Johnson, in his official letter, says, “The enemy may rally, and we judge they have considerable force near at hand.” He also mentions his men as greatly fatigued, and says, “For these reasons I don’t think it either prudent or safe to be sending out parties in search of the dead.” Soon after he adds, “I think we may expect very shortly a more formidable attack, and that the enemy will then come with artillery.” In the very able Review, to which I have before referred, written without any reasonable doubt by the late Governor Livingston, in concert with his two celebrated friends, the Hon. William Smith, late chief justice of the province of Canada, and the Hon. John Morin Scott, there are some very severe, and I apprehend very just, remarks on the declarations, which very forcibly and conclusively attribute the conduct of General Johnson to his sloth and timidity. It is not however to be forgotten, that he was wounded.

There is another part of his conduct which admits of no excuse. This is, that he gave General Lyman no credit for his important services on this day. It is remarkable, that

* Mr. Burt.

† Review.

does not even mention his name in the official letter which conveyed the intelligence of his victory to the governors of the neighbouring colonies; although he perfectly knew, that to the gallant exertions of that gentleman he was indebted for all the glory which he had acquired. Lyman was in every respect, and was undoubtedly felt by Johnson to be, his superior. He had received an enlightened education; was distinguished for learning and science; held a high rank at the bar, and a high station in civil life; was dignified in his person and manners; serene in danger, and exceedingly beloved by his soldiers. Johnson was an uneducated adventurer; of little consequence in his own country; and suddenly raised to distinction in this, by the aid of some powerful friends, to whom he made himself convenient by his native energy, shrewdness, and activity, and by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances. His ambition, at the same time, was vast; his avarice greedy; and his moral susceptibility, if it had ever existed, principally gone. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he should feel the canker of jealousy towards his rival, realized in spite of his selfishness to be so much his superior.

All men, who resemble Johnson in character, and who are placed in similar circumstances, regularly make it a primary object to attach to themselves, as subordinate agents to carry on their dirty business, a small circle of persons, needy, dependent, willing to be tools, feeling it as an honour to be thus employed, flexible to their masters, secret, active, destitute of principle, ready to say whatever they are ordered to say, and to do whatever they are directed to do. To these men, so long as they are necessary to them, they make a point of being so far useful as to retain them in their service. They will indeed scold them, and cuff them, and kick them. Yet they take effectual care to make them such amends for this unpleasant discipline, as to prevent them from quitting their service. Such a body of retainers Johnson had about him at this time, and employed their agency to calumniate General Lyman.

“A junto,” says the able author of the Review, “combined at the camp, and framed a letter, impeaching Mr. Lyman, the second in command, of dastardly carriage; which they pro-

cured one Cole, a fellow of no reputation, to sign, and convey to the press:—a notable instance of the amazing latitude to which an invidious spirit is capable of proceeding: so true is the poet's observation,

—————Men, that make
 Envy, and crooked malice, nourishment,
 Dare bite the best. SHAKESPEARE.

For in reality no man, my lord, behaved with more magnanimity than the unfortunate object of their jealousy; and from his superior merit actually arose their malignity, as he thence rivalled their deified idol. The reason, why this much-injured officer deferred his vindication, was not only the disgraceful name of the calumniator, but because he expected that justice from the public; who accordingly, in testimony of his merit, vested him, the next campaign, with the same important post. But numbers of witnesses, eye witnesses, utterly impartial, and not belonging to the camp, are ready to depose, that by them he was seen fighting like a lion, and exposing his life in the hottest of the battle; not to mention a gentleman of undoubted veracity, to whom General Johnson, two days after the action, frankly acknowledged in his tent, that to Lyman was chiefly to be ascribed the honour of the victory."

With these things before us, all of which, so far as they respect the conduct of General Lyman, had been sufficiently attested to me at an early period of my life, and long before I read this Review, what shall be said of the fact, that his name is not even mentioned in the letter referred to above. Peter Wraxall, aid de camp of General Johnson, in a letter which he wrote to Lieutenant-Governor de Lancey the second day after the battle, although so devoted to his master as to say, that "he was wounded in the hip, yet kept the field, though in great pain;" when he was actually wounded in the thigh, and quitted the field, still felt himself obliged to add in a post-script, "General Lyman, and all the officers, behaved with distinguished conduct and courage*." At the same time, in intelligence sent by express from Albany to New-York, and

* Pennsylvania Gazette, September 18th, 1755.

received the Sunday following the battle, it is said, "The brave General Lyman (who has added honour to the province in whose service he is) is well." Such was the conviction of the country at the time, and such was the truth. I will not now ask you what opinion ought to be formed of the scandalous "junto" who wrote and published the libel above mentioned; their miserable agent, Cole, who subscribed it; and General Johnson himself, by whom we have every reason to believe it was both devised and approved.

The conduct of General Johnson, in neglecting to provide any fortifications for his army during the fortnight in which he had already been on this ground; to bring up his cannon; to keep scouts abroad, who might inform him of the designs of the enemy; to pursue them after their defeat; and to proceed in the important business of building a strong fort; met with severe reprehension from sensible men at the time. "That an army," says Thomas Williams, Esq., a very respectable physician, then acting as surgeon in Colonel Williams's regiment, in a letter to the Hon. William Williams, of Dalton, "that an army should lie here a fortnight in an enemy's country, without the least fortification, is to me very surprising; but that they should still continue in this defenceless posture, after they had heard of an (enemy's) army not far off, is more surprising." "I cannot help thinking," says the author of the *Review*, "that had the general begun his breast-work more seasonably, and not waited for intelligence of the enemy's advancing, before he ordered up his cannon, his men had been less fatigued." And again, "By this (the official) letter, he appears so conscious of deserving reprehension rather than applause, that the latter part of his epistle is apparently calculated to divert all inquiry into the true reason of his not pursuing the enemy," &c. "The English did not pursue the victory as they might."—(*MS. account.*)

Colonel Whiting was censured by some of his countrymen for retreating. A person who has examined the ground will be slow to admit this opinion. The French army had every advantage which they could wish. They flanked Colonel Williams's corps on both sides, and greatly outnumbered them. Colonel Williams unhappily sent out no scouts, and in this acted contrary to the whole tenour of his military career and

his favourite maxims*. The importance of scouts in military enterprises, carried on in forested grounds, needs no explanation: nor can it be necessary for me to observe, that such a corps, so situated, must have been in the most imminent hazard of total destruction. Not to have retreated in this situation would have been delirious; and to conduct a retreat in these circumstances, with so much good order and success, demanded little less vigour of mind than that which has been displayed in the celebrated retreats on the eastern continent. Baron Dieskau spoke very handsomely of this movement. "Colonel Whiting," says the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 25, 1755, under the head of Albany, in an article published there after the Baron's arrival in that city, "conducted the retreat with great judgment, to the admiration of the French general, who is pleased to say, that he believes a retreat was never better conducted."

It is impossible to estimate with certainty the loss sustained by the English in this engagement. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 9th professedly gives a return of the killed, wounded, and missing; the total of which is one hundred and six killed, ninety-four wounded, and sixty-one missing. Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy, in a letter, dated the 10th of September, two days after the battle, states them in the following manner:—

Colonel Titcomb's regiment	35
Colonel Williams's regiment	50
Colonel Ruggles's regiment	37
Connecticut troops	89
Rhode-Island troops	20
New-York troops	10

Total, 191

The officers slain in Colonel Williams's regiment were Colonel Williams; Major Ashley; Captains Hawley, Porter, and Ingersoll; Lieutenants Cobb, Pomeroy, and Burt; Ensigns Stratton and Wait.

Dr. Williams states them at two hundred and sixteen dead and ninety-six wounded, on the 26th September.

* Dr. Williams's Letter.

It more difficult is it to determine the loss of the French. Dieskau estimated them at a thousand. The English stated them at six hundred, seven hundred, and eight hundred. If we take even the least of these numbers, the French must have fought with the utmost bravery. Few could keep the field till one third of their number is cut off. Among those whom they lost were a French Major-General, Monsieur de St. Pierre, commander in chief of the French; and a number of other persons, belonging to some of the principal families in Canada*.

At their retreat, the French army was met by a party of New-Hampshire soldiers, differently estimated from eighty to one hundred and twenty, commanded by Captain Nathaniel Folsom, and joined by a body of from twenty to forty of New-England troops, under Captain M'Ginnes, at the distance of two miles from the field of battle. Here they found the baggage of the French army under the care of a guard, whom they surprised and dispersed. Towards sunset the remains of the French army began to appear. Folsom and M'Ginnes posted their men in the forest with such skill, and kept up till night a fire well-directed, that they forced the enemy from the ground. Only one man was lost by Folsom and M'Ginnes: but he was wounded, and soon after died of his wounds. Both he and his companions fought with great gallantry. In consequence of this engagement, the baggage and ammunition of the French army fell into the hands of the English, and the next morning conveyed to the camp.

Thus terminated the battle of Lake George: on many accounts a memorable event in the annals of this country. It followed the defeat of General Braddock on the Monongahela. This disastrous event took place on the 8th of September July, and created the most painful sensations in Great Britain, as well as in the colonies. It was a period, however, in which success was peculiarly welcome, and produced the best effects. Had the French been victorious, they would immediately have taken possession of Fort Edward; from which and Albany there was not a single obstruction

* Letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Pomeroy.

to their progress; as their commander very justly declared to them, when urging them to march against that fortress. Where a stop would have been put to their career it is impossible to conjecture.

A great part of the importance of most battles lies in the impression, which they leave on the minds of the contending nations, and in the consequent energy or languor of their efforts. Few events, of no greater magnitude, leave stronger impressions than resulted from the battle of Lake George. An universal exultation was diffused through the British empire, especially through the colonies; and there is no improbability in the supposition, that the measures, afterwards adopted in a war, more glorious than any which had been recorded in the annals of Great Britain, received a part of their vigour from the battle of Lake George.

His majesty was so well pleased with the event of this battle, that he created General Johnson a baronet; and the parliament voted him a present of five thousand pounds sterling.

General Lyman, to whom the nation was indebted for the whole of these advantages, was forgotten on the eastern side of the Atlantic; or more probably was unknown as an agent in the acquisition of this victory. His only retribution was that the government and people, whom he immediately served, disregarding the base attacks upon his character, did justice to his merits by public as well as private testimonies of their esteem, particularly by continuing him in the honourable stations, which he had before filled.

Hendrick had lived to this day with singular honour, and died fighting with a spirit not to be excelled. He was at this time from sixty to sixty-five years of age. His head was covered with white locks, and, what is uncommon among Indians, he was corpulent*. Immediately before Colonel Williams began his march, he mounted a stage, and harangued his people. He had a strong, masculine voice; and, it was thought, might be distinctly heard at the distance of half a mile: a fact, which, to my own view, has diffused a new degree of

* J. Burt, Esq.

ility over Homer's representations of the effects produced by the speeches and shouts of his heroes. Lieutenant Pomeroy, who was present, and heard this effusion of eloquence, told me, that, although he did not understand a word of the language, yet such was the animation and vigour, the fire of his eye, the force of his gesture, the force of his emphasis, the apparent propriety of the inflections of his voice, and the natural appearance of his whole countenance, that himself was more deeply affected with this speech, than with any other which he had ever heard. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 25, 1755, he is styled "the famous Red Jacket, a renowned Indian warrior among the Mohawks;" and it is said, that his son, being told that his father was giving the usual Indian groan upon such occasions, suddenly putting his hand on his left breast, swore, that his father was still alive in that place, and that there stood

Baron Dieskau was conveyed from Albany to New-York, and thence to England, where soon after he died. He was an excellent officer, possessed very honourable feelings, and was adorned with highly polished manners. I know of no stain upon his character. Before his engagement with Colonel Williams's corps, he gave orders to his troops not to give nor take quarter*. As there was nothing in the nature of his enterprize, or in his circumstances, to justify this rigour; it is to be accounted one of those specifications of barbarity, which, it must be acknowledged, too frequently disgrace the human character.

The remainder of the campaign was idled away by General Amherst in doing nothing. A person who has examined the works at Crown Point will perceive, that he might have possessed himself of this fortress, had he made the attempt, as it is entirely commanded by rising grounds in the neighbourhood. Instead of this, the French, immediately after their panic was over, erected a fortification at Ticonderoga, fifteen miles higher up Lake Champlain; and fixed their lives so much farther within the boundaries of the British possessions.

* Dr. Williams's Letter.

I have been thus minute in the history of this battle, not only on account of its inherent importance, but also because I conceive it has never been fairly and fully laid before the public. To General Lyman, particularly, justice has never been done; and but for me would probably never be done. I hope you will think this a sufficient apology for the length of the detail.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Attack on Fort William Henry. Gallant Defence by Colonel Monroe. Capitulation and Massacre. General Webb's Expedition to Ticonderoga. Retreat of the English Army. Journey continued. Dalton. Partridgefield. Worthington. Chesterfield. West-Hampton.

DEAR SIR;

I MENTIONED in a preceding Letter the situation and appearance of Fort William Henry, and observed, that it was a square structure, with regular bastions at the angles, ordered on the east and south sides by a swamp, on the west by a valley, and on the north by the beach of Lake George. On what principles such a work could have been erected in this spot is to me inexplicable. Its site is almost on a level with the waters of the lake. By the lands in the vicinity, west and north-west, it is overlooked, and perfectly commanded by the eminence on which Fort George was afterwards built. I confess myself to be an imperfect judge of military operations; but among all the fortresses of which I have any knowledge, this, so far as its situation is concerned, appears to have been the least fitted to answer the design for which it was built. To Indians it might be formidable. Against the approaches of a regular army it could furnish little protection.

In the year 1757, the Earl of Loudoun was appointed commander in chief of the British forces in America; and he himself, at the commencement of the season, at the head of twelve thousand regular troops, and perhaps as many provincials. Instead of marching directly against the French in

Canada, as had been expected, his lordship sailed for Halifax, with six thousand men, with an intention to direct his force against Louisbourg. Here, however, he received information, that a fleet from Brest had brought a strong reinforcement to the garrison, amounting now to six thousand regulars; and that the harbour was defended by seventeen ships of the line. His lordship, therefore, gave over the expedition to Louisbourg, and in the close of August returned to New-York.

In the mean time, the Marquis de Montcalm, having obtained ample information of the situation of his enemies, proceeded with an army of eight thousand men, including a numerous body of Indians from Ticonderoga, up Lake George, to attack Fort William Henry, garrisoned at that time, as is said, with about three thousand, principally regular troops. Early in the season the Marquis had made three different attacks upon the same fortress, all of which had been defeated by the skill and courage of the garrison, and Colonel Monroe, a brave commander. To retrieve his own credit, therefore, as well as to operate against the British nation, he proceeded upon this enterprise with not a little zeal and alacrity. The first night he landed on a point, called from this fact Frenchman's point; about sixteen miles from the head of the lake. The next evening he landed again on the west side, about two miles from Fort William Henry. The following morning he appeared before the fort, and sent this letter to Colonel Monroe.

August 3d, 1757.

SIR;—I have this morning invested your place with a numerous army, a superior artillery, and all the savages from the higher parts of the country; the cruelty of which a detachment of your garrison have lately too much experienced. I am obliged in humanity to desire you to surrender your fort. I have it yet in my power to restrain the savages, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as hitherto none of them have been killed, which will not be in my power in other circumstances; and your insisting on defending your fort can only retard the loss of it a few days, and must of necessity expose an unlucky garrison, who can receive no succour, considering the precautions I have taken. I demand a decisive answer

intely ; for which purpose I have sent you the Sieur
 time, one of my aid de camps. You may credit what he
 form you as from me.

I am with respect, Sir,

Your most humble,

most obedient Servant,

MONTCALM.

this demand Monroe verbally and laconically replied
 messenger, "Tell Monsieur Montcalm, that I reject his
 al with disdain ; and that I will defend the fort while
 a man able to fire a gun."

marquis pushed his operations with vigour. Six days
 it was defended with unabated resolution, in full ex-
 on of assistance from General Webb, who lay at Fort
 d, fifteen miles distant, with an army of four thousand
 . A capitulation was therefore concluded. The principal
 stipulated were, that the public property should be
 lered to the French ; that the garrison should march
 th the honours of war, with their arms, baggage, and a
 lerce ; and that they should be protected from the out-
 of the Indians. The last of these articles was violated
 most shameful manner. The garrison, instead of being
 ted, had marched but a little distance, when the savages
 on them with the utmost fury, and butchered a great
 r of men, women, and children. Nothing could exceed
 urbarity displayed in this massacre. It will be unne-
 y for me to particularize these enormities, after having
 you so many accounts of Indian ferocity ; and it is im-
 le to determine the number of those who were killed.
 s New-Hampshire regiment, which brought up the rear
 offered the most, eighty were lost out of two hundred.
 r makes the whole number who were sacrificed fifteen
 ed. The transaction filled the British colonies with
 . I was a little child when it took place, and distinctly
 ber the strong emotions which it everywhere excited,
 hich, hitherto, time has not been able to efface. From
 day to the present it has been familiarly known by
 mphatical appellation of the massacre at Fort William
 y.

Various efforts have been very complaisantly made, on both sides of the Atlantic, to exculpate the Marquis de Montcalm from the blame, which he merited in this affair. In my own view, the gentlemen concerned exhibit more of the spirit of chivalry than of equity or truth. The marquis had, the preceding year, violated the conditions on which the fort at Oswego had been surrendered to him. He had permitted the savages, on that occasion also, to insult and rob the garrison, massacre several of the men on the parade, and Lieutenant De La Court, who had been wounded in his tent, and to scalp all the sick in the hospital. To close the scene, he delivered up twenty of the garrison, in lieu of twenty Indians who had been killed, to be disposed of as these tigers in human shape should think proper. The attempt to vindicate such a man as this violates every feeling of justice and humanity, and certainly must be a very idle employment. On the present occasion, either no guard at all, or none that was at all competent, was furnished to the prisoners. Nor does it appear, that a single effort was made by the French general to preserve them. On the contrary, the marquis, although he would not probably have butchered them himself, was more willing to yield up these unhappy people to plunder and death, than to hazard offending his Indian allies. That he could have restrained these wretches there cannot be a rational doubt. Let those, who question it, remember that he was at the head of at least seven thousand men, and that he could have given the prisoners a sufficient guard without any inconvenience to himself, as he had solemnly stipulated. Had he possessed the smallest share of humanity or honour, the prisoners, taken at Oswego, and at Fort William Henry, would have been effectually preserved from plunder, scalping, and death. That the marquis was brave no well-informed man can doubt. His faithlessness and inhumanity are equally indubitable*.

* Had these been solitary cases I should have hardly thought it proper to insist on them. This, however, is very far from being the fact.

In the year 1693, the commandant of Michilmackinac, finding that the Dionondadies had thoughts of making peace with the Six Nations, gave them a public invitation to feast on the soup, which was to be made of a prisoner whom the Dionondadies had delivered up to the French. The Outawais, or Utawawas, were in a particular manner invited to the entertain-

The gallantry and good conduct of Colonel Monroe merit highest praise. He began the defence of this fort with fullest expectations of assistance from General Webb. The officer had four thousand men at Fort Edward, and had received timely notice of the danger, which threatened Colonel Monroe. Six days, after this notice was given, the fort held

A person, who has been on this ground, and walked over the environs, will be astonished, that it was not surrendered at the first summons, and not less astonished, that a fort was ever erected on such a spot. Had it been erected where Fort Morge afterwards stood, at the distance of little more than three furlongs, and been properly furnished with provisions and every means of defence, Montcalm would have been compelled to return without accomplishing his object.

By a letter in my possession, written from Albany, August 17th, by a gentleman, who was at Fort Edward on the 9th, the day of the surrender, it appears, that a council of war was called by Colonel Monroe that morning. It was then announced, that no succour could be expected, and that ten pieces of artillery had been burst during the defence, and those the best in the possession of the garrison. It was determined, therefore, that any further efforts to resist the enemy would be useless.

Account. The story of the tortures inflicted on this miserable man, as related by Dr. Colden, is too long to be copied in this note. Suffice it to say, that a Frenchman began the tragedy by broiling the flesh of the prisoner on his toes to his knees with the red-hot barrel of a gun, and that, as he came tired, he was relieved by others in succession; that to another part of his body they applied a red-hot frying-pan; that one of the company split a furrow from his shoulder to the garter, and, filling it with gun-powder, set fire to it; that, when his throat became so parched as to prevent him from crying out, they gave him water, that he might continue his cries; that they then took off his scalp, and threw burning coals upon his skull; and that, having finally knocked him on the head with a stone, every one cut a slice from his body, to conclude the tragedy with a feast.

In 1690, the Count de Frontenac, the ablest governor whom the French ever sent to Canada, a nobleman of high distinction, a man of letters, and educated in a polished court, condemned two prisoners of the Iroquois to be sent to death at Montreal, in order to terrify their countrymen. One of these unhappy men escaped from the agonies intended for him by putting an end to his own life. The other, under the eye of this very nobleman, was tortured in a manner still more excruciating than that which has been related.—Colden, vol. i, p. 143, 145, 194, 195.

The same writer declares, that Colonels Monroe and Young, with several officers and about three hundred men, some of whom had been rescued by Montcalm from the savages, were with the French army after the massacre; having, as the letter-writer supposes, returned, in order to escape from the butchery.

The character of General Webb will never be cleansed from the stain which was left upon it by the part which he took in these transactions. Although he perfectly knew the situation of the garrison, yet he neither sent them assistance, nor communicated to the country the knowledge of their danger. It deserves to be known, that Sir William Johnson, after very importunate solicitations, obtained leave from General Webb to march with as many of the provincials at Fort Edward, then under his immediate command, as would volunteer in the service, to the relief of Monroe. At the beat of the drum the provincials turned out, nearly to a man, and immediately made themselves ready to march. After they had been under arms almost the whole day, Sir William, returning from head quarters, informed the soldiers, that the general had forbidden them to march. The soldiers were inexpressibly mortified; and, while they were manifesting their indignation by groans, the tears trickled copiously down the cheeks of their commander, as he turned from the troops towards his tent*.

Webb appears evidently to have taken his determination from the beginning; and, whether he acted from fear, or according to his judgment, remained immovable. Instead of sending a body of troops to relieve the garrison, he wrote a letter to Colonel Monroe, advising him to surrender the fort. Two more absolutely inefficient men, than the Earl of Loudoun and General Webb, have rarely been employed in important military commands, in the same country, during the same campaign.

The campaign of the preceding year closed on the side of the English with absolute disgrace. That of the following year was opened in this region with an attempt to reduce the fortress of Ticonderoga. For this purpose ten thousand provincial troops, and between six and seven thousand regulars,

* This anecdote I received from Captain Noble, who was present at the whole scene.

assembled at the head of Lake George, in the beginning of July, under the command of General Abercrombie. On the 5th the whole army, except a reserve left for the protection of this spot, embarked in a thousand and thirty-five boats, with all the splendour of military parade. The morning was remarkably bright and beautiful, and the fleet moved with exact regularity to the sound of fine martial music; the ensigns waved and glittered in the sun-beams, and the anticipation of future triumph shone in every eye. Above, beneath, around, the scenery was that of enchantment; and rarely has the sun, since that luminary was first lighted up in the heavens, dawned on such a complication of beauty and magnificence.

The next morning the army landed at the north end of the lake without opposition, at the very spot where we moored our boat, and, formed in four columns, began their march towards Ticonderoga. A person, who has seen this ground at the present time, will easily believe, that, when the forests were standing, such an order of march was impracticable. Accordingly, under the direction of unskilful guides, and by means of the interruption presented by the forests, they fell into confusion. At this moment Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with the advanced guard of the enemy, who, at the approach of the English army, had fled from the landing, and were making their escape towards Ticonderoga. This party had, also, been bewildered in the forest and lost their way. They immediately fired upon the English, and at the first discharge killed Lord Howe. The suddenness of the attack, the sound of the war-hoop, and the fall of their commander, threw the centre column into confusion. The provincials, however, being versed in this mode of fighting, resolutely attacked and destroyed the party. Near three hundred of them were killed, and a hundred and forty-eight taken prisoners, with the loss of very few on the side of the English. The loss of Lord Howe was, however, that of a host. This young nobleman assembled in his person an almost singular combination of excellencies. To superior talents, courage, activity, and exactness of discipline, he added an exalted spirit, expansive generosity, accomplished and engaging manners, and peculiar sweetness of disposition. He was at once the soul and idol of the army, and is still remem-

bered in this country with an attachment, which will scarcely be obliterated for a long period to come.

The troops were remanded to the landing. The next day, July 6th, Colonel Bradstreet was detached to take possession of a mill, at the great fall on the outlet of Lake George, mentioned above, and the principal engineer was sent to reconnoitre the entrenchments of the enemy.

The fortress of Ticonderoga stands at a small distance from the shore of Lake Champlain, on a peninsula, washed on one side by the outlet of Lake George, here a considerable creek, and on the other by a cove, setting back from Lake Champlain. The French lines were drawn across the peninsula, at its junction with the main, and were defended by two redoubts, and by a strong and very deep abattis without. They are said by historians to have been eight or nine feet high. When I saw them they were not more than four, and I greatly doubt whether they ever were six.

The engineer returned with a report, that the works, being unfinished, might be attempted with a fair prospect of success. Dispositions were accordingly made for the attack. The army marched up to the works with a resolution worthy of better circumstances. In their approach they were perfectly exposed to the whole fire of an enemy completely covered. In this situation the abattis proved an almost insuperable hindrance to these gallant men, in their attempts to reach the lines. Over this dreadful obstacle they made their way so slowly, that the French had time to shoot them at their leisure. Three times they were repulsed, and as often returned to the charge. At the end of four hours, however, after a series of efforts which would have done honour to the soldiers of Cæsar, and an exhibition of courage which rivalled the most romantic days of chivalry, the army was ordered to retire. No corps suffered so much as the Highlanders. These intrepid men mounted the works three successive times, and drove the enemy from that part of them which was in their course*. Had they been supported (a thing perhaps impossible), the works would probably have been carried.

* Letter from Lake George, written by an officer after the return of the army to that place, July 10th, and published in the New American Magazine.

The loss of the English on this occasion amounted in killed, wounded, and missing, to nineteen hundred and forty-four. It fell chiefly on the regulars, to whom the attack was principally entrusted. The French lost three or four officers and a small number of privates.

The garrison is commonly said by historians to have consisted of six thousand men. A plain, sensible Frenchman, who was a serjeant on the ground at the time of the attack, told an acquaintance of mine, that the whole number was but twelve hundred; that not one of them dreamed of being able to defend the works; that they, however, determined to make a show of defence, till they should see what measures the English would take; and that, when they saw them marching up with such a naked exposure to their cannon, they began to believe that they should give a good account of them. "But," he added, "the attempt seemed to the garrison so destitute of common sense, that they could hardly believe their own eyes when they saw the English army approach."

General Abercrombie, during the battle, remained at the saw-mill mentioned above, which is about two miles from the lines. Of course he saw no part of the engagement, took no part in regulating the movements of his army, and might as well have been in England as at the saw-mill. Immediately after the troops had quitted the lines he directed them to return to Fort George, where they arrived on the evening of the succeeding day.

Probably there was never a more ill-devised and ill-conducted enterprise. This opinion I had heard given by my own countrymen of all descriptions from my childhood. The retreat of General St. Clair, at the approach of General Burgoyne, has also been justified, because it was said the works of Tonawanda were untenable, being commanded by Mount Independence, in Vermont, and by Sugar-Hill, or Mount Defiance, which rises south of the outlet of Lake George. I had the curiosity to look at this ground for my own satisfaction. Two cannon from Sugar-Hill would have probably driven the French both from the lines and the fort, and General Burgoyne proved afterwards, that there would have been no difficulty in conveying them to the summit. A single hour would have been amply sufficient to have swept the

peninsula clean. It is a melancholy reflection, that between five and six hundred brave men were killed outright ; that so many more died of their wounds as to make the whole number one thousand ; that five hundred more were probably made cripples through life ; and that upwards of four hundred more were obliged to suffer pain from their wounds, often excruciating, and sometimes long continued, in a fruitless attempt to accomplish that, which one hundred men might have accomplished without the loss of a single life, and without even a wound.

But the truth is, General Abercrombie examined nothing with his own eyes, and never went near enough to the scene of action to know what could and what could not be done, with either success or safety. His orders were given in consequence of hearsay accounts. Not a cannon was brought up to the lines. The weak, unfinished parts of them, where a breach might have been made, were neglected ; and the parts, which had been effectually secured, were chosen as the place of attack.

The retreat was almost as unhappy, and quite as causeless. The army still consisted of fourteen thousand effective men, while the whole force of the enemy, at the utmost computation, certainly amounted to little more than three. Not a doubt, therefore, could be rationally entertained concerning the reduction of Ticonderoga, if the siege should be prosecuted with prudence and vigour.

During the campaign of the preceding year, Colonel Bradstreet, a brave and active officer, who had defeated a party of the French and savages, having learned from some prisoners, which he took during the engagement, that the Marquis de Montcalm was proceeding towards Oswego, gave immediate intelligence of the danger to General Abercrombie, then at Albany, with an army under his command of near ten thousand men. The only effect of this intelligence, which was received early in July, was to excite a little talk about relieving Oswego, without a single effort made for that purpose until the 12th of August. Then General Webb left Albany with a body of troops, and began his march towards the post of danger. On the 14th the fort was surrendered. This conduct left a deep stain upon the character of General Abercrombie.

the transactions at Ticonderoga rendered this stain indelible. The general was pronounced to be in his dotage; the attack on the French to have been delirious; and the retreat to have been the combined result of folly and fear.

The remainder of the campaign was, in this quarter, spent doing nothing.

We spent Sunday, October 3d, at Saratoga.

On Monday morning, October 4th, we proceeded across the Hudson, through Easton and Cambridge, to Hoosac Falls, where we lodged.

We left Hoosac in the morning, and proceeded to Williamstown, and thence directly to Pittsfield. The next day we reached Worthington, through Dalton and Partridgefield. The next day we proceeded to Northampton, and thence at our leisure returned to New-Haven.

Every thing of any importance in this part of our journey has been already described, except what relates to Dalton, Partridgefield, Worthington, Chesterfield, and Westampton.

Dalton lies in the valley of the Hoestennuc. It was evidently a part of Pittsfield, and was incorporated March 14th, 1784. Its surface is either level, or formed of very moderate elevations. The soil is good. The inhabitants live dispersed on plantations throughout the township, and form no congregation. In the year 1790, their number amounted to 554; in 1800, to 859; and, in 1810, to 779. The township is small.

Partridgefield is the first township on the western ridge of the Green Mountains in this quarter. The elevation on which it lies is lofty. The surface is not destitute of beauty, and is universally distributed into farms. The soil is cold, but otherwise tolerably good, producing grass in abundance. The inhabitants have built themselves a good church, and a few of them have good houses.

This township is commonly believed to have a severer climate than any other in this state. The snow falls and lies earlier, and continues later, than on most parts even of these mountains. The summer is short and cool, not unfrequently so much so as not to ripen maize. Partridgefield was in-

incorporated in 1771, and contains a Presbyterian and a Baptist congregation. In 1790 it contained 1,041 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,361. In 1804, the township of Hinsdale was taken partly from Partridgefield and partly from Dalton. In 1810, Peru, the name given to the remaining part of Partridgefield, contained 912, and Hinsdale 822. In the year 1800, Partridgefield and Dalton contained 2,220; and, in 1810, the three townships contained 2,513.

Worthington lies immediately east of Partridgefield, in the middle of the Green Mountain range, and is one of the best townships found in this elevated region. Its surface is handsome and pleasant, and its soil rich. It yields wheat in considerable quantities, has a plenty of fruit, and furnishes excellent cider for the market. The inhabitants have built a considerable number of good houses along the road, and hold a respectable standing for industry, good order, morals, and religion. Worthington was incorporated in 1768, and contains one Presbyterian congregation. In 1790, the number of inhabitants was 1,116; in 1800, 1,223; and, in 1810, 1,391.

Chesterfield lies on the eastern border of Worthington, and occupies the eastern ridge of the Green Mountains in this quarter. The surface of this township is less pleasant, and the soil less rich than those of Worthington. It is, however, very productive of grass. In most respects it differs little from the preceding townships.

Near the western border of Chesterfield runs Agawam river. Below the bridge, on which it is crossed, its channel may be regarded as a curiosity. During a long succession of ages it has been worn down in a solid body of rock. The chasm is on both sides nearly perpendicular, descending from six to thirty feet in different places, and appearing like a vast trench, dug by human hands. Its direction is somewhat winding, but approaches so near to a straight line, that it may be traced from the bridge not far from one-sixth of a mile.

In 1790, Chesterfield contained 1,183 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,323; in 1810, 1,408. These are distributed into two congregations, a Presbyterian and a Baptist.

West-Hampton is bounded partly on Chesterfield, and partly on Norwich. It is chiefly situated in the valley of the

ecticut, but its western limit lies on these mountains. Of
 s, its seasons are sensibly milder than those of the more
 ted townships. The soil is warm and moderately rich.
 sea, and all the other fruits of the climate, and most of the
 ctions of the field, grow well. The inhabitants are in
 comfortable circumstances.

st-Hampton was originally a part of Northampton. It
 incorporated in September, 1779, and includes one
 yterian congregation. In 1790, it contained 683 in-
 ats; in 1800, 756; in 1810, 798.

I am, Sir, &c.



SECOND

JOURNEY TO LAKE GEORGE.

LETTER I.

*Milford. Derby. Manufactory at Humphreysville.
Hooestennuc River. Oxford. Southbury. New-Milford.
as anciently existing in the Courses of Rivers.*

R SIR ;

TUESDAY, September 17th, 1811, I set out on my first journey to Lake George, accompanied by Mr. —, of Virginia, the gentleman, who, in the year 1805, was my companion in a journey to Boston. My primary reason in choosing this route was to explore those parts of the Hooestennuc, which I had not hitherto examined, together with the whole length of the Hudson, which lies between the Catskills and the ocean. We took the turnpike road from Haverden to New-Milford, which, from Derby, lies wholly on the east, or left bank of the Hooestennuc.

On passing the western boundary of the township of Haverden, we entered the parish of North-Milford. The topography of this parish is formed of easy undulations. The soil is fertile and the inhabitants are industrious, sober, frugal, and industrious. The state of Connecticut is distinguished, perhaps, from all other countries by a commanding regard to personal liberty.

“ Here, in truth,

Not in pretence, man is esteem'd as man.
Not here how rich, of what peculiar blood,
Or office high ; but of what genuine worth,
What talents bright and useful, what good deeds,
What piety to God, what love to man,
The question is. To this an answer fair
The general heart secures.”

The people of North-Milford, plain as they are, have built one of the handsomest churches in the county of New-Haven, and have thus shown, that they have a just taste for the beautiful, as well as a proper attachment to the useful.

The parish consists chiefly of plantations.

The road from New-Haven to Derby is excellent, and, having been recently laid out through unoccupied grounds, is in a great measure solitary. Planters, however, are already multiplying upon it, and within a short time it will be lined with houses.

On the hill, south-east of Derby landing, there is a rich and beautiful prospect. The Hooestennuc, here a noble, navigable river, is in full view, above and below, for several miles, together with the tracts which form its shores. There is a beautiful island in its bosom. A considerable number of vessels were lying at the wharfs on both shores. Several intervals border it elegantly on the west, or Huntington side. The houses and stores at Derby landing, and those at the Huntington landing are sprightly, cheerful objects; and, immediately above Derby, the Naugatuc, the largest tributary stream of the Hooestennuc, winding through chains of rich, verdant intervals, presents in its confluence with that river one of the finest ornaments of landscape. To complete the picture, several ranges of rude hills form a fine contrast to the soft scenery which I have mentioned, and terminate the prospect on every side.

The Naugatuc rises in the Green Mountains, in the township of Norfolk, near the north line of the state. Thence, in a course generally south, it passes through Winchester, Torrington, Harwinton, Plymouth, Waterbury, and Oxford, to Derby. Its size is that of the Lower Amonoosuc, its length about fifty miles, its current rapid, and, when swollen by freshets, as it often is very suddenly, violent and destructive. It furnishes a great number of excellent mill-seats, and is in many places lined with beautiful intervals. Notwithstanding the roughness of the country through which it passes, its bed is worn so deep, and to so uniform a surface, that from Waterbury northward, one of the smoothest and most level turnpike roads in the state has been formed on its banks.

Derby was incorporated in the year 1675. At that time,

ver, there were but twelve families in the township. A
 of it was purchased in 1663, and a few planters fixed
 selves here in 1664. The remainder was purchased in
 and 1669. Its Indian name was Paugasset.

erby contains two parishes, the Town and Great-Hill,
 congregations, and four churches. Two of the congrega-
 are Presbyterian, the other consists of Episcopalians,
 have a church in the town, and another at Humphreys-
 . Neither of the congregations is large.

e surface of this township is uneven. The hills are in
 al instances steep and rough. The soil is in some places
 , and in others sandy and light. The valley of the Nau-
 is pleasant.

e town consists of about seventy or eighty decent houses,
 y built on a single street along the eastern bank of the
 atuc, extending perhaps a mile and a half in length. The
 opal church is a neat, modern building; the Presbyterian
 and decayed.

veral of the inhabitants are engaged in commerce. The
 stennuc is navigable for vessels of a moderate size to
 lace. Some ship-building is carried on here, and upon
 posite shore. In the year 1806, a company was incor-
 d here, by the name of the Derby Fishing Company,
 capital of 100,000 dollars; and, in the year 1809, a bank
 stablished, with a capital of the same amount*.

re is an academy in this town; but for several years it
 believe, been little more than a parochial school.

thin the limits of Derby, four miles and a half from the
 of the Naugatuc, is a settlement, named by the legisla-
 Humphreysville, from the Honourable David Humphreys,
 rly minister plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid. At
 lace a ridge of rocks, twenty feet in height, crosses the
 and forms a perfect dam about two-thirds of the dis-
 . The remaining third is closed by an artificial dam. The
 is so large as to furnish an abundance of water at all
 for any works which will probably ever be erected on
 ot. Those already existing are a grist-mill, a saw-mill,

* Both have since ceased to exist.—*Pub.*

a paper-mill, a woollen manufactory, and a cotton manufactory, with all their proper appendages, and a considerable number of other buildings, destined to be the residence of the manufacturers, and for various other purposes.

A strong current of water in a channel, cut through the rock on the eastern side, sets in motion all the machinery employed in these buildings. By this current are moved the grist-mill; two newly-invented shearing machines; a breaker and finisher for carding sheep's wool; a machine for making ravelings; two jennies for spinning sheep's wool, under the roof of the grist-mill; the works in the paper-mill; a picker; two more carding-machines for sheep's wool; and a billy with forty spindles in a third building; a fulling-mill; a saw-mill, employed to cut the square timber, boards, laths, &c., for the different edifices, and to shape many of the wooden materials for the machinery; two more fulling-mills on improved principles, immediately connected with the clothier's shop; and the various machinery in a cotton manufactory, a building about one hundred feet long, thirty-six wide, and of four stories, capable of containing two thousand spindles, with all their necessary apparatus.

The houses can accommodate with a comfortable residence about one hundred and fifty persons. Ten others in the neighbourhood will furnish comfortable residences for upwards of one hundred and fifty more. Gardens, on a beautiful plat in the rear of the manufactories, furnish all the vegetables necessary for the establishment.

The institution contains four broad and eight narrow looms, and eighteen stocking-frames.

The principal part of the labour in attending the machinery, in the cotton and woollen manufactories, is done by women and children; the former hired at from fifty cents to one dollar per week; the latter, apprentices, who are regularly instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The wages of the men are from five to twenty-one dollars per month.

In Europe great complaints have been made of manufacturing establishments, as having been very commonly seats of vice and disease. General Humphreys began this with a determination either to prevent these evils, or, if this could not

be done, to give up the design. With regard to the health of his people, it is sufficient to observe, that from the year 1804 to the year 1810, not an individual belonging to the institution died; and it is believed, that among no other equal number of persons there has been less disease.

With respect to vice it may be remarked, that every person who is discovered to be openly immoral is discharged.

At the commencement of the institution, discreet parents were reluctant to place their children in it, from unfavourable apprehensions concerning the tendency of such establishments. Since that time they have been offered in more than sufficient numbers.

In 1813, the legislature, at the instance of General Humphreys, passed a law, constituting the select-men and magistracy of the several towns in which manufactories had been or should be established, visitors of these institutions. This law required the proprietors to control, in a manner specified, the morals of all their workmen, and to educate the children as other children in plain families throughout the state are educated. The visitors were directed to inquire annually into the manner in which the proprietors conformed to this law. The reports of the visitors in Derby, concerning the establishment at Humphreysville, have been in a high degree honourable both to the proprietor and his people.

The manufactures at Humphreysville are esteemed excellent. The best broad cloth made here is considered as inferior to none which is imported.

None but Americans are employed in this institution. Americans make all the machinery; and have invented several kinds of machines, which are considered as superior to such as have been devised in Europe for the same purposes.

Most of the weaving has been done in private families.

The scenery at this spot is delightfully romantic. The fall is a fine object. The river, the buildings belonging to the institution, the valley, the bordering hills, farms and houses, groves and forests united, form a landscape in a high degree interesting.

The people of this country are, at least in my opinion, indebted not a little to General Humphreys, both for erecting this manufacturing establishment, and for introducing into the

United States the invaluable breed of Spanish sheep, known by the name of Merinos. One hundred of these animals he procured to be brought, by the connivance of the Spanish court, from the interior of Spain to Lisbon, and thence transported to Derby under his own eye. A few of them died in consequence of the voyage. The rest speedily regained their strength and flesh; and from that time the breed, instead of declining, has sensibly improved. For some years strong prejudices existed in the minds of the farmers throughout our country, against this breed of sheep. General Humphreys has done more than any other man, perhaps than all others, to remove this prejudice, and to spread them through the country.

In this manufactory he has, I think, fairly established three points of great importance. One is, that these manufactures can be carried on with success; another, that the workmen can be preserved in as good health as that enjoyed by any other class of men in the country; and the third, that the deterioration of morals in such institutions, which is so often complained of, is not necessary, but incidental; not inherent in the institution itself, but the fault of the proprietor.

Derby, then including Oxford, contained, in 1756, 1,000 inhabitants; in 1774, 1,889; in 1790, 2,994. Derby alone contained, in 1800, 1,878 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,051.

The Hoestennuc springs from three sources; the western, in New-Ashford; the middle, in Windsor; and the eastern near the boundary between Washington and Middlefield; the two former in the county of Berkshire, the latter in the county of Hampshire, near the line of separation. The middle and eastern branches unite in Dalton, whence the common stream proceeds to Pittsfield, where it joins the western branch about a mile below the church. The western branch is larger and longer than either of the others, but less than their united waters. The western branch passes through the principal part of New-Ashford, and through Lanesborough, before it reaches Pittsfield; the eastern, through Washington and Partridge-field, or rather through what is now Hinsdale. In Lanesborough the western branch enters a beautiful lake, by which its waters are very sensibly increased. From Pittsfield it descends through Lenox, Lee, Stockbridge, Great Barrington,

nd Sheffield, where it enters the state of Connecticut. Hence it passes between Salisbury and Sharon on the west, and Canaan and Cornwall on the east, until it enters the township of Kent. After having passed through this township, reaching the corner of Sherman, it passes through the centre of New-Milford, which it crosses diagonally. After leaving this township, it forms the eastern boundary of Brookfield, Newtown, Huntington, and Stratford; and the western of Southbury, Oxford, Derby, and Milford. The course of this river, from New-Ashford to Lee, is generally south. In Lee it turns to the westward, about seven or eight miles, through Stockbridge, and round Monument Mountain. Thence to the Connecticut line it pursues its original direction. Here it makes a second bend to the west, of perhaps three miles; after which it proceeds south-westerly to the lower part of Kent. From this spot its course is nearly south-east to the Sound, with which it unites between Stratford and Milford Points. Its most considerable tributary is the Naugatuc, which joins it at Derby. From the mouth of the Naugatuc, the Hooestennuc is navigable for sloops and brigs. The Oblong river is next in size to the Naugatuc. Its source is in the township of Northeast, in the county of Dutchess, and its entrance in the north-west corner of New-Milford*.

There are three falls on this river: the Salisbury cataract; the falls in Kent, at Bull's iron-works; and the great falls in New-Milford. There are also two or three others of no consequence.

In the county of Berkshire the Hooestennuc is bordered by very rich and beautiful intervals. The same delightful grounds are found also in Canaan, Salisbury, and New-Milford, and in smaller tracts in various other townships. In most places, however, after the river leaves Canaan and Salisbury, it passes chiefly through elevated grounds, which approach near to its banks, and often form them, leaving in many instances a margin scarcely more than sufficient to allow of a good road. There are a few expansions in this valley, which have not been mentioned in these Letters, but they are of little importance.

* The only remaining considerable tributary of the Hooestennuc is the Sheepscot, rising in Goshen.

From the cataract in Salisbury, taking the road on the western side to Sheffield, and thence proceeding to Lanesborough, a traveller passes through one of the richest tracts, and is presented with one of the most romantic and delightful scenes, alternately beautiful and sublime, which can be found in this country, perhaps in the world.

Boats have, in various instances, proceeded during the spring freshets from the foot of the great falls in New-Milford to Derby. A series of locks might render this navigation safe and convenient at all seasons, and this may perhaps at some future day be accomplished; but the expense would be too great to be borne by the present inhabitants, or to be repaid by the business which would be done.

The whole length of the Hooestennuc is about one hundred and thirty miles.

From Derby the road crosses Naugatuc river; and thence proceeds by the side of the Hooestennuc to the near neighbourhood of its fountains in New-Ashford. From Derby to Kent the course is nearly north-west, and throughout the whole distance to New-Milford is almost literally on the bank. The valley is everywhere narrow, and the prospect limited on both sides by hills of considerable height. A few of these are bold, masculine bluffs, with rude precipices, which may be called magnificent. Almost all of them present declivities too steep for convenient cultivation, covered with a soil too unpromising to tempt the labours of the husbandman. At times it is sandy, at others rocky, and at others cold. Hence this region is more thinly populated than any other, of equal extent, within the limits of Connecticut. The houses also are few, and most of them indifferent buildings. In the parish of South-Britain, eighteen miles from Derby, and twenty-six from New-Haven, there is a small exception to these remarks. The rest of the tract is solitary; and, with the aid of a road generally sandy and heavy, is far from inviting excursions of pleasure.

You will remember, that these observations are applied only to the narrow valley of the Hooestennuc, through which we passed; extending rarely more than a mile in breadth, and generally not more than one-fourth of a mile. As soon as

these steep hills are ascended, their surface presents a good soil and sprightlier scenery, a numerous population and flourishing settlements.

The first township, along the skirt of which we passed, after we had left Derby, is Oxford, formerly a part of that township. Oxford is a collection of hills and vallies, generally covered with a strong soil. The inhabitants are universally farmers. It includes two congregations, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal plurality; and, in 1800, contained 1,410 inhabitants; in 1810, 1,413.

Immediately north of Oxford lies the township of Southbury, along a tributary stream of the Hooestennuc. Its surface is pleasant, and the soil excellent. It is divided into two parishes, the Town, and South-Britain. The town is a pretty collection of houses, chiefly on a single street, running from north to south. The parish of South-Britain is small. That part of it which borders upon the Hooestennuc, presents the only specimen of soft scenery on our road, until we reached New-Milford. The expansion here was wider, the hills more handsomely shaped, and the river adorned with several intervals. The soil was better than in the parts through which we had passed before. Here also was a scattered hamlet, the inhabitants of which appeared to be in better circumstances. Southbury contains two Presbyterian congregations. In the year 1774 it was a part of Woodbury. In 1790, it contained 1,738 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,757; and, in 1810 (a part of it having been taken off to form the township of Middlebury), 1,413.

We dined at an inn in South-Britain; the first house on the road at which we could obtain a dinner after leaving Derby, and reached New-Milford soon after it became dark. The river was continually by our side; a sprightly, cheerful stream of pure water, often finely murmuring, and, where it was quiet, proceeding with a vigorous current. If the bottom were smooth, it contains sufficient water to be boatable to New-Milford, and a considerable distance above.

I lodged at the house of a friend, where also we breakfasted and dined the following day. After breakfast, accompanied by two gentlemen, we rode down the river, to examine the machinery of a grist-mill; particularly a machine for clean-

ing wheat, supposed to be singular in its construction, convenience, and efficacy. It is a hollow cylinder, formed of strong canvas, inclosed by a circular frame, and placed in a small degree obliquely. Into this cylinder the wheat is carried in a gradual stream by the general motion of the mill; and descends from the upper to the lower end with the requisite rapidity, by means of the rotatory motion of the cylinder. By this motion a blast is produced, of sufficient strength to blow away all the impurities mixed with the wheat, and leave it remarkably clean. The mill stands upon what are here called the Little Falls, one of the best mill seats which I have seen. Hence we proceeded to the Great Falls, crossing the Hoosennuc about half a mile farther down, in order to examine some interesting objects which we had passed the preceding evening. These falls are on the north side of a hill, about two hundred and fifty feet in height. Through this hill the river, during the long progress of ages, has forced its way by wearing down the original barrier. From the falls to the cove, a wide expansion of the river immediately below the hills, is one quarter of a mile; being the breadth of the hills as it originally stood, or, as it is here called, of the mountain. That the two parts of the elevation were once united is believed, without a question, by the inhabitants of all the surrounding country; and will not, I suspect, be doubted by any attentive spectator. The banks, which ascend immediately from the river, are two vast and awful precipices of solid rock, of the height mentioned above, smoothly worn as if cut with tools through the mountain. The sides of the chasm are perpendicular, and their aspect eminently grand and solemn. Within the chasm the stream murmurs rapidly over a bed of rocks. At its foot, or at the entrance of the cove below, it has the smooth expansion of a lake, and is almost unfathomable. This depth is believed, and as I apprehend on the best grounds, to have been scooped out by a cataract anciently formed by the mountain.

When the mountain was unbroken, the valley of the Hoosennuc, where the town of New-Milford now is, and many miles above, was a lake. On this subject the excursions, which I have made through various parts of these states, have given me apprehensions very different from those, which I origi-

ally entertained, and not improbably from those, which will be entertained by any man, who has not derived his opinions from actual inspection. There is an analogy, running through all the scenes of this nature, which I have examined, and producing a conviction, not easily derived from one, two, or a few. After having seen a small number, the mind is gradually compelled to suspect, that passages like this may have been worn by the streams of which they are now the channels. Some of them (for example, this, which is under consideration) exhibit so many, and so obvious, proofs of such attrition, that a spectator can hardly refuse to admit the supposition as being in some degree reasonable. As he proceeds in his investigation, new evidence of its reasonableness is continually furnished: and what was at first little more than an hypothesis is by degrees changed into an established opinion. In this manner I have slowly come to a full belief, that most of those, which in these Letters I have called expansions, in the vallies through which the rivers in this country flow, were once the beds of lakes, formed by barriers extended across their outlets at the lower extremity of each; and that the lakes have disappeared by the breaking down of these barriers. I have looked on with attention, and have been forcibly struck by the proofs which I have seen of the justness of this opinion, in a series of appearances too numerous and often too minute to be recorded or remembered. A multitude of these, which could not be forgotten, I have successively compared, and the result of the whole process has been this conviction. Should you dissent from it, I shall not acknowledge you as a competent judge; but shall plead to the jurisdiction of the court, until you have personally examined the objects themselves.

To induce others, who may read these Letters, to investigate the subject hereafter, I will mention a number of places, where this process of nature has been accomplished.

On the Connecticut, the first or lowest of these lakes existed at, and immediately above, Middletown. The barrier was formed by the hills, usually called mountains, crossing the River at a place named Maronus, about four miles east of that City.

The second lake covered the expansion which extends from

Wethersfield to Springfield. The barrier was at Stepney, or Rocky Hill.

The third covered the country surrounding Northampton. The barrier was formed by the junction of Mount Tom and Mount Holyoke.

The fourth extended from Gill to Brattleborough. The barrier was formed just above the mouth of Miller's river.

The fifth extended from Westmoreland to Walpole, and was produced by West River mountain, or the hills immediately above.

The sixth commenced at Bellows' falls, and extended to Claremont.

The seventh was at Oxford, sustained by the hills in the northern part of Lyme.

The eighth was at Haverhill, supported by the hills in Piermont.

The ninth was at Lancaster, of which the barrier was Littleton mountains.

The tenth was immediately above the falls in Northumberland.

The eleventh was immediately above the Grand Monadnock.

On the Hoostennuc, the first was at Derby, sustained by the hills at Derby Narrows.

The second at New-Milford.

The third in Kent, immediately above the fall at Ball's iron works.

The fourth extended from Salisbury cataract to Great Barrington.

The fifth from the west end of Monument Mountain to Lanesborough.

On the Hudson, there was one vast lake, and perhaps but one; kept up to a great height by the high lands immediately below Fishgill. This piece of water was little less than one hundred and thirty miles in length; and, in some places, more than forty in breadth.

If there was a second, the barrier was probably between Waterford and Lansingburgh.

If there was a third, the barrier was at Stillwater; and the lake extended to Fort Edward, or perhaps to Miller's falls.

On the Mohawk, the Cohoes, or more probably some ante-

and, supported the first lake; extending backward a considerable distance beyond Schenectady.

second was immediately above Anthony's Nose, which, on the right, is in Johnstown.

third commences at the Little falls, and extended as far as Rome.

list, which might be easily increased, will be sufficient for the purpose in hand.

It will be obvious, that the circumstances attending the case would be very diverse in different places; and that the evidence, by which the probability of this supposition is to be proved, must be much clearer in some of these cases than in others.

At New-Milford, and at the Little falls on the Mohawk, it cannot rationally be questioned. In various other cases the evidence is strong, in others still it is less obvious; and in the appearance of the stream, the alleged barrier, the mounds above, and the general analogy running through the country, and through many others of less note, an eye-witness, who could examine a considerable number of them with care, could, I think, scarcely fail of readily admitting the truth of this opinion.

In the same manner the Euxine, by breaking down the mound at the mouth of the Bosphorus, has uncovered a large tract of country on its eastern, northern, and western shores; and at some distant period the great American lakes, by breaking down the wall, formed by the stratum of lime-stone at the eastern end of Lake Erie, may leave their beds bare, and extend extensive regions to the scythe and the plough.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

*Indian Monument. Kent. Major General Swift. Jour
from Salisbury Cataract to Lake George. Cald
Northumberland. Moreau. Saratoga Springs. Bo
ton Springs. Lansingburgh. Troy. Albany. Hud
Livingston. Clermont. Rhinebeck. Clinton. Po
keepsie. Fishkill. Philipstown.*

DEAR SIR ;

AFTER we had examined the falls of this river, its passage through the mountains below, my companions cended the summit of that on the eastern side, for the pur of seeing a monument of stones, formed in a manner g rally resembling that which I have heretofore describ these Letters, as existing on Monument mountain, near St bridge. It was intended to mark the grave of an In chief who was buried here.

This chief was one of the Scaghticokes : a tribe whi have heretofore mentioned, and of which New-Milford formerly the principal residence. His crime was the mu of one of his own people. In consequence of this act he immediately pursued by the avenger of blood ; who, an the Mohekaneews, and among the Iroquois also, was, usu the nearest male kinsman. The chief fled to Roxbur township bordering on New-Milford south-eastward, th to Woodbury, and thence to Southbury : in which town he came upon the river. He then directed his course up stream till he reached the summit of this mountain, wher was overtaken and killed by his pursuer, on the spot in w he was buried.

The figure of this monument was, in one respect, diffi from that which is in the neighbourhood of Stockbridge. was an obtuse cone. This is a circular enclosure, surround

grave. Both were, however, gathered in the same manner. Every Indian, at least of the tribe to which the deceased belonged, considered himself as under a sacred obligation, whenever he passed by, to add one stone to the heap; and, I believe, those of every other tribe belonging to the same nation. In this gradual manner both monuments were accumulated.

It is remarkable, that both are on high and solitary grounds, remote from every Indian settlement; and that the persons buried were excluded from the customary burying places of their respective tribes; places considered, I believe, by all the Mohicans as consecrated ground. Of both it is also true, that the Indians have declared the obligation to cast any more stones upon them to have ceased for a considerable period. In the case of the chief buried here, it is certain, that he was considered as having committed a gross crime. This last fact makes the practice of forming monuments in this manner approximate nearer to the custom of the Israelites, mentioned in my account of Stockbridge. Within a short time past, some young gentlemen studying physic in the neighbourhood, attempted to dig up the bones of this deceased chief. The attempt, while it destroyed an interesting relic of Indian manners, was a very great offence to the Scaghticokes, who threatened them with violence for the injury done to their tribe.

The road, as it comes from the south, ascends this mountain in a manner well-devised and very convenient; but passes over ground fitted to awaken horror in the traveller. It runs a small distance from the edge of a precipice, which in different places is from fifty to one hundred and fifty feet in height.

The township of New-Milford extends near twenty miles along this river, and is about six miles in breadth. The surface is handsome, an open valley, rising gradually and irregularly from the river, and swelling into hills, varied in their forms, and in several instances beautiful. On the south-western expansion opens to the hills beyond Danbury; and is in this direction not less than twenty miles in extent. The Weststennuc is here a considerable stream, alternated with rapids and falls. It is also bordered for a great length by high and beautiful intervals.

The soil of this township is various. A great part of it is of the very best quality, producing all the crops of the climate.

The town consists of about forty houses, built chiefly on a single street, running parallel with the river. It is a neat settlement. The inhabitants, it will be supposed, are prosperous. The rest of the township is divided into farms of uncommon fertility.

New-Milford contains two parishes; the Town, and Bridgewater; and three congregations, two Presbyterian and one Episcopal. In 1756, the number of inhabitants was 1,137; in 1774, 2,776; in 1790, 3,167; in 1800, 3,221; in 1810, 3,537.

Three miles eastward from this town there is a silver mine. One of the inhabitants, a Captain Rowe, dug ore from it eight or ten years after the revolutionary war, as an agent for the proprietors, who were citizens of New-York. The work was given up on account of the water, which flowed into the cavity, and which could not be drawn off without too great an expense. The general belief here is, that it was wrought with considerable profit.

Both white and clouded marble abound in this township, and have been extensively wrought for many years.

After dinner we bade our friends adieu, and rode to Kent, twelve miles. The first part of our way was pleasant, the remainder wild and solitary; lying principally in a forest thinly interspersed with settlements. The road is indifferent, being little used. A parallel road on the hills, which is good, and considerably shorter, commands almost all the travelling in this direction.

The next morning we proceeded to Sheffield, through Kent, Cornwall, a part of Canaan, and Salisbury: thirty-two miles. The first part of our journey lay over the Scaghticok lands, formerly described. These lands have lately been sold under a law of the state, which directs the interest of the money to be applied to the support of these people. They are now enclosed, and begin to wear the appearance of well-directed agriculture; but are much less romantic than in their former state.

Kent is an indifferently appearing town, built in a scatter

manner along the road for two or three miles. The surface is very uneven, and not very inviting; and the soil much inferior to that of New-Milford. The township at large is rough, and the road indifferent.

Kent contains rich mines of iron, which are extensively wrought. They are the property of the Honourable William Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, and of Samuel Forbes, and John Adam, Esquires, of Canaan.

Kent contained, in 1756, 1,000 inhabitants; in 1774, 1,996; in 1790 (having been divided), 1,318; in 1800, 1,607; in 1810, 1,794.

Cornwall, along the river, has a softer aspect than Kent; and is particularly distinguished for being the residence of the Honourable Major-General Heman Swift. This gentleman was born in Wareham, in the county of Plymouth, Massachusetts, formerly described in these Letters. The only education, which he received, was that of a parochial school. Soon after his removal into this state, when a young man, he was chosen a representative to the legislature. In the American army he rose to the rank of a Brigadier-General. After the revolutionary war was ended, he was elected a member of the council. He resigned his seat at this board in the year 1802. For many years, also, he was a judge of the court of common pleas for the county of Litchfield.

General Swift was distinguished for native strength of mind, regularly directed to practical and useful objects; and he solicitously sought improvement, from the sources which were within his reach. In this manner he acquired, extensively, that knowledge, which fits a man to be serviceable to his fellow-men. This, it must be acknowledged, makes little figure in books; but, in him, its efficacy was happily felt by all those, with whom he was concerned in the affairs of life. His affections were soft and gentle, and his conversation mild and unassuming. But his conceptions were bold and masculine, and his disposition invincibly firm. When he was once assured of his duty, nothing could move him from his purpose. Hence he possessed an independence of mind, which all men revered, and all bad men dreaded.

As an officer, though destitute of the brilliancy so coveted in that character, he was highly respected by his fellow-officers, and loved by the soldiers; every one of whom approached

him with a certainty of being justly and kindly treated. His bravery was that of Putnam, tempered with consummate prudence. As a judge, probably no man ever held a more equal balance. As a councillor, he was wise, public spirited, and honourable. As a man, he was humble; sincere, upright, generous, charitable, and eminently pious. The great inquiry of his life was, what was his duty, and his great purpose to do it.

Not long after the resignation of his public offices, he was attacked by infirmities, which in a great measure destroyed his energy, both of body and mind. I saw him, but he was in ruins. He knew me, which was more than I expected, and shook me by the hand with visible affection and pleasure; but it was a gleam of sunshine through the crevice of a dark cloud, opened only for a moment. He requested me earnestly to remember him in my prayers; and bade me an affectionate and final farewell.

I should hardly make these observations concerning a living man, who was sufficiently possessed of his faculties to realize their import: but this is beyond the power of the excellent man, whom I have described. With respect to this subject, he is deceased. In themselves they are just, and by General Swift are richly deserved.

From Cornwall to the Salisbury cataract the country resembles that which has been already described, but is of a still softer aspect. It is thinly inhabited, and the soil is indifferent. You will remember, that I speak of the valley only. The road is a turnpike, in some places sandy, otherwise good.

We dined at a house near the cataract; and, while our dinner was preparing, went out to take a view of this fine object. Its appearance I found sensibly changed since my last visit. The mill on the right bank was gone. The rocks were in several places considerably worn. The direction, size, and figure of the currents, and the spots from which they issued were materially altered in a variety of places; though incomparably less than at Glen's Falls. Still there was a loss in some degree of the grandeur and the beauty, with which had been formerly delighted. The two rocks, which mentioned heretofore, as leaning in a remarkable manner towards each other, and which then stood in the bed of the stream, now stood on the eastern shore: the river, perhaps,

having less water, and therefore not surrounding them; or, what is not improbable, having worn its channel deeper on the western side. The upper fall is seen between these rocks in a manner strikingly picturesque.

We took the road to Sheffield on the western side, and found it moderately good, and the scenery pleasing.

From Sheffield, the next morning, Thursday, September 20th, we rode to Stockbridge to dinner, and in the afternoon proceeded to New-Lebanon, thirty miles. On our way to Stockbridge we went to the Indian monument, mentioned in a former part of these Letters; and, to our great regret, found it broken up in the same manner as that at New-Milford.

I ought in my account of that to have added, that this mode of erecting monuments was adopted only on peculiar occasions. The common manner of Indian burial had nothing in it of this nature. The remains of the dead, who died at home, were lodged in a common cemetery, belonging to the village in which they had lived. Sometimes they were laid horizontally, and sometimes were interred in a sitting posture. Their bows and arrows are said to have been buried with the men; and with them, and perhaps with women also, various utensils. These, it is said, they believed to be necessary, or at least useful, to their departed friends in their journey towards that happy region in the south-west, where, according to their mythology, all the brave and good will be finally gathered. It is remarkable, that they erected no monuments over them, nor commemorated them by any external objects whatever. Instead of this they would never themselves name them, nor without resentment suffer them to be named by others. In the year 1665, the celebrated Philip went to Nantucket, for the purpose of killing John Gibbs, an Indian of that island, who had mortally offended him by naming one of his deceased relations. Gibbs, however, escaped, being concealed by Thomas Macy, an English inhabitant.

These monuments were plainly erected under the sanctions of religion; for every Indian felt himself religiously obliged, when he passed by, to cast a stone upon them. How long this obligation extended is to me unknown; but it had its termination; for the Indians, in both these instances, consider

themselves as having been released from it a good number of years.

Both of them were also raised upon extraordinary occasions. What those occasions were it may now be impossible to determine.

I found the upper part of Richmond valley more beautiful than I had thought it before. The fields in their size, figure, surface, and fertility, are remarkably fine, and are ornamented with beautiful trees, standing alternately single, in small clumps, and in handsome groves. The cultivation is plainly of a superior cast. The acclivities on both sides of the valley are of the most elegant forms; and Saddle Mountain and Taghkannuc, each in full view at the distance of about twenty miles, limit the prospect.

The Shakers' settlement at New-Lebanon had increased, as was indeed the whole population of the valley. A considerable village had been raised up in the near neighbourhood of the spring. This valley has been much more celebrated than that of Richmond, but is far less beautiful.

We lodged here in a very indifferent inn. The next morning, after having walked up to the spring, and examined the baths, and other appendages, we began our journey to Albany, where we arrived in season for dinner, twenty-six miles.

The county of Rensselaer I found exceedingly changed for the better, since I passed through it in 1802. Almost all the marks of a recent settlement had vanished. The fields, the orchards, the houses, and their appendages, wore the aspect which we expect to find in a well cultivated country.

In Albany I lodged at the house of the Honourable John Lovett, counsellor at law in that city, and since a member of congress; a gentleman to whom we were indebted for every civility and attention which we could wish, both now and on our return.

Monday, October 23d, accompanied by Mr. L——, we rode to Stillwater; and, after being obliged to wait three hours for our dinner, proceeded to Argyle, on the eastern side of Miller's falls. Mr. L. left us the next morning, and we proceeded to Lake George, passing through the villages of Fort Edward, Sandy Hill, and Glen's Falls. Here we dined, and, while our dinner was preparing, went down to examine

this noble cataract. To my great mortification I found it encumbered and defaced, by the erection of several paltry buildings raised up since my last visit to this place. The rocks, both above and below the bridge, were extremely altered, and greatly for the worse, by the operations of the water and the weather. The courses of the currents had undergone, in many places, a similar variation. The view at the same time was broken by the buildings; two or three of which, designed to be mills, were given up as useless, and were in ruins. Another was a wretched-looking cottage, standing upon the island between the bridges. Nothing could be more dissonant from the splendour of this scene, and hardly any thing more disgusting. I found a considerable part of the rocks below the road so much wasted, that I could scarcely acknowledge them to be the same.

After dinner we set out for the lake, but, missing our way, lost four or five miles, and made what should have been twenty-five, twenty-nine or thirty. Here we found a good inn.

The country from Albany to Lake George is extensively improved. Waterford is become a handsome village of about one hundred and fifty houses, surrounding a neat Presbyterian church; many of them valuable. It contains, also, a considerable number of stores, some of them large and expensive, together with a greater number of mechanics' shops. The whole aspect of this village is that of business and thrift.

On the road from Waterford to Fort Edward a great number of valuable houses are erected. The enclosures are improved and multiplied, and the country is more generally and better cultivated. This is particularly true of Argyle and Northumberland, of Halfmoon, Stillwater, and Saratoga; yet throughout the whole distance the country is greatly advanced towards a state of thorough cultivation. At Fort Edward, Sandy-Hill, and Glen's Falls, there are three handsome villages, greatly improved in every respect since my last journey through this region. In each of the two last there is a neat Presbyterian church lately erected. A minister has been settled over both villages, on a salary of 700 dollars per annum; a fact which proves at once the prosperity and good disposition of the inhabitants.

A strong bridge is built over the Mohawk, in the place that erected by General Schuyler, half a mile below Cohoes; and another across the Hudson, from Northunland to Argyle, at the foot of Miller's Falls. The road Glen's Falls is become worse than it was formerly, has been worn down through the soil (which is tolerably firm), a loose sand below, sufficiently encumbered with stones.

In consequence of losing our road, I had an opportunity of seeing more extensively the township of Queens. That which we took bent to the north-east. It was bounded for several miles by a succession of good farms, the appearance of which, and of the houses which were upon them sufficiently indicated the easy, prosperous state of the inhabitants.

In the account which I gave of my former journey to Lake George, I observed, that, to complete the scenery below to this fine piece of water, the efforts of cultivation wanting; but that, at no great distance of time, the hand of the husbandman would adorn its borders with all the most beautiful scenes of agriculture. I also added, it would not detract from the gift of prophecy to foresee, that the villas of opulence and refinement will, within half a century, add here the embellishments of art to the beauty and majesty of nature.

When I wrote these observations I little thought, that within ten years, there would be raised up a beautiful village exhibiting, with a brilliancy almost singular, many of the most elegant elegancies. Such, however, is the fact. Few settlements of the same size have a more cheerful and thrifty appearance than that of Caldwell, erroneously named Fort George, which has within this period been built on the western shore of the lake, immediately after turning its southern bound and almost literally at its south-western corner. A number of neat and even handsome houses have started up here, in the direction and by the enterprise of a Mr. Caldwell of Albany, the proprietor, as I understand, of this township. In one of them we found all the accommodations which are usually found in the most populous parts of the United States. Another was a country seat, a pretty building, surrounded by handsome appendages.

The next morning we rose early, with a design to make

excursion upon the lake, but found the sky thickly overcast, and watery clouds brooding heavily on the summits of the mountains, an unambiguous indication of approaching rain. We waited until eleven o'clock, and found the proofs of foul weather continually increasing, and every prospect of going upon the lake vanished. We had engaged to return to Albany on Saturday, and between eleven and twelve recommenced our journey. On our way we examined Fort George. I found the works considerably decayed. We also surveyed Fort William Henry, Bloody Pond, &c.; and, after having spent as much time as the threatening aspect of the weather would permit, made the best of our way to the township of Fairfield, six miles south of Glen's Falls.

The township of Caldwell, together with two or three others, was formerly a part of that of Bolton; a large tract, commencing at the head of Lake George, and proceeding near to its foot, about thirty miles in length. Its breadth in different places was from about six to perhaps sixteen miles. Before it was divided, that is, in the year 1800, it contained 979 inhabitants. In the year 1810, the present Bolton contained 726, and Caldwell, 560. Both townships are bounded on the east by Lake George; and Caldwell, by the north-eastern branch of the Hudson and Bolton, partly upon that branch, and partly by the Scaroon lake, its head-water.

We arrived at Fairfield, happily, just at the moment when it began to rain with violence. The clouds had sprinkled us for four or five miles, but without any serious inconvenience. It rained very hard through the remainder of the day and through the evening.

The tract through which we had passed was once in the township of Northumberland, formerly mentioned, and is now in that of Moreau. The part of it through which we travelled, together with that which I crossed from Glen's Falls to Carpenter's, with Mr. L——, when returning from Vergennes, is a yellow-pine plain; the soil sandy and light, the inhabitants few and unprosperous. Both these townships were included in the ancient Saratoga. The whole township of Saratoga contained, in the year 1790, 3,071 inhabitants; in the year 1800, the present Saratoga contained 2,481, and Northumberland, 2,007; together, 4,488. In 1810, the num-

bers in Saratoga were 3,183; in Northumberland, 2,041; and in Moreau, 1,347; total 6,571*.

On the 26th we rode to Ballston Spa to dinner, twenty miles; whence in the afternoon we proceeded to Schenectady, sixteen. From Fairfield to the Saratoga springs, about twelve or thirteen miles, the country still continued to be yellow-pine ground; in several places less level and more populous than that through which we had already passed. Still the soil was generally indifferent, and the number of inhabitants small. At the Saratoga springs we found a considerable village, raised up principally by the reputation of these waters. There are two sets of these springs, and the village lies between them; or, rather, there is a cluster of houses at the northern, and another at the southern springs. Some of the houses are handsome and expensive. These are almost all erected for the accommodation of strangers, and are indeed no other than luxurious boarding-houses. A few decent ones have, however, been built by the inhabitants for

* While at Saratoga, in the summer of 1807, I had an interesting opportunity of witnessing to what a surprising degree the acuteness of one sense may be increased by the loss of another. A respectable farmer of the place, whom curiosity prompted me to visit, although entirely deaf, possessed the faculty of conversing so readily and correctly with others, by watching the motions of their lips, that scarce a suspicion of his deafness would be entertained by one unacquainted with the fact. I conversed with him some time without difficulty, often speaking in the lowest whisper, and standing at a considerable distance, as a trial of his skill. He informed me that his deafness arose from a hurt which he received, that terminated in fever of some continuance. After his recovery, being one day before looking-glass, and accidentally speaking, his eye was arrested by the motion of his lips; and the thought struck him, that he might, by observing these motions in himself and others, enjoy once more the pleasures of conversation. He immediately began the experiment, first learning the articulation of letters and words of one syllable, and then proceeding to those of more difficult pronunciation. After two years' laborious attention to the subject he at length succeeded. When I saw him his utterance was clear and distinct, and his accentuation generally correct. This latter circumstance is somewhat remarkable, as he had not heard any sound for fourteen years. The name of this person, unless my memory deceives me, was Samuel Waterbury. This recital will not be altogether useless, should it but prove the means of encouraging any who are deaf to attempt the acquisition of an art, which can in a good degree restore to them one of the sweetest enjoyments of life.

their own use. The springs issue in low grounds, worn by streams beneath the common level. The waters of the upper, or northern springs, are said to have essentially the same qualities with those of Ballston, hereafter to be described.

The only analysis which I possess of these waters is that of Dr. Valentine Seaman, one of the surgeons of the New-York hospital. From a train of experiments made by this gentleman he determined, that ten pounds of the water of the * Rock Spring contained carbonic acid gas, measuring about two hundred cubic inches :

	Grains.
Carbonate of soda	26
Muriate of soda, or common salt	173
Super-carbonated lime	190
Carbonate of iron	8½†

The country between these springs and Ballston Spa (about eight miles in extent) is also a pine ground, less level, but of

* Probably what is now called High Rock Spring.

† Since the date of this journey the village at Saratoga Springs has been much enlarged. Many elegant buildings for the accommodation of visitors, and for private dwelling-houses, have been erected. A handsome Presbyterian church, in the modern style of architecture, has been completed, a congregation formed, and a respectable clergyman settled, within a few years.

The Congress Spring is more important in its medicinal effects, and stands higher in the estimation of the public, than any other in this region. Accordingly, the visitors to Saratoga, for the purpose of drinking the waters of this spring, are, during the summer and autumnal months, very numerous.

An account of these waters, and an analysis of those of each spring, has been given by Dr. Steel of Saratoga. Speaking of the Congress Spring he observes, "the gas escapes through the water in fine bubbles, giving to the surface the appearance of simmering. When first dipped, the water is remarkably limpid, and were it not for the escape of free carbonic acid gas, in numerous fine specks, it would be perfectly transparent. It, however, becomes turbid, after standing a few hours exposed to the air, and deposits a sediment. Its most obvious effect, when taken as a medicine, is that of a cathartic and diuretic. In most habits, this effect is produced by drinking five or six half pints in the morning before eating; soon after taking it the person feels a sense of fullness about the stomach and bowels, attended with eructations of fixed air, a slight giddiness of the head, and a sensation bordering on a disposition to sleep.

"The temperature, by Fahrenheit's thermometer, at the bottom of the spring, is fifty degrees, and it does not suffer any sensible change during

the same general character. The whole distance from Glen's Falls to the last mentioned place exhibits little to invite the attention of a traveller, except the springs and the road. The Saratoga springs rise by the side of one branch of the Kayaderoseras, or Fish Creek. The Ballston springs rise in a valley, formed by another branch of the same mill-stream. In this valley, and on the bordering acclivities, is built the village, which has lately been named Ballston Spa. It is said by the inhabitants to contain one hundred and fifty houses. I should think the number over-rated. It contains also a considerable number of stores, shops, and other buildings. These are generally neat and cheerful, and several of the houses are very large, expensive, and splendid. A part of this village lies in the township of Milton.

Dr. Seaman determines, that these waters contain in solution carbonic acid, muriate of soda, carbonate of lime, carbonate of soda, carbonate of iron, and carbonate of magnesia. The result of an analysis, said to have been made by a French chemist of distinction, and published here in 1808, Dr. Seaman

the winter or summer; neither does the season appear to have any effect in diminishing or increasing the quantity of water."

Dr. Steel gives the following as the actual contents of one gallon, or 231 cubic inches of the water, the result of repeated experiments:—

Muriate of soda	471.5
Carbonate of lime	178.476
Carbonate of soda	16.5
Carbonate of magnesia	3.356
Carbonate of iron	6.168

Total 676 grains.

Carbonic acid gas 343 cubic inches.

"It will be perceived by the above statement," he adds, "that the quantity of fixed air vastly exceeds any thing yet discovered, and that this, combined with the marine salt and various carbonates, give to the waters of this fountain, in their cathartic properties, a decided preference over every thing of the kind hitherto known."

There are several other fountains of mineral waters at the village of Saratoga, but as they are inferior to the Congress spring in their medicinal properties, their names only will be inserted:—Columbian spring, Red spring, Flat Rock spring, Washington spring, High Rock spring, Hamilton spring, and President spring.—*Pub.*

man, apparently upon solid grounds, pronounces to be materially erroneous*.

The Ballston waters may be drunk in prodigious quantities, without producing uneasiness. They are strongly diuretic, gently diaphoretic, and purgative. They sometimes, though very rarely, operate as an emetic; are a pleasant and powerful stimulus to the stomach, and produce a fine exhilaration of the spirits. It will be supposed that they create and increase an appetite for food. They also sometimes induce a vertigo, and have been followed by inebriety and drowsiness. Their effects are by Dr. Seaman ascribed chiefly to the carbonic acid, salt, and iron.

The diseases in which Doctor Seaman supposes them to be most useful are the dyspepsy, corroding ulcers, calculous complaints, cutaneous eruptions, and scrofula. To persons affected with the pulmonic consumption, they are, I believe, regularly injurious.

The waters of the Saratoga springs, as will be easily believed from the analysis given above, produce, generally, the same effects with those of Ballston. The Congress spring, the principal of the southern cluster, is much more purgative than

* Dr. Steel gives the following analysis of the principal fountain at Ballston Spa. "One gallon, or 232 cubic inches of the water, yielded the following result:—

Muriate of soda	159
Carbonate of soda	9
Carbonate of lime	75.5
Carbonate of magnesia	2.5
Carbonate of iron	7.

253 grains.

Carbonic acid gas 210 cubic inches."

These waters are considered in the neighbouring region, by the farmers, as an excellent beverage; and during the warm season of the year, particularly in the time of haying and harvesting, are sent for from six to ten miles around, and are used as a refreshment amid the labours of the field; in this manner superseding to a great extent the use of ardent spirits.

Large quantities of the water of this spring, and of the Congress spring at Saratoga, during the summer months, are bottled and transmitted weekly to the cities on the sea coast. Indeed, these waters have become so much an article of merchandize, that considerable quantities of them are exported every year to the West Indies and to Europe.—*Pub.*

any of the others, and is pleasant to the taste. The Ballston waters are also generally declared to be palatable at first, and after a little use are preferred by most persons to any other beverage.

I visited these springs in 1792. They were then surrounded by an absolute forest, spreading every way to a great distance. There was not a house within two or three miles, so far as I had opportunity to observe, except a miserable cottage or two, in their near neighbourhood. The Rev. Mr. Ball, from whom this township derives its name, and originally the principal proprietor, accompanied me to the spot. He informed me, that these waters were discovered by the resort of deer to them, which was so great as to have made a well-beaten path. This fact being singular, awakened a curiosity in some of the first settlers to learn the cause. Soon after the discovery, they began to be used as remedies for various diseases, particularly for the chronic rheumatism, which they have sometimes cured in a remarkable manner. From that time they began to be visited by a considerable number of people. Within the last fifteen years the spot has become a favourite and fashionable watering place, not only for medical purposes, but still more for those of pleasure and dissipation. When I was on the ground I was informed, that they had been visited by two thousand persons this season. A great multitude of people from the southern states land at New-York, whence they proceed up the Hudson to Albany, and thence to Ballston in stages, every convenience for travelling being here supplied. Hence they proceed to the springs of Saratoga, to Glen's Falls, and to Lake George. A great number of them, after residing here through a part, or the whole of the season, which usually commences about the beginning of July, and terminates early in September, proceed either to the falls of Niagara, or cross the country to Boston and Portland, returning by the coast to New-York.

A still greater number of persons resort hither from this and the neighbouring states. There is reason, therefore, to believe that this settlement will at no great distance of time become large and populous, and that all the scenes of dissipation, which have been customarily exhibited at watering places in Europe, will be annually repeated here. I might add, with

small degree of probability, that most of them are annually thus repeated at the present time. As these waters possess the remarkable quality of preventing the malignant effects of repletion, it may well be expected that they will be a favourite resort of epicures, and, as dissipated men will ordinarily find here companions not less dissipated, they may certainly be expected to seek them in this place. Here, therefore, the sick and the healthy, the lame and the sound, the poor and the rich, the gloomy and the gay, will annually meet together in great multitudes, and form one of the most striking contrasts which can be found in human society. There is, however, but too much reason to fear, that until the human mind shall be sensibly changed in its moral propensities, these aggregations will contribute very little to the melioration of the human heart, or to the improvement of human manners.

In the year 1790, Ballston, then a large tract within the existing county of Albany, contained 7,333 inhabitants. It included, as I believe, the townships of Galway, Milton, Charlton, and Malta, and perhaps some others. Since that time it has been divided again. In 1800, it contained 2,099 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,155.

It has generally a much better soil than the country from Glen's Falls to the Springs. The surface is formed chiefly of open hills and vallies. The forests are principally composed of hard wood of various kinds. The soil is either clay, or a stiff loam. The ground is sufficiently cleared and well cultivated. The houses are to a great extent good, and the inhabitants are evidently in easy circumstances.

We left Ballston Spa at three o'clock, and reached Schenectady a little after sun-set; sixteen miles. The first part of our journey lay upon a direct turnpike road, which was very good. The remainder was winding, obscure, and disagreeable, and neither the soil nor the surface, the buildings nor the people, presented a single object, which was alluring to the eye. The whole tract is a lean ground, covered chiefly with unthrifty forests, with a few poor-looking houses and forlorn plantations, thinly scattered over the whole extent. We crossed the Mohawk on a good bridge, built at a great expense since the year 1804. I had not time to examine the manner of its construction. The inhabitants commenced

building another, constructed, I believe, in the same manner, before this date, but unfortunately it was swept away by the current before it was finished.

In the morning we called on the Rev. Dr. Nott, president of Union college, and with him and Mr. Macauley, one of the professors, visited the new Presbyterian church, a very pretty building, lately erected, from which we proceeded to a rising ground on the south-eastern skirt of the city, to which, Dr. Nott informed us, it is proposed to remove this seminary. The spot is about one half a mile from the centre of Schenectady. The ground is a handsome acclivity, ascending towards the south-east, and bordered on the south-west by the great road to Albany and Troy. The corporation have purchased here a tract of seventy acres, as the future site of all their collegiate buildings, both public and private. The design is certainly happy, and promises a desirable change in the circumstances of the seminary. The students, in consequence of their removal, will be placed under the eye of their instructors, and secluded from many temptations and many haunts, whence they could derive nothing but harm. The prospect is extensive and pleasant, and it seems as if the situation must be healthy.

I found Schenectady considerably improved.

We took an early dinner and proceeded to Troy. The country between Schenectady and the Cohoes (the first object of our attention) is sufficiently dull, a fair counterpart to that through which we had travelled the preceding afternoon. The first thirteen miles our road was a turnpike, the rest of the way amounting to five more, was winding, difficult to find, and more difficult to travel. Throughout the whole distance we scarcely met with an agreeable object. This uninviting region is principally in the township of Watervliet, an extensive tract between Albany and the Mohawk, bounded on the eastern side by the Hudson. In the year 1790, it contained 7,419 inhabitants; in 1800, having been sub-divided, it contained 5,092; and in the year 1810, having been again sub-divided, it contained 2,365.

After a tedious ride we reached the Cohoes, where we made a long pause in our ride, for the purpose of contemplating this fine scene. The river was low, but I was better

pleased with the appearance of the cataract than at any time heretofore. The face of the precipice was sensibly worn since the year 1802, and presented more and bolder varieties to the view than at that time. There was visibly less water running here than we found at Salisbury. A great part of the precipice was naked. After we had satisfied our curiosity we crossed the Mohawk, and, passing through Waterford, crossed the Hudson also on a handsome bridge to Lansingburgh. In the evening we rode to Troy.

Lansingburgh is built on a handsome plain upon the border of the Hudson. The principal street lies parallel with the river. The number of houses is perhaps two hundred and fifty, generally decent buildings. It contains two churches, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal. The bed of the Hudson against Lansingburgh is obstructed by a rift of rocks. The inhabitants, who were collected to this spot by high-raised expectations of prosperous trade, have been seriously disappointed in their hopes of clearing the river of these obstructions. Yet they are not discouraged, the legislature having lately made them a grant, which, they believe, will go far towards accomplishing their wishes.

The road from Lansingburgh to Troy, three miles, is a continued village. In the year 1810, Lansingburgh contained 1,658 inhabitants. In the census of 1800 it was included in the township of Troy.

Troy is one of the most beautiful and well-built towns which I have seen. From Water Street, which extends one or two miles along the river, five others proceed in a southern direction obliquely to the river, which here bends toward the west. These are crossed by eight others at right angles. The streets are wide, straight, and spacious; and the town, independently of the direction of Water Street, perfectly regular. In the year 1789, the ground on which Troy stands was a field belonging to a Dutch gentleman, whose name was Vanderheyden. Originally the township was large. It is now only three miles in length on the river, and scarcely a mile in breadth. The houses in it must of course be new. The number of them is a little short of six hundred. They are chiefly of brick, generally very neat, and often handsome. The public buildings are a Presbyterian, an Episcopal, a Baptist,

and a Methodist church, and a Friends' meeting-house; a court-house, a gaol, and two banks. The new bank is a handsome building; the other public buildings are decent. The streets are prettily set with trees, and the houses ornamented with gardens and other neat appendages. Upon the whole, there is hardly a town, in the country forming the subject of these Letters, which makes so cheerful, brilliant, and beautiful an appearance.

Water Street, on the side towards the river, is lined with large stores, many of which are of three and four stories, and are all furnished with wharfs.

The river to this place holds the same depth as to Albany.

The site of Troy, and of Lansingburgh also, is an elevated, hard, gravelly plain. The scenery around it is delightful. Behind it is Mount Ida, a very handsome eminence. Before it is the Hudson; here a noble stream, with its islands, and beautiful western shore. Above, at the distance of three miles, are the villages of Lansingburgh and Waterford. Below, at the distance of six, is the city of Albany.

Troy and Lansingburgh are both settlements, formed for the purposes of trade. Antecedently to the embargo in 1809, Troy was one of the most prosperous towns in the American Union. The inhabitants had engrossed most of the trade carried on by the county of Washington, part of the county of Rensselaer, and the western half of Vermont. That disastrous measure, and those which followed it, drove the people of Vermont to Montreal. This channel of commerce having been thus fairly opened, the stream will not probably return to its former bed without extreme difficulty. I was assured, in Troy, that real property had by these measures already lost one-fourth part of its value.

Troy, in the year 1800, then a large township, contained 4,926 inhabitants. In 1810, the present Troy contained 3,895.

The next morning, Saturday, September 28th, we proceeded to Albany. Here we continued until Tuesday morning, in a circle of friends, from whom we received every pleasure which can spring from enlightened and refined society. This city is exceedingly improved. In the year 1792, there were very few houses built in the modern English manner. The

body was composed of clumsy Dutch buildings, a great number of which had been erected from eighty to one hundred years. Seven successive fires, five of which were kindled by incendiaries, have swept away a large part of these, as well as many other buildings, so that the inhabitants have been compelled to build a considerable part of the town anew. In the year 1790, Albany contained 3,498 inhabitants; in the year 1810, 9,356. The little town of Coloniè, which lies on its northern skirt, separated only by a legal line, and inseparable by the eye (so that it is really as much a part of this city as the same number of houses in any other quarter), contains 1,406; making together 10,762. Albany therefore has more than tripled its population in twenty years: Coloniè not having been separated from it in the census of 1790. Two-thirds of its houses must, of course, have been added since the first of these dates. Besides, a considerable number of houses have been pulled down to make way for better buildings, to furnish convenience, gratify ambition, or satisfy the calculations of avarice. From these causes Albany is become in its appearance a new town, and is certainly a very handsome one. The public buildings have been as much improved as the private ones. These are the state-house, a house for the great offices of state, ten churches, an arsenal, a prison, and three banks. The state-house is a handsome building at the head of State Street, in a noble situation, and furnishes from its cupola a rich and extensive prospect. It contains chambers for the senate and the house of representatives, a courtroom, jury-rooms, offices, and lobbies. Its external appearance would have been much improved by the addition of a third story.

The churches are generally good buildings. The Episcopal church stands on State Street, in a commanding situation, and is a rich, expensive structure, but heavy to the eye. The Dutch church in Pearl-street I mentioned heretofore. The new Dutch church, on Hudson Street, is one of the best and most beautiful edifices of this nature which I have seen.

The streets are generally well paved. Upon the whole, few towns in this country appear so advantageously to the eye as Albany.

The inhabitants, you will perceive from the account which I have given of its population, are chiefly immigrants, derived from many countries and different nations. Most of them, however, are from the United States; particularly from New-York and New-England. The state of society must of course be various. Extensively, it is intelligent and refined, and we found it uncommonly agreeable. The inhabitants deserve much credit for their public spirit. A general disposition prevails among them to increase the beauty of the town, and add to the number of its conveniences, the fruits of which are extensively visible. Among other improvements, they have begun to supply the city with water by aqueducts, the water of their wells being hard and disagreeable.

In my own opinion, the people of Albany are advancing in their moral and religious character.

The commerce of this city has become very great, and many of its merchants are wealthy. Such are its advantages for trade, that it must become a large commercial town, and have a very numerous population.

On Tuesday we left Albany, at eleven o'clock, and rode to Kinderhook to dinner, seventeen miles; and after dinner proceeded to Hudson, sixteen.

I have nothing to add to what I formerly observed concerning this tract, except that I found Kinderhook and Hudson improved. In its moral concerns the latter is sensibly altered for the better. The inhabitants have lately settled a respectable Presbyterian clergyman, to whom they are strongly attached, and who is labouring among them with great diligence and, as I believe, with the happiest efficacy.

We continued here but one night. The next morning, October 1st, we rode to Red Hook to dinner, eighteen miles; and in the afternoon to Rhinebeck flats, eight. We stopped early, because there was no inn within our reach where we could find tolerable accommodations. The country, from the city of Hudson to Red Hook, is undulating, not very pleasant, nor very fertile. The first part of our road lay through the township of Livingston, the next through that of Clermont, both of them settled in scattered plantations, and neither presenting any thing on the road to engage the attention of a

er. The houses are generally indifferent, the cultivation
ry, and the circumstances of the inhabitants apparently
ry prosperous.

the year 1790, the township of Livingston contained
inhabitants; in the year 1800, 7,405. Since that
it has been divided, and two other townships taken from
r. Granger and Gallatin. The present township of
ston contained, in 1810, 1,651.

mont contained, in 1790, 867; in 1800, 1,142; in
1,090 inhabitants.

m Hudson to Red Hook, and somewhat farther, we had
pike-road. We then found the country chiefly a plain
h the township of Rhinebeck; and the road of the
on kind, but good, except that at times it was sandy.
rospects also were pleasanter to the eye; and the soil,
tion, and houses better. At Red Hook there are two
villages, with a church in each. They are both small.
inebeck flats, eight miles further down, there is a larger
andsomer village.

nebeck, except these villages, is everywhere filled up
antations, and the inhabitants appear to be in easy
stances.

Kaatskill mountains are here continually in view; and
ir grandeur, the fine forms of their summits, and their
ally varying aspect, contribute not a little to render this
resting ride. Rhinebeck contained, in 1790, 3,662
ants; in 1800, 4,022; and, in 1810, 4,486.

he morning, Thursday, October 3d, we left Rhinebeck
and rode to Poughkeepsie to dinner, seventeen miles.
st part of our road, after we left Rhinebeck, lay through
a, a contrast to Rhinebeck, being remarkably rough,
plenished with rocks and stones. The soil also was to
extent lean, and a part of the road ill-repaired and
seable. Yet there were several circumstances which
sd this part of our journey particularly pleasant. The
sued towards the river, and gave us an almost con-
and ever varying view of that magnificent stream, with
atskill mountains rising majestically on the western side.
advanced we came to a turnpike-road, which was well
and conducted us to Poughkeepsie. Soon after we

entered upon it, we found a very pretty village on a plain. Several handsome villas, also, added a charming variety to the scenery. The river, highly in itself, was the more so, because we had seen it after leaving the hills east of Green-Bush; viz. at the Hudson.

Here I observed that the Kaatskill mountains southern termination of their eastern front, recede to the west, so that the whole range assumes the form of a

This township is universally settled, and on our route exhibited more marks of improvement than either of those preceding. In 1790, it contained 4,607 inhabitants; 5,208; and, in 1810, 5,494. From Clinton to Poughkeepsie the country is pleasant, and the soil fertile.

Poughkeepsie is a beautiful town, resembling, more than most others in this state, a New-England settlement.

Many of the houses are pretty buildings, surrounded by beautiful appendages. The situation is elevated, and sufficient to be handsome. The soil on which it stands is rich. The streets, which are of a good breadth, are handsomely shaded with trees. Gardens, neat and productive, and lots covered with fine verdure, are often beautiful ornaments to the town.

This town contains a considerable proportion of a refined and polished society, a small circle of which made our stay very agreeable.

There is a flourishing academy in Poughkeepsie. A considerable trade is here carried on with New-York, by the landing, which is at the distance of a mile in a southern direction.

Poughkeepsie is the shire town of Dutchess county, and one of the best tracts of land in this state, and indeed in the United States. It is filled up with inhabitants, and remarkably cultivated. Its length is about fifty miles, and its breadth about twenty-five. It is bounded on the north by the city of Columbia, on the east by Connecticut, on the south by the county of West-Chester, and on the west by the county of Dutchess, and contains sixteen townships, generally large, and a population of 51,412.

Poughkeepsie is excellent land. In 1790, its population was 2,529; in 1800, 3,246; and, in 1810, 4,670.

We left Poughkeepsie about three o'clock, and rode to Fishkill; fourteen miles.

The country through which we passed was undulating, the soil and cultivation moderately good, the houses indifferent, and the scenery distinguished by nothing remarkable.

Fishkill is a town of perhaps twenty or thirty houses, generally neat, and built on a beautiful plain, surrounded by interesting objects. The plain is the bottom of a flat valley, having an elegant surface; extending indefinitely from east to west, and perhaps three miles in breadth from north to south. On the north it is bounded by a succession of hills, arched with fine varieties, and on the south by a range of mountains; the northern section of that elevated tract, universally known here by the name of the Highlands. Through this range, and the cluster connected with it on the south, the Hudson has forced a winding passage and a deep channel, furnishing, with its shores, one of the most romantic scenes in this country.

The soil of the Fishkill valley is excellent. The stream which flows through it, and has given its name to the township, is a large and very sprightly mill-stream, bordered by a chain of rich and elegant intervals; the more delightful to us, as we had seen nothing of this nature since we left Kinderhook. It is not often that beauty and grandeur are so happily combined as in this spot, nor is the sense of stillness and retirement often excited in a higher degree.

There is a decent Dutch church in this settlement. There are five churches of different denominations in Poughkeepsie.

In the year 1790, Fishkill contained 5,941 inhabitants; in 1800, 6,168; and, in 1810, 6,930.

Thursday, October 3d, we started early, and rode to Peekskill, nineteen miles, to dinner. Our journey, the first three miles, lay in the valley of Fishkill, the remaining sixteen passed over the Highlands. The first part of the road, after we began to ascend the mountains, we found tolerably good; lying in an open valley, very gradually rising. The remainder is a turnpike, judiciously directed, and well made. I had been taught to expect a hideous passage over these mountains. To the inhabitants of the city of New-York, who have conversed with me on the subject, it has appeared very formidable. We found it otherwise, in a degree which I confess I

had not expected. The only difficult place is a declivity at the southern extremity. Upon the whole, there are several ascents and descents in the road from Pittsfield to Northampton, compared with which all the difficulties in this passage over the Highlands are trifles.

This mountainous region is in the township of Phillipstown. We found along the road many settlements, which appeared to be sprightly and promising. The houses were frequently neat, and the owners were plainly in very comfortable circumstances. In the year 1790, the number of inhabitants in this township was 2,079; in 1800, 2,754; and, in 1810, 3,129.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Colonel Beverly Robinson. Prospect in the Highlands. Visit to Forts Montgomery and Clinton. Expedition of the British up the Hudson. Peekskill. Cortlandt. Prospect of the Hudson and its Shores below the Highlands. Mount Pleasant. Greenburgh. Yonkers. Capture and death of Major Andre. The River Hudson and its tributary Streams.

DEAR SIR;

IN the year 1778, while I was a chaplain in the American army, I spent between four and five months in the Highlands, at West Point; a promontory, which juts into the river on the west side, in the township of Cornwall and county of Orange, directly opposite to Phillipstown. A part of this time I resided at the head-quarters of General Putnam, then commanding at this post; and afterwards of General Parsons, who succeeded him in the command. These gentlemen lodged in the house of Colonel Beverly Robinson; a respectable gentleman of Scotland, who married a lady of the Phillips family, one of the wealthiest and most respectable of the province of New-York. With this lady Colonel Robinson acquired a very large landed estate, lying in Phillipstown, Fredericktown, and Wiltin, as they are now called; and, for the more convenient management of it, planted himself in this spot. Here he had a spacious and convenient mansion, surrounded by valuable woods, fields, and orchards, yielding every thing which will flourish in this climate. The rents of his estate were sufficient to live as agreeable as from this source it can be. Mrs. Robinson was a fine woman, and their children promised every thing which can be expected from a very hopeful family. His intimate friends were, at the same time, persons of the first rank in the province.

When the revolutionary war broke out, Colonel Robinson was induced, contrary, as I have been informed, to his own judgment and inclination, by the importunity of some of his connections, to take the British side of the question. To him it appeared wiser and safer to act a neutral part, and remain quietly on his estate. The pressure, however, from various sources was so strong against him, that he finally yielded, and carried his family with him to New-York, and thence to Great Britain. His property was confiscated by the legislature of New-York, and his family banished from their native country. It was impossible for any person, who finds an interest in the affairs of his fellow-men, and particularly while residing in the very mansion where they had so lately enjoyed all which this world can give, not to feel deeply the misfortune of this family. Few events in human life strike the mind more painfully than banishment; a calamity, sufficiently disastrous in the most ordinary circumstances, but peculiarly affecting when the banished are brought before us in the narrow circle of a family; a circle, the whole of which the eye can see, and whose sufferings the heart can perfectly realize. Peculiarly is this true, when the family in question is enlightened, polished, amply possessed of enjoyments, tasting them with moderation, and sharing them cheerfully with their friends and neighbours, the stranger and the poor. Such, I have sufficient reason to believe, were the circumstances and character of his family. Whatever some of our more resentful countrymen may feel in similar cases concerning the subject, I hope always to be able to say, and to say truly,

“Homo sum, et nihil humanum a me alienum puto.”

If a heathen theatrical audience could applaud this sentiment from a writer and an actor of plays, I have the best right to assure myself, that my own countrymen, professing the religion of Him, who has left behind him the parable of the Good Samaritan, and a life, formed on the great principle of that parable, will cheerfully subjoin their assent to these observations.

The head quarters of a commanding officer are, of necessity, a scene of bustle and business. Such at that time was particularly the case with ours. On the 15th of March, which was

ry walk. Accordingly we wandered to the top of Loaf, a mountain of considerable height, at a small distance to the south from Colonel Robinson's. These observations will introduce with a sufficient explicitness the following, from which you will derive a more distinct view of the appearance of the most interesting part of the Highlands, than can give you in any other manner.

Yesterday afternoon, in company with Major Humphreys, I went up to the summit of Sugar-Loaf, a mountain near Colonel Robinson's house. We ascended it with some difficulty from the steepness of the acclivity, and from the loose stones which, frequently sliding from under our feet, exposed us to a imminent hazard of falling. From the summit we were rewarded with an extensive and interesting prospect, comprehending the objects which I have heretofore mentioned, and many others, which I had never seen. The point of view was doubly happy, the mountain being so situated as to bring within our reach the greatest number of objects in the surrounding region, and to exhibit them with the highest advantage. What is almost a singularity, there was not a cheerful prospect within our horizon. Every thing which we beheld was majestic, solemn, wild, and melancholy.

The northern division of our prospect was almost entirely

eastern side, and indeed the southernmost of the whole is Anthony's Nose; a noble bluff, whose cliffs rise perpendicularly from the water's edge to the height fifteen hundred feet, with a sublimity, which I believe often rivalled.

“ On the western side runs a rude range of mountains beginning at Butter Hill, and terminating to the eye opposite to Anthony's Nose. The three loftiest of this range are the Crow's Nest, a fine sharp cone; and the Donderbarrak, or Thunder Hill. At the foot commences a plain of no great breadth, if I may be so to call that a plain, which, while it approaches towards a level surface, is undulating, rocky, and wild over a great part of its extent. This tract reaches to West-Point, and southward near to Anthony's Nose. Directly north, the Hudson, here a mile in breadth, as wide higher up, is seen descending from a great height and making its way between the magnificent cliffs of great mountains, Butter Hill and Brecknock. The view of this scene defies description. Through the opening called the Wey-gat, or Wind-gate, because the wind blows through it with great violence, is visible the country at New-Windsor, throughout a considerable distance. Beyond this, at the distance of about forty miles, West-Hill mountains, whose blue summits were at

invisible. Thence it becomes visible again, and continues in sight till the prospect is terminated by Anthony's Nose on the eastern, and Bear Hill on the western side.

...“ The water of the Hudson at this season of the year is replenished with slime. Its colour, therefore, is brown and gloomy; and, being tinged with a peculiar hue by the almost singular light of the heavens, assumed an aspect, deeply solemn and even melancholy. The motion of its waters was slow and majestic, as was evident by the progress of large fleets of ice, which covered various parts of its surface. The general gloom was not a little enhanced by the appearance of its western bank, which is everywhere high, rocky, and savage, and in many places topped with evergreens.

“ On the level mentioned above, of which this bank is the brow, stand, in a solitary dispersion, a few wretched cottages; which, with the river on one side, and the mountains on the other, appear to be shut out from any communication with the rest of mankind. With this impression the appearance of the inhabitants perfectly corresponds, as does every thing, also, which is connected with their habitations. No human beings can easily be imagined more ignorant, uncultivated, and stupid; or more readily admitted as the connecting link between the rational and animal kingdoms than the former; and nothing can more strongly exhibit the marks of poverty and barbarism than the latter.

“ Cottages, which are exact counter-parts to these, were thinly sprinkled over the mountainous region on the east, in some resembling a dove cage; surrounded by little fields, covered with snow, and spotting with white the vast expansion of forest, with which these mountains are overspread. Each seemed as if itself and its inhabitants must have been dropped from the clouds, in places, to which the rest of the world would never have access; and out of which they would never find a way into the world.

“ It is difficult to conceive of any thing more solemn or more wild than the appearance of these mountains. An immense forest covered them to their summits. Its colour was a deep brown, its aspect that of universal death. The sun had far declined in the west. Clouds, of a singular and misty appearance, overcast his splendour; and, arraying his face with a

melancholy sadness, imparted a kind of funeral aspect to every object within our horizon.

“ Directly opposite to us was a mill-stream, which, swollen at this time by the dissolving snows, poured a large sheet of foam, white as snow, over a high ledge of rocks into the Hudson. In other circumstances this object would have been beautiful: now it only enhanced the general solemnity and grandeur by filling the neighbouring region with a loud sound, resembling the distant roar of the ocean. This sound was apparently echoed by the numerous torrents, which were everywhere rushing down the mountains. In the mean time, the large floats of ice, which I have mentioned, sailing down the river, occasionally impinged against the shores. The noise produced by this impact, scarcely audible at first, gradually swelled into the majestic sound of loud thunder, and then slowly decreased, until it was finally lost. Frequently these gradations were interluded by violent explosions, made by the bursting of the ice, and resembling the sound of distant cannon. Nothing could be more favourable to this combination of majestic murmurs than the deep, hollow region beneath us. Every mountain seemed to give a response: and through every valley the noise seemed to wander circuitously, till it reached us in successive repercussions. Delighted as you know I am with music, no choir, which I ever heard, gave me a tenth part of the pleasure.

“ Beneath us was a house, deserted by its inhabitants: a family, possessed, a little while since, of all the enjoyments, which this life can furnish; intelligent, refined, and amiable. It is deserted, not improbably to be seen by them no more. Whether the father acted wisely or unwisely, defensibly or indefensibly, I am not interested to inquire. Against the mother and the children, even prejudice can bring no allegation. Were this family that, in which I was born, what emotions would their present and future circumstances awaken in my heart? I cannot but remember, that their interests are not the less important, because they are not related to me.

“ Southward, at the distance of perhaps four miles, were the ruins of Fort Montgomery. Here more than one hundred of our countrymen became victims, a few months since, to the unprincipled claims of avarice and ambition. These, with count-

less millions more, will at the final judgment rise up as terrible witnesses against the pride, rapacity, and cruelty of those who have been the ultimate causes of their destruction.

“ Northward, at about the same distance, was West-Point: where the same scenes of slaughter may not improbably be soon acted over again.

“ The day was warm and spring-like. The season of universal beneficence was approaching, when the world was to be arrayed in beauty, and stored with the bounties of Heaven. The campaign was ready to open; a campaign, in which a thousand unnecessary miseries will be suffered. Parents will be made childless, wives will be made widows, and children will be made orphans. Many a house where peace, cheerfulness, and delight, would love to dwell, will probably be reduced to ashes, and many a family to want and despair.”

Early in the May subsequent to the date of the preceding letter, I went down the river in company with several officers to examine the forts Montgomery and Clinton, built on a point, six or eight miles below West-Point, for the defence of the river. The first object which met our eyes, after we had left our barge and ascended the bank, was the remains of a fire, kindled by the cottagers of this solitude, for the purpose of consuming the bones of some of the Americans, who had fallen at this place, and had been left unburied. Some of these bones were lying partially consumed round the spot where the fire had been kindled, and some had, evidently, been converted into ashes. As we went onward, we were distressed by the fœtor of decayed human bodies. To me this was a novelty, and more overwhelming and dispiriting than I am able to describe. As we were attempting to discover the source from which it proceeded, we found, at a small distance from Fort Montgomery, a pond of a moderate size, in which we saw the bodies of several men, who had been killed in the assault upon the fort. They were thrown into this pond, the preceding autumn, by the British; when, probably, the water was sufficiently deep to cover them. Some of them were covered at this time, but at a depth so small as to leave them distinctly visible. Others had an arm, a leg, and a part of the body above the surface. The clothes which they wore, when they were killed, were still on them, and proved that

they were militia, being the ordinary dress of farmers. Their faces were bloated and monstrous, and their postures were uncouth, distorted, and in the highest degree afflictive. My companions had been accustomed to the horrors of war, and sustained the prospect with some degree of firmness. To me, a novice in scenes of this nature, it was overwhelming. I surveyed it for a moment, and hastened away.

From this combination of painful objects we proceeded to Fort Clinton, built on a rising ground, at a small distance further down the river. The ruins of this fortress were a mere counterpart to those of Fort Montgomery. Every thing combustible, in both, had been burnt; and what was not was extensively thrown down. Every thing which remained was a melancholy picture of destruction.

From this place we proceeded to find the grave of Count Grabouski, a Polish nobleman, who was killed in the assault, while acting as aid de camp to the British commander. The spot was pointed out to us by Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, who saw him fall, and informed us, that he was buried in the place where he was killed. Here we found a grave, in all probability that in which he was buried, without "a stone" to "tell where he lay," and now forgotten and undiscoverable: a humiliating termination of a restless, vain, ambitious life.

These forts were taken by the British on the 6th of October, 1777. The commander in chief at New-York was prompted to this expedition by two objects, to destroy a quantity of military stores which the Americans had collected in this neighbourhood, and to make a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne. For these purposes Sir Henry Clinton embarked between three and four thousand troops at New-York, and sailed with them up the Hudson. On the 5th of October, they landed at Verplank's Point in the township of Courlandt, a few miles below the entrance of the Highlands. The next morning a part of them landed on Stony Point, which projects into the river on the western side, just below the mountains. Hence they marched into the rear of these fortresses.

General Putnam commanded at that time in this region. He had one thousand continental troops, a part of which only were effective, and a small body of militia. He believed the principal design of the enemy to be the destruction of the

res; and, when he was informed of their main purpose, it was too late for him to resist it with success. He supposed that they were aiming at Fort Independence, and directed his attention to its defence. The heavy firing on the opposite side of the river gave him the first decisive information of their real intentions. George Clinton, Esq., at that time governor of this state, placed himself at this post (for it may be considered as but one) on the first notice, which he received that the enemy were advancing. Being informed about ten o'clock of this fact, he made the best disposition for the defence of the forts; and dispatched an express to General Putnam to acquaint him with his situation. When the express reached General Putnam's head-quarters, he, together with General Parsons, were reconnoitering the position of the enemy on the western side of the river.

Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell in the mean time, proceeded with nine hundred men, by a circuitous march to the rear of Fort Montgomery: while Sir Henry Clinton, with Generals Faughan and Tryon, moved onward towards Fort Clinton. Both fortresses were attacked at once, between four and five in the afternoon. They were defended with great resolution. This will be readily admitted, when it is remembered, that the whole garrison consisted of but six hundred men. The conflict was carried on till dark, when the British had obtained an absolute possession; and such of the Americans, as were not killed or wounded, chiefly made their escape. The loss of the two garrisons amounted to about two hundred and fifty. There is reason to believe, that that of the assailants amounted to more than three hundred. Among the slain was Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell.

It has been thought, that an addition of five or six hundred men to these garrisons would have saved the works. The correctness of this opinion may be doubted. Fifteen hundred men would have been barely sufficient completely to man Fort Montgomery alone. The works themselves were very imperfect: and the ground must, I think, have been chosen either for the defence of the river than because it was itself sensible.

Governor Clinton and his brother, General James Clinton, departed after the enemy had got possession of the forts; the

former by crossing the river. General Clinton had been wounded in the thigh by a bayonet.

Having prospered thus far, the British proceeded on the 8th to the eastern side, where they found Fort Independence, built to defend the entrance into the Highlands, evacuated. A party of them then burnt the Continental Village, as it was termed: a temporary settlement, raised up by the war for the accommodation of the army. Here had been gathered a considerable number of those artizans, whose labours are particularly necessary for military purposes, and a considerable quantity of military stores. They then removed a chain, which was stretched across the river at Fort Montgomery; and, advancing up the river, removed another, which was extended from Fort Constitution to the opposite shore at West-Point. This fort had been evacuated. General Vaughan, with a strong body of troops, moved onward in a part of the fleet, commanded by Sir James Wallace; and on the 13th reached the town of Kingston opposite to Rhinebeck. The inhabitants retired without resistance, and Vaughan reduced the town to ashes. On the 17th General Burgoyne surrendered, and Vaughan and his coadjutors returned to New-York.

Phillipstown, in the year 1790, contained 2,079 inhabitants in 1800, 2,744; and, in 1810, 3,129.

Immediately at the foot of the mountains, we found a most romantic spot on the borders of Peeks-kill; a creek, which within the township of Courtlandt enters the Hudson just below this place. A small lake here expands its waters, into which the mountains intrude, as into Lake George; forming promontories of fine figures, bold, precipitous, and eminently magnificent.

The village of Peeks-kill is decently built, contains perhaps fifty or sixty houses, and carries on a considerable commerce between the interior country and the city of New-York. We dined here, and in the afternoon proceeded to Tarrytown, a village in Greenburgh, where we lodged. This part of our journey lay through Courtlandt and Mount Pleasant, and the northern skirt of Greenburgh. The distance was eighteen miles. The whole of this tract is in the county of West-Chester.

Courtlandt, so far as it is visible on this road, is universally a succession of rough, ragged hills, with rude intervening valleys.

The ground is almost everywhere replenished with shells and stones, and the surface sudden and angular. This ground, however, and particularly in the northern part of the road, where it first strikes the river below the gorge of Peekskill, we were presented with a beautiful prospect. The Hudson here, escaping from the Highlands, winds itself in a winding course until it opens into Harraw Bay, between this township and Haverstraw, in the city of Rockland, a noble sheet of water, ten miles long and three broad, terminating at Verplank's Point on the east; a promontory at the southern limit of Courtlandt, which reaches into the Hudson the distance of a mile, with an aspect of form and surface admirably contrasted to the ruggedness of that of the main with which it is connected. Immediately beyond this point extends Tappan Sea, another expansion of this river, stretching to the south from New York to fifteen miles, and opening to the breadth of four miles. Further southward, the river, at an average two miles wide, leaves the eye by a gradual recession. There is something wonderfully majestic in the size, figure, and movement of this vast stream; particularly when animated, as the Hudson was, and indeed always is, except during the severity of winter, by a great multitude of vessels, moving on its bosom in every direction. To the splendour of this river the western bank makes a great addition; being everywhere lined with cliffs of fine lofty precipices, ascending from one hundred to two hundred feet immediately from the shore, and stretching in length beyond the reach of the eye. This series is varied by two promontories, at the happiest distance from each other, jutting into the river, of noble forms, and in proud, commanding attitudes. But the consummation of this scene of splendour is presented at its northern limit. Here the Hudson breaking out from the Highlands, forces its way between two mountains mentioned above, whose stupendous cliffs, at twelve to fifteen hundred feet in height, form its shores and crown over its bosom. The traveller, who does not here find himself amply repaid for whatever inconveniences he may have suffered in descending this river, must certainly be

pitied, as being destitute of that taste for the beauties of nature, which is one of the principal sources of enjoyment in the present world.

Our road through this township was in other respects sufficiently unpleasant, and our progress in it was terminated by a wretched ferry over Croton river, near its mouth. This is a large mill-stream, which, rising in the township of Pawling, in the county of Dutchess, runs southward into the county of West-Chester; and, after passing through a considerable part of it, empties its waters at the southern limit of the township of Courtlandt into the Hudson. Its bed is a ravine, between hills from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet in height, and scarcely wider than is necessary for the passage of the river. Few scenes have a wilder or more gloomy aspect. A woman managed our boat (a fact of which I was a witness for the first time), not with oars, but with a rope, extended across the stream.

After crossing the river we soon entered the township of Mount Pleasant, the surface of which is a contrast to that of Courtlandt. The ground here also is elevated, but the surface is smooth, flowing, and beautiful; and the soil moderately good. A pretty village is formed on the road, consisting, generally, of neat houses, with a decent church in the centre. This village is handsomer than any other which we saw south of Albany; and its situation in a high degree pleasant. Some of the houses are surrounded by very pretty appendages. The name of the village is Singing.

From this place to Tarrytown, in Greenburgh, the road is good. The ground is elevated, and descends with a variety of handsome slopes towards the river. It is also alternately level and undulating. The Hudson is perpetually in full view. The cliffs immediately beyond it are peculiarly bold, particularly two long ranges of whin, or green-stone; the columns of which are magnificent, in a manner unrivalled within my knowledge. In these townships granite and lime-stone are mingled. The first granite which we saw on the river was in the Highlands, and was alternated with lime-stone. In the county of West-Chester granite predominates, until finally it becomes universal.

The village of Tarrytown is pleasant, and neatly built.

stands on an easy declivity, terminated by the Hudson; and is thirty miles from New-York, and about nine below Sing-sing. It contains fifty or sixty houses.

Courtlandt contained, in 1790, 1,932; in 1800, 2,752; and, in 1810, 3,054 inhabitants. Mount Pleasant contained, in 1790, 1,924; in 1800, 2,744; and, in 1810, 3,119 inhabitants. Greenburgh contained, in 1790, 1,125; in 1800, 1,581; and, in 1810, 1,862 inhabitants.

The next morning we proceeded to New-York, through the township of Yonkers, and the length of the island of Manhattan. Tarrytown is famous for being the spot where Major Andre was taken up by three militia-men, as he was returning from West-Point, whither he had been for the purpose of concerting measures with General Arnold, during the absence of General Washington at Hartford, for the traitorous surrender of that fortress to the British. By a variety of providential incidents, all of them favourable to the American cause, Andre was prevented from returning, as he had intended, by water; and, having received a pass from General Arnold, authorising him under the name of John Anderson to go on the public service to the White-plains, or still further down the river as he might think proper, he made the best of his way by land. His pass enabled him to proceed without hindrance or suspicion to this spot. Here, while he was in absolute security, one of these men, under a large tree, still standing, seized his bridle. Andre, plainly off his guard, asked the man where he belonged. The man replied, "I am from below," that is, from New-York; "and so," said Andre, "am I." He then declared himself to be a British officer, employed in business of great importance. At this moment the other two men came up. He perceived his error, but it could not be repaired. He offered them his watch and a purse of gold, as the price of his release. His offers were refused. The men searched him, and found in his boots papers, written by Arnold himself, containing exact returns of every thing in and about West-Point, which it could be useful for an enemy to know. He was then conducted to Lieutenant-Colonel Jamieson, of Sheldon's dragoons, commanding at that time on the lines. He requested Jamieson to inform Arnold that Anderson was taken. The information

was communicated; and, as he undoubtedly intended, gave Arnold an opportunity of escaping in the Vulture sloop of war, which had conveyed Andre up the river.

Andre then openly declared, that he was the adjutant-general of the British army.

On the return of General Washington to West-Point, a court-martial was appointed for his trial. The facts, so far as they respected himself, he acknowledged without disguise or hesitation. He was pronounced to be a spy, and sentenced to suffer death. The sentence was executed at Tappan, on the opposite shore. He met Arnold on the night of the 21st of September, and died on the 2d of October, 1780. Perhaps no person in the like circumstances was ever more lamented by those, whose prime interests he had attempted to destroy.

The township of Yonkers is much less pleasant than the two preceding, and is remarkable for nothing, except having been the residence of the family of Philipse, one of the most distinguished of those which came as colonists from the United Netherlands. Colonel Philipse, the last branch resident in this country, I knew well. He was a worthy and respectable man, not often excelled in personal and domestic amiableness. Mrs. Philipse was an excellent woman; and the children, the eldest of whom was about seventeen, gave every promise of treading in the same steps. This gentleman was proprietor of the neighbouring country to a great extent, and one of the wealthiest inhabitants of the province of New-York. After a variety of adventures, which need not be recited, he went with his family into the city of New-York, and thence took a passage to England. His property was confiscated.

We reached the city before dinner.

The township of Yonkers contained, in 1790, 1,125 inhabitants; in 1800, 1,176; and, in 1810, 1,365.

The most splendid natural object in the state of New-York, after the two great lakes Erie and Ontario, and far more important than both these to the wealth and convenience of the inhabitants, is the river Hudson. This remarkable stream rises in the county of Essex, and in the township of Tipperary, in about 44° 10' north latitude. After running a little distance south-west, it turns with a right angle to the south-

and continues its course in this direction until it receives, wandering between fifty and sixty miles, the northern branch, between the townships Thurman and Bolton, in the county of Washington. The north-east branch rises in the township of Crown-Point in Essex also; and, crossing Bearoon lake, passes between the townships of Bolton and Chester, until it joins the north, or principal branch. The united stream then winding southward on the western side of the township of Fairfield, also in the county of Washington, becomes the northern limit of the county of Saratoga; and the eastern, until it meets the Mohawk. Soon after it reaches the northern extremity of this county, it receives the Adirondack, or south-western branch. This is a considerable stream, which, rising near the northern extremity of the county of Washington, takes a south-western course into the county of Montgomery; then turns to the south-east, and, entering the county of Saratoga, turns again with an acute angle to the north, to the north-east, and ultimately to the Hudson, crossing that county in its way to the Hudson. The length of the first, or principal branch, is between sixty and seventy miles; of the second, about forty; and of the third, between fifty and sixty. After this junction, the Hudson proceeds still south-eastward into the township of Hadley, in the county of Saratoga, where it turns suddenly to the north-east, and maintains that course to Sandy-Hill. Thence it pursues a direction nearly south, but declining a little to the west, until it enters the ocean, opposite to Sandy-Hook, in the county of Monmouth and state of New-Jersey. Its mouth is about $40^{\circ} 34'$; and its course from Sandy-Hook (although the region through which it runs is in many places hilly, and in some place a range of mountains) remarkably straight. The total length of the Hudson, from its fountains to Sandy-Hook, is about 330 miles; 225 of which it pursues a course almost directly from north to south. Beside the three original forks, the principal tributaries of this river are: on the west, Saratoga-Creek, or the Kayaderosseras; Norman's-kill; Kaatskill-Creek; and Wall-kill:—on the east, Batten Kill; Hoosac river; Kinderhook creek; Wappenger's creek; Croton river. To these are to be added the Mohawk, on the west, which empties more water into the Hudson than

all the rest united. Indeed it may be a matter of some difficulty to determine whether the Hudson or the Mohawk conveys the greater quantity of water into the common channel; although, to my own eye, the superiority appears to be fairly challenged by the Hudson.

There are three remarkable expansions of the bed of this river. The lowest is Tappan Bay, or, as it is often called, Tappan Sea, against the townships of Greenburgh and Mount Pleasant, in the county of West-Chester, and that of Tappan in the state of New Jersey; Haverstraw-Bay, against the township of Courtlandt, and that of Haverstraw, on the opposite side. The third lies between Fishkill and New-Windsor. In the first, the river is computed to be four miles wide; in the second, three; and in the third, cannot be less.

The tide flows to the height of twelve inches at Albany.

This river is chiefly an estuary below Waterford, at the mouth of the Mohawk. Its bed is sometimes raised a little above, and sometimes depressed much below, the bottom of New-York bay, from Paulus' Hook to the city of Hudson; and hither a man of war, of sixty-four guns, may sail from the ocean without finding a single obstruction throughout the whole distance: that is, one hundred and thirty miles above New-York.

The river is deep to Kinderhook, ten miles above; and is navigable thirty miles higher still, to Waterford. Vessels of eighty tons can ascend to Troy, seven miles above Albany; and of nearly or quite the same size to Waterford. About six or eight miles below Albany there is a spot of shoals, called the Overslaugh, which are impassable by vessels of greater burthen.

The Hudson begins to be fresh about sixty miles above New-York.

The waters which flow into it are mere mill-streams. Esopus Creek, the largest of them, is navigable for a little distance, and some of the others furnish small harbours at their mouths; but the whole amount of their supplies to the Hudson is trifling. The waters of this noble river are to a great extent derived from the ocean; and the rest owe the greatness of their mass chiefly to the fact, that in consequence of the lowness of their bed they are stopped, and heaped up by

its reference. From this mighty advantage the Hudson is the most navigable, and in this respect the most useful river, in proportion to the supplies which it receives from its fountains, perhaps, in the world.

It is a remarkable fact, that the Hudson should have found so fine and safe a bed, in a country so rough, and between banks so often formed of mountains or high hills, and to so great an extent abutting upon it in precipices of a stupendous height. Yet even through the Highlands its navigation is perfectly uninterrupted. The country north of the Highlands, from Fishkill to Waterford, and possibly farther still, was, as I believe, and as I have heretofore observed, once a vast lake. The valley of the Hudson is here in some places not far from forty miles in breadth. The mountains on both sides form a complete barrier to the waters of such a lake. On the south the Highlands effectually kept up these waters to a great height, not improbably for a long period after the deluge. These mountains are a continuation of the Blue Ridge; which, entering New-Jersey, cross the breadth of that state; and then, passing through the counties of Orange and Dutchess, unite with the Taghkannuc range at New-Fairfield and Sherman, in Connecticut. The channel to the ocean was probably always where it now is, or not far from its present bed. If its bed was gradually worn out, it must, I think, have been worn by the slow recession of a cataract, originally existing between Anthony's Nose and Bear Hill. Such a cataract would naturally force a deep passage, and may in some measure explain this remarkable phenomenon. I acknowledge this supposition is not without its difficulties. If the channel between Butter Hill and Brecknock, at the entrance of the Hudson into the Highlands, was worn out suddenly, it was probably accomplished in a manner resembling that in which the lake in Glover, elsewhere mentioned in these Letters, forced a passage for its waters two hundred feet in breadth and depth, within the limits of twenty-four hours. The surface of the earth surrounding this lake was hard; but the inferior strata were, to a great depth, light and loose. As soon as the waters reached the uppermost of these strata, it was washed away beneath them almost as easily and as rapidly as they themselves flowed. If we suppose the Hudson a lake at

any given ancient period, the efflux of such an immense mass of waters must go far towards explaining the great depth of its present channel.

There is a grandeur in the passage of this river through the Highlands, unrivalled by any thing of the same nature within my knowledge. At its entrance particularly, and its exit, the mountains ascend with stupendous precipices immediately from the margin of its waters; appearing as if the chasm between them had been produced by the irresistible force of this mighty current, and the intervening barrier at each place had been broken down, and finally carried away into the ocean. These cliffs hang over the river, especially at its exit from the mountains, with a wild and awful sublimity, suited to the grandeur of the river itself; which, speedily after it escapes from these barriers, expands its current to the breadth of three miles, and soon after to that of four; and pours a vast stream, two miles wide, and sufficiently deep to waft a seventy-four gun ship, until it is lost in the bay of New-York.

Above the Highlands, the Kaatskill mountains for a great distance are everywhere visible; and within moderate distances everywhere assume new forms; all of them noble, as seen from the bed and banks of the Hudson.

The commerce of this river I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

City of New-York. Its Settlement and Extent. Its Streets, Churches, and other Public Buildings. City Hall. Hospital. State Prison. Bridewell, and City-Prison. Old and New Alms-House. Political and Benevolent Societies. Columbia Collège. College of Physicians and Surgeons. Elgin Botanic Garden. Schools. Literary Societies. Orphan Asylum. Markets. Banks and Insurance Companies. Commerce. Exports and Amount of Duties.

DEAR SIR;

THE city of New-York stands in $40^{\circ} 42'$ north latitude, and in 74° west longitude from Greenwich. It is built on the southern end of the island of Manhattan; or, as it is called in early records, Manhadoes. It was originally a small establishment of some Dutch colonists, for purposes of trade. The celebrated Hudson visited it in the year 1608. In 1615, the states-general of Holland, to whom Hudson sold his own right to the country, sent a small body of men to this spot, who built a fort, and erected a few cottages. In 1629, Wouter Van Twiller was appointed the first governor. In 1663, the Duke of York, to whom the territory had been granted by Charles II, sent an armament, and took possession of both the city and the colony. From that time the name of New-York was given to both. The city was then a trifling village, and thirty-four years afterwards contained only 4,302 inhabitants.

In 1686, both New-York and Albany were incorporated; and the privileges, conveyed in their charters, were substantially those which they at present possess.

The city of New-York extends its powers and privileges over the whole island of Manhattan. This tract is universally

laid out by an act of the government, constituting commissioners for that purpose, into streets, squares, and roads; and the location, which is believed to have been formed with great care and skill, is made perpetual, no person being permitted hereafter to erect any building on any part of the grounds thus sequestered for public use. The commissioners were Simeon De Witt, Esq., surveyor-general of the state, the Honourable Governor Morris, formerly ambassador to the court of Versailles, and John Rutherford, Esq. Of this extensive location, about two miles are filled upon Hudson's river, and perhaps three on the Sound. In a looser sense, buildings are spread over most of the island. A great number of villas are scattered throughout eight or ten miles from the southern point; and with them many houses of an inferior class, belonging to gardeners, farmers, and mechanics, who live in them through the year. The principal collection of these buildings is contained in Haerlaem village and its neighbourhood. Another such collection is Manhattanville, near the Hudson, seven miles from the city. The villas are placed in almost all the pleasant positions on the island, and spread over it a brilliancy and cheerfulness not surpassed in the United States. Many of them have rich gardens, stored with a great variety of delicious fruits.

The streets of New-York have unhappily followed, in many instances, its original designation of a fishing and trading village. The streets are generally wider, and less crooked, than those of Boston, but a great proportion of them are narrow and winding.

Broadway, which commences at the battery, proceeds over the highest ground, between the two rivers, about two miles in a straight line, and is the noblest avenue of this nature in North-America. Towards the north end it is, however, partially built. Greenwich Street begins also at the battery; and passing between Broadway and the Hudson, extends northward through the whole length of the city. It is spacious and handsome. Straight, handsome streets proceed also from Broadway to the Hudson, from the battery northward about a mile. On the eastern side the streets are much less beautiful.

In the year 1790, Boston contained 2,376 houses, and

1,038 persons: very nearly 7½ to a house; say 7.6. If we suppose the inhabitants of New-York to be distributed in the same proportion, the number of dwelling-houses in this city may be estimated at 12,680. They are generally new, compared with a great part of those in Boston, and as a body are better buildings*, although very few of them (and none within my observation) are equal in beauty to many of the modern-built houses in that town. The mode of building in New-York is rather heavy; that in Boston has the appearance of lightness and airiness, and strikes the eye with peculiar pleasure.

The public buildings in this city are, beside others, fifty-five churches†. Twelve of these, including the old French Protestant church, are Episcopal; seven belong to the Dutch, seven to the Presbyterians, five to the Scotch Reformed Church, and eight to the Baptists, of which six are considered as regular, and two as irregular. Seven regular churches belong to the Methodists; there are also two or three smaller congregations, calling themselves Methodists, which meet in private rooms, but are not acknowledged. There is one congregation of Blacks among the Baptists, and one among the Methodists. There are also two Friends' meeting-houses, one German Lutheran church, one German Calvinist, one Moravian, one Universalist, one Roman Catholic, one Ditto now building, one Jewish Synagogue‡.

* There is, however, a very great collection of miserable temporary buildings in the heart of this city, north of John Street, between Broadway and the East River. Most of them stand aside from the walks of gentlemen who visit this city, and are rarely taken into an estimate of the value of its buildings. Since I have become acquainted with this fact, I have doubted the correctness of the opinion expressed in the text.

† 1811.

‡ Ten years having elapsed since this account was written, a list of the places of public worship in the city of New-York, taken from the *Christian Herald* for March, 1821, is subjoined.—*Pub.*

* The whole number of places of public religious worship in the city and county of New-York is 71—as follows, *viz.* Episcopal, 15; Dutch Reformed, 9; Associate Reformed, 5; Presbyterian, 8 (and 2 not yet united to the Presbytery of New-York); Methodist, 9; Baptist, 7; Friends (or Quakers), 3; Independents, 3; Congregational (or Unitarian), 1; Unitas Fratrum (or Moravian), 1; German Lutheran, 1; Universalist, 1; Roman Catholic, 2; Mariners, 1; Mission House, 1; New Jerusalem, 1;

The other public buildings are a city hall, the gaol, the state prison, the bridewell, the alms-house, new alms-house, the hospital, the college, the free school-house, an orphan asylum, the public library, the custom-house, the United States arsenal, the state arsenal, two theatres, the banks, the city hotel, the tontine coffee-house, and the halls, occupied by the Washington, Mechanics, and Tammany societies.

Among the churches, St. John's, in Hudson's Square, is one of the richest, and in the interior one of the most beautiful. Its exterior would strike the eye with much more pleasure, had not the steeple been so disproportioned in its height. The steeple of St. Paul's is probably not excelled by many in the Union, but the church is massive and heavy. The front of the new Presbyterian church in Wall Street is handsome.

The city-hall, although not the most perfect piece of architecture, is the most superb building in the United States*. This elegant structure was begun in 1803, by order of the corporation, and finished at the sole charge of the city in 1812, under the direction of Mr. John M'Comb, architect, at an expense of 520,000 dollars.

The building extends from east to west two hundred and sixteen feet by one hundred and five. The south, east, and west fronts are faced with white marble, brought from Berkshire county, in Massachusetts, enriched with two regular orders of architecture, the Ionic and Corinthian, raised on a rustic basement of brown free-stone, nine feet in height. A neat stone balustrade surrounds the building, and hides a great part of the roof. The centre has an attic story, on which the arms of the city, with appropriate emblems, are intended to be placed, behind which stands a handsome cupola, surmounted by the figure of Justice.

Jews Synagogue, 1. To these it may be added, that the State Prison, Penitentiary, Alms-house, Bridewell, and Debtor's Prison, are all furnished with chapels, in which the Gospel is regularly and faithfully preached.

"Of these places of public worship it is believed that five only are vacant. There are sixty-three ministers, who have independent or associate charges, and between eight and twelve residing in the city without parochial charges, most of whom are engaged as professors in Columbia college, or as teachers. This number does not include the local Methodist preachers."

* The Pennsylvania bank is the most perfect American edifice within my knowledge.

The basement floor contains the police office, and large accommodations for the city watch, the marine court, and four other offices; besides a larder, kitchen, and conveniences for the house-keeper.

The principal entrance to the building is on the south front, by a terrace walk, which extends the length of the building, and is in breadth about forty feet. This is raised three feet above the level of the park. From the walk a flight of eleven steps ascends to an Ionic colonade, and from this you pass into a large vestibule, adjoining a corridor, that runs lengthwise of the building, and communicates with the different apartments and staircases.

This floor contains the mayor's office, and all the offices that belong to the city and county, together with a grand jury room, law library, and apartments for the house-keeper. In the centre of the building, facing the entrance, is a large circular staircase, with a double flight of steps, upheld without any apparent support, on the wall which surrounds the stairs. On the level of the second floor stand ten marble columns of the Corinthian order, with a circular gallery around them. The columns are fluted, and the entablature fully enriched; the whole covered by a hemispherical ceiling, enriched with sunk compartments, filled with patera, and lighted by a large skylight, the whole of which produces a fine effect.

The second floor contains four large court-rooms, two jury-rooms, two offices, a gallery for paintings, and a common council chamber. The gallery is furnished with the portraits of governors Lewis and Tompkins, and with those of all the mayors of the city, since the revolution. The common council chamber is finished in a superb style. It contains the full-length portraits of General Washington, General Hamilton, Governor Jay, and Governor Clinton. The carvings in stone and wood are well executed.

The Hospital is an establishment honourable both to the city and the state. It is under the management of twenty-six governors, who meet on the first Tuesday of every month, and whose services are gratuitous.

Applicants for admission must bring a recommendation from a governor, physician, or surgeon of the hospital; or, if citizens of the state, and not residents in the city, from a justice of the

peace, and one or more overseers in the town or city where they reside. A visiting committee, consisting of three governors, determines concerning the continuance of the patients in the hospital, and has the general care of the institution.

The officers are a president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary; six physicians, four surgeons, a superintendent, who is also the steward; a house physician, who is also the librarian; a house surgeon, an apothecary, and a clerk.

An asylum for lunatics is annexed to this institution.

A ward also is appropriated for the reception of lying-in women.

Since the year 1799, sick and disabled seamen, at the port of New-York, are received into the Hospital, and enjoy all its advantages. From the year 1804, the collector of the port has refused to pay for more than seventy-five seamen at a time. From motives of humanity, and a general regard to this useful class of men, the governors have, nevertheless, during five years, beginning with 1806, admitted eight hundred and forty-three seamen beyond the number paid for by the collector, or, in other words, by the national government, and have thus incurred an expense of 9,500 dollars, a fact honourable to the governors of the hospital, but far otherwise to those of the nation.

The whole number of patients admitted into this institution, from 1792 to 1810 inclusive, was 13,863. Of these, 8,327 have been cured, 886 relieved, 646 discharged at the request of friends, 458 dismissed as disorderly, 187 sent to the work-house, 517 eloped, and 1,676 have died. When it is remembered, that but few apply until their diseases are far advanced, and that many are brought in a hopeless condition, this account will, it is believed, be thought very favourable to the character of the institution.

From the year 1797 to 1810 inclusive, the number of patients was 13,035. Of these, 77 were natives of Asia; 194 of Africa; 6,036 of Europe; and 6,788 of America. Of the Europeans, 1,129 were Englishmen; 427 Scotchmen; 8,164 Irishmen. Often the native place was unknown.

The number of lunatics admitted into the asylum in five years was 362, of whom 150 were cured.

The library belonging to this institution is valuable. The

ound on which it is established is elevated, pleasant, airy, and healthy. The principal building is of grey stone, in the noblest Doric style, one hundred and twenty-four feet in length, fifty in breadth at the centre, and eighty-six at the ends, and is of three stories and a basement. The latter contains the kitchens, laundry, bathing-room, &c., together with two wards, destined for the temporary accommodations of patients, whom it is necessary to remove from intercourse with others. The stories contain all the rooms necessary to accommodate such an institution, and those employed in the management of its affairs, together with sixteen wards for the reception of about three hundred patients. Among its conveniences are an excellent garden, fruit trees, walks, a large ice-house, bathing-house, and stables.

The asylum is also of stone, ninety feet in length, forty feet wide in the centre, and sixty-five in the wings. This building is well constructed for the comfort and safety of the patients and those employed in the management, is well warmed, and is made perfectly secure from fire.

In Greenwich Street, about two miles from the southern point of the city, stands the State Prison. This structure is of free stone, and of the Doric order, two hundred and four feet in length, with wings and buildings connected with them, and two hundred feet in depth. It contains fifty-four rooms for prisoners, twelve feet by eighteen; a large room for public worship, and apartments for the use of the keeper; beside sixteen solitary cells, six feet by eight, and fourteen in height. The stories are fifteen feet in height. In the rear of the building is a manufactory, containing workshops for the prisoners, two hundred feet in length, and twenty in breadth, of two stories. The whole ground connected with these buildings, consisting of four acres, is enclosed by a wall of stone, of masonry work, fourteen feet high, on Greenwich Street, and twenty-three towards the river. The expense of purchase and erection was 208,846 dollars.

Murder and treason are now the only crimes which are made capital by the laws of this state. Felonies of all other descriptions, together with most other subordinate offences, are punished by confinement in this prison; felonies, by imprisonment for life.

The government of the State Prison is committed to seven inspectors, who appoint their own clerk, and an indefinite number of keepers. The convicts are dressed in uniform, and are comfortably fed and clothed, and the sexes are kept separate. They are employed in various kinds of mechanical and manufacturing business. The inspectors perform their services gratuitously.

The building, commonly known by the name of the Bridewell, is occupied in its middle apartments by the keeper and his family. The east wing, or end, is called the Bridewell, and the west end, the City Prison. The latter is divided into ten small rooms, two large ones, and a common hall, and is appropriated to those who are committed, to await their trial; or who have been tried and sentenced to imprisonment without labour.

The two large rooms are the abodes of vagrants chiefly, who do the menial duties required by the whole establishment. The prisoners in the city prison mix promiscuously in the daytime, but are ordered to their respective rooms at sunset. The former (the Bridewell) is divided into four large rooms, two on a floor, and is the receptacle of all who are confined by sentence to hard labour. The crimes for which Bridewell furnishes the punishment are various sorts of misdemeanors such as libel, assault and battery, keeping disorderly house, obtaining goods by false pretences, &c. &c. &c., and all felonies less than grand larceny, which is the title of the theft when the goods stolen exceed 12 dollars 50 cents in value. The term of imprisonment in Bridewell for any one offence is not to exceed three years. Imprisonment may, at the discretion of the court, be substituted in all cases, in which they are authorised to inflict corporeal chastisement for that punishment.

A whipping-post was erected a few years since in the Bridewell yard, but the infliction of the punishment was found to be so revolting to the feelings of the community, that the post has been removed. The employment of the prisoners in Bridewell is the picking of oakum. The tasks are given out to the rooms before sun-rise, and the punishment for idleness, or refractoriness, is diminishing the allowance of food. The food consists of beef, potatoes, soup, bread, and mush and

lasses, which is distributed in the rooms of both sections of building, in quantities deemed sufficient for all. The whites divided from the blacks, who usually constitute a moiety; the males from the females, the latter being numerically portioed to the former in a ratio not less than three to two. Those who labour in Bridewell are confined to their respective cells. The corporation of the city may, however, direct the convicts to be employed on the public works. They are frequently seen chained to wheel-barrow, and occupied in repairing the public roads between New-York and Haerlem. The vagrants mentioned as performing the menial offices are really street beggars, and idle persons who cannot give an account of themselves. The average number of prisoners about one hundred and fifty. The expenses of the prison defrayed at the alms-house, as hereafter mentioned. The accompanying printed report* of the superintendant of

The substance of the report mentioned in the text is the following:—
 Papers admitted into the house from the 1st of April, 1812, to the 1st of April, 1813, amounted to 2,814

Discharged.	1,316	
Died	233	
Total discharged and died	1,549	

Remaining in the house April 1st, 1813 1,265

Their sexes and places of birth are as follows:—

Men	252
Women	468
Boys	299
Girls	246

Total 1,265

Of these there were born in the city of New-York	624
State of New-York	78
United States	129
England	82
Scotland	37
Ireland	246
Germany	43
France	9
Africa	9
West Indies	8

Total 1,265

and
 (2011)

the alms-house will give a general idea of the character of that institution. It embraces the period from the 1st of April, 1812, to the 1st of April, 1813. The report for the succeeding year corresponds in its general aspect with the one enclosed. The donations to the out-door poor, as by the last mentioned report, amounted to 34,133 dollars 85 cents; the whole expense for the same year, to about 92,000 dollars; the charges for the Bridewell and City Asylum included.

The old alms-house can accommodate about one thousand two hundred persons. One or more discreet persons are usually associated with the commissioners' superintendant, and by their appointment are to examine into the character and condition of the applicants. Those who can get along with some aid short of an entire subsistence are left at home, and called out-door poor. Those who have very little or no reliance, but on the public bounty, are transferred to the buildings, where the men who can labour are employed in such handicraft business as they may be acquainted with, and in gardening, sawing wood, and picking oakum; and the women in spinning, sewing, knitting, washing, &c.

Number of prisoners and vagrants in the city prison and Bridewell, April 1st, 1813:—

Men	62
Women	66
Total	128

Number of maniacs in the city asylum, paid for by the superintendant the alms-house, April 1st, 1813:—

Men	23
Women	22
Total	45

Number of families of out-door poor, to whom donations were distributed from April 1st, 1812, to April 1st, 1813

1,973

Number of persons of which they consisted 8,253

Amount of donations to these families 11,711 35

Cash paid for the support of Indians, and to sundry towns for the support of paupers belonging to the city of

New-York 997 89

Cash paid for transporting paupers 604 62

Total 12,613 86

A physician, at a salary of 800 dollars, attends the alms-house and Bridewell, and has for his assistants two medical students, who visit in the alms-house, and have their board at the superintendant's table as a compensation.

There are from one hundred and fifty to two hundred infants at nurse, at the expense of the alms-house, coming under the descriptions of pauper children, natural born, and foundlings.

The whole charge of these two establishments is devolved on the superintendant of the alms-house, and five commissioners appointed by the corporation. These officers also form the medium through which the expenses of the city (or lunatic) asylum are defrayed.

The commissioners have also the power of binding out to trades all poor children, and exercise from time to time judicial authority in cancelling indentures of apprenticeship.

The new buildings constructing on the bank of the east river, three miles from the city, and now nearly completed, will supersede the use of those which are at present occupied. The entire cost of the pile, it is estimated, will exceed 400,000 dollars; more than 300,000 dollars having been already expended.

On an area, measuring four hundred and sixty-five feet by four hundred and fifty-five, enclosed on three sides by a wall eleven feet high, and opening on the fourth side to East River, are erected, first, the alms-house, of stone, fronting the river, three hundred and twenty feet long, by fifty-seven feet deep, with two wings, each one hundred and fifty feet deep. 2dly, Two hospitals of brick, one in the rear of each wing, and on the same line, seventy-five feet long. 3dly, In the rear of the centre of the alms-house, and between the hospitals, a work-shop of brick, two hundred feet in length. 4thly, In the rear of the workshop, a penitentiary of stone, one hundred and fifty feet long. Twenty-five hundred persons, it is presumed, might find accommodations in the new alms-house; two hundred have already been transferred thither.

I have been the more minute in this detail, because it is the only institution of a similar nature, which is particularly described in these Letters. With the system pursued in Boston I am unacquainted. In the smaller towns, which I have

mentioned, such institutions exist on so limited a scale, that they can hardly be expected to engage your attention. The new Alms-house, mentioned above, is formed upon a scale which approaches to magnificence. Of European institutions of the same nature I am ignorant. But there is no eleemosynary establishment in the American Union equally splendid. Indeed, both the corporation and the inhabitants of New-York discover a high degree of good sense, and a very expansive liberality, in the measures which they pursue for the improvement of their city, in every thing, whether useful or ornamental. Probably they proceed as fast in this honourable career as their circumstances will permit.

There is in this city a great number of societies, formed professedly for benevolent purposes. Among these is the Tammany Society, or Columbian Order; professedly established to afford relief to persons in distress. Its principal business is, however, believed to be that of influencing elections.

The Washington Benevolent Society, though really employed in many benevolent purposes, is substantially a political association.

The Humane Society was formed for the relief of poor debtors, principally by supplying them with food and fuel.

The German Society was established for the purpose of aiding poor German emigrants, and others in distress. St. Andrew's, St. George's, and St. Patrick's Societies are professedly benevolent also. They are believed to be occasionally very good friends to the market, and to carry on their hostilities against no beings which have not already been slain.

The New-England Society is probably employed in much the same manner.

All these associations are formed of natives of their respective countries, or their descendants.

The Marine Society was formed for the purpose of increasing the knowledge of nautical objects and operations, and of relieving distressed masters of vessels, their wives and orphans.

The Provident Society was formed for the purpose of relieving their own suffering members, their widows and orphans.

For the same purposes were established the Mutual Benefit, Benevolent, and Albion, Benevolent Societies.

The Ladies' Society, for the relief of poor widows with small children, was formed in 1797; and has pursued its designs on wise principles, with much activity, and with great effect. In their efforts they combine the diffusion of well-directed charity with an energetic encouragement of industry and morals.

The Dispensary is an excellent institution, intended to provide relief for such indigent sick persons, in their own dwellings, as are unable to procure it for themselves, and are yet not proper objects for admittance into the Alms-house or the Hospital. Probably no institution has done more good, with means of the same extent.

The Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen is, also, a charitable institution for the benefit of its members.

On Staten Island there is a Marine Hospital, under the care of the health officer of this city. The buildings were erected by the state, and the whole institution is under its control. It is reported to be under good regulations.

The Sailor's Snug Harbour is a benevolent institution, which well deserves to be particularly mentioned. In the year 1801, Captain Robert Richard Randall gave, by devise, the principal part of his estate to trustees, for the purpose of establishing an asylum for the maintenance and support of aged, decrepid, and worn-out sailors. The estate was valued at 50,000 dollars; and the devise is to be put into operation, whenever the trustees shall judge the interest sufficient for the maintenance of fifty sailors.

The trustees are the mayor and recorder of the city, the president of the Chamber of Commerce, the president, and vice-president of the Marine Society, and the senior ministers of the Presbyterian and Episcopal Societies for the time being. They are incorporated; and the design is in a fair way to be carried into prosperous execution.

A society was formed some years since for the purpose of diffusing extensively the Vaccine Inoculation. After the business was completely established, and the prejudices against it were overcome, it was placed under the care of the City Dispensary

At the head of the literary institutions in New-York is Columbia College. The building in which it is established stands on a tract, given to it originally by the rector of the Episcopal congregation in this city, and the inhabitants in communion with the church of England, or what is now called the corporation of Trinity Church; the richest ecclesiastical body, it is believed, in the United States. The ground on which the college is built is bounded upon Church, Barclay, and Murray Streets. The building itself presents to the eye nothing which is either beautiful or magnificent.

The original style of the trustees was "The Governors of the College of the Province of New-York, in the city of New-York, in America." Its name was King's College. Originally it was intended to furnish only the education generally given in seminaries of this class. Since 1783, a medical institution has been annexed to it, which, at first, was under the direction of five professors; one of anatomy and surgery, one of midwifery and clinical medicine, one of botany and materia medica, one of the theory and practice of physic, and one of chemistry.

In the year 1807, the regents of the university of New-York, to whom, exclusively, is committed the superintendance of learning and science in this state, and the power of instituting such seminaries as they think proper, established a college of physicians and surgeons in the city of New-York, and granted a charter for this purpose on the 12th of March.

A third institution of the same general nature has been also formed in this city, if I mistake not, by a collection of medical gentlemen voluntarily associated. The two former of these have been lately united.

Under the care of the trustees of the college of physicians and surgeons is placed, by legislative authority, a botanic garden, in the interior of the island, called the Elgin Botanic Garden. This establishment owes its existence to Dr. David Hosack, professor of botany and materia medica in the college. It was begun in 1801. In 1806 it contained about 2,000 plants; partly native, and partly exotic. In 1810, the legislature passed an act, directing, that the establishment should be purchased for the state at an appraisement; and it was accordingly purchased for 74,268 dollars 75 cents, ex-

clusive of plants, trees, shrubs, &c., estimated at 12,000 dollars more.

The Academical Faculty, or, as it is here styled, the Faculty of the Arts, consists of a president, a provost, and four professors; one of moral philosophy, one of classical literature, one of mathematics and natural philosophy, and one of logic, rhetoric, and belles-lettres.

Of the number of students in this seminary I am ignorant. A tolerable estimate may, however, be formed, by recurring to the catalogue of graduates. The four classes who received the degree of A. B. in 1811, 1812, 1818, 1814, amounted to 74. All the students live at their respective lodgings in the city.

The whole number of those who have taken the degree of A. B. in this college, to the year 1776 inclusive, was 110. For ten years the course of education was interrupted by the revolutionary war, and its consequences. From the year 1786, when its operations commenced again under the name of Columbia College, to the year 1814 inclusive, the whole number was 502. Total 612.

There are no tutors in this seminary.

Columbia College is well endowed.

Of the schools it is impossible for me to give any satisfactory account. No system of school education has ever been adopted by the inhabitants, nor any thing which resembles a system; except that there are several charity schools, belonging to the Episcopal, Dutch, and Presbyterian congregations, and a school on the Lancasterian plan, under the patronage, as I believe, of the city corporation, and containing, at different times, from five to seven hundred scholars. In other cases, schools are generally established in this manner:—An individual, sometimes a liberally-educated student, having obtained the proper recommendations, offers himself to some of the inhabitants as a schoolmaster. If he is approved, and procures a competent number of subscribers, he hires a room, and commences the business of instruction. Sometimes he meets with little, and sometimes with much encouragement. I am acquainted with no spot in the United States, where a schoolmaster of reputation will find his business more profitable, unless perhaps at Charleston, South-Carolina.

There is in this city a society, entitled an Academy of Arts. With the state of its operations I am unacquainted, except that it has purchased, and has in its possession, imitations of several fine specimens of ancient sculpture, and some other rarities of a similar nature.

There is here also an Historical Society; the peculiar object of which is to obtain, preserve, and publish, whatever may throw light upon the history of this state.

This society was formed December 10th, 1804, and incorporated February 10th, 1809. They have already published two volumes of collections, which have been deservedly well received. Some years since, a society was established in this city, under the title of the Literary and Philosophical Society. The design and extent of its future proceedings have been announced to the public, in a very able and interesting introductory discourse by the Honourable De Witt Clinton, the president.

There is, also, a Library Society in this city, whose legal style is, "The Trustees of the New-York Society's Library." The library consists of more than ten thousand volumes, and is continually increasing.

There is another institution in this city, in the highest degree honourable to the ladies by whom it was originated. Its style is "The Orphan Asylum Society." It was organized March, 1806, and was incorporated April 7th, 1807. The building, which was erected in 1807, is of brick, fifty feet square, and is capable of containing two hundred children.

The plan pursued is, to bind the girls as servants, from the time they can read and write until they are eighteen, and the boys until they are fifteen; at which time they are bound apprentices to mechanics.

In addition to the ground purchased for the building, they have secured a tract for gardens.

The orphans are under the immediate care of a superintendent and his wife. Peculiar attention is paid to the religious education of these helpless beings; and this is everywhere mentioned as a primary end of the institution.

The heavy expense incurred by purchasing a building, the support of the orphans, and the salary of the superintendent, has been all defrayed to April, 1814, by charitable contribu-

ter charity increased from every other quarter, and their income either greatly diminished or annihilated, there are not far from an hundred children, all of them fatherless and motherless, maintained and instructed in this manner.

The most perfect harmony appears to prevail in the society; to April, 1814, with which my accounts close, the board of directors had been uniformly re-elected. May the Lord be with them, and make their way prosperous!

The manufactures of New-York probably exceed, in number and quantity, those of any other city in the United States, except Philadelphia. I have no list of their kinds, nor any estimate of their amount. They consist, however, of all or nearly all the various articles, usually made in commercial

The principal markets in New-York are Fly market, extending from Pearl Street to the East river, and Beer market, on Washington Street, on the Hudson. There are six or seven smaller ones in other parts of the city. They are all under the control of the mayor, and are very well regulated. The supplies are abundant of flesh and fish, of fruits and vegetables. Great quantities of the fine beef of New-England are sold here. The mutton is inferior to that of the countries

and 140 of that of Long-Island. Northward, the Hudson yields it a navigation of 170 miles. The Mohawk, with an interruption of fifteen miles land carriage, extends a water conveyance to Lake Ontario, and to the Cayuga and Seneca lakes. With New-Jersey an advantageous intercourse is carried on, partly by the Hudson and partly by the Hackensac, Passaic, and Raritan rivers.

The harbour is formed by the East river and the Hudson, and is capable of containing the greatest number of ships which will ever be assembled in one place, with sufficient depth of water and good anchorage. In the year 1780, and in a few other instances since the settlement of the colony, these waters were frozen; but in all ordinary winters are open. The ice, however, floats, in severe weather, in such a degree as to be inconvenient.

The commercial institutions established in this city correspond in their magnitude with the extent of its trade.

There are eight Banks* :—

	Capital.
1. Bank of New-York Dollars,	950,000
2. Manhattan Bank	2,000,000
3. Merchants' Bank	1,250,000
4. Mechanics' Bank	2,000,000
5. Union Bank	1,800,000
6. Bank of America	4,000,000
7. City Bank	2,000,000
8. New-York Manufacturing Company	1,200,000

There are eight Insurance Companies :—

1. United	500,000
2. New-York	500,000
3. Mutual	500,000
4. Washington Mutual	500,000
5. Ocean	500,000
6. New-York Fire	500,000
7. Eagle Fire	500,000
8. Globe	1,000,000

There is in this city a Chamber of Commerce, which formed April 5th, 1768, and incorporated 1770. This

* This was written, the Franklin Bank, the North River Bank
Bank have been established.—Pub.

ciation is enabled to hold property to the amount of £3,000 sterling per annum. This body regulates merchants' commissions, adjusts mercantile disputes among the members, regulates the amount of damages on the non-payment of exchange, &c. &c.

There are between three and four hundred vessels, estimated on an average at forty tons each, employed continually on Hudson's river throughout the mild season. The quantity of property floating on this stream exceeds, beyond comparison, that which moves on any other river in the eastern section of the United States.

New-York is fast becoming, and to a great extent has already become, the market-town for the whole American coast, from St. Mary's to Cape Cod.

The foreign commerce of this city is carried on with every part of the world to which its ships can find access, and is universally acknowledged to be fair and honourable.

I do not intend that there are not here, as well as elsewhere, fraudulent men, base commercial transactions, and dishonest bankruptcies. I mean, that the general scheme of commerce adopted here, and actually pursued by a great part of the merchants, is fair and upright; that their customers have ordinarily no reason to complain, and much reason to be satisfied; and that the country merchants from every part of the Union come to New-York with full confidence that they shall be safe.

The following tables will exhibit the extent and importance of the commerce of this state.

Abstract of Exports from the State of New-York during Ten Years, almost all of them from the City.

Years.	
1801	Dollars, 19,851,136
1802	13,792,276
1803	10,818,367
1804	16,081,281
1805	23,482,943
1806	21,762,845
1807	26,357,963
1808	5,606,058
1809	12,581,562
1810	17,242,360

Abstract of the Duties collected in the City of New-York
during the same period.

Years.	Duties.
1801	Dollars, 4,978,490
1802	3,522,569
1803	4,074,645
1804	5,162,231
1805	6,944,455
1806	7,298,466
1807	7,618,760
1808	8,605,372
1809	8,773,855
1810	5,282,707

Abstract of Duties collected in the rest of this State; viz. in
Sag-Harbour, City of Hudson, Lake Champlain, Genessee
Sacket's-Harbour, Oswego, Niagara, and Buffalo Creek.

Years.	Duties.
1801	Dollars, 5,744
1802	7,708
1803	6,981
1804	10,473
1805	13,562
1806	13,723
1807	7,232
1808	6,312
1809	11,805
1810	15,911

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER V.

gin of the Inhabitants of New-York. Their Industry.apid Increase of the City. Economy of the Citizens. their Hospitality. Respect for Religion. Intelligence. Language. Amusements. Religious Character. Police. Receipts and Expenditures of the Treasury. Water-erry-Boats. Appearance of the City and the adjacent Country. Distinguished Men.

DEAR SIR;

THE inhabitants of this city are composed of the following classes, arranged according to their supposed order:—

1. Immigrants from New-England.
2. The original inhabitants, partly Dutch, partly English.
3. Immigrants from other parts of this state; a considerable portion of them from Long-Island.
4. Immigrants from Ireland.
5. Immigrants from New-Jersey.
6. Immigrants from Scotland.
7. Immigrants from Germany.
8. Immigrants from England.
9. Immigrants from France.
10. Immigrants from Holland.
11. Jews.

To these are to be added a few Swedes, Danes, Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, and West Indians.

The children, born of immigrants, are numerous.

Among so many sorts of persons, you will easily believe it not be difficult, if not impossible, to find a common character; see the various immigrants themselves, and to some extent their children, will retain the features derived from their origin and their education.

In an account of the character of the citizens of New-York, these varieties are of course to be included ; and wherever, to avoid prolixity and repetition, they are not specified, are still to be carried along in your own mind as being always intended.

The first trait, which I shall take notice of in the character of these citizens, is their industry. This characteristic spreads through all classes, and is everywhere visible. The bustle in the streets ; the perpetual activity of the carts ; the noise and hurry at the docks, which on three sides encircle the city ; the sound of saws, axes, and hammers at the ship-yards ; the continually repeated views of the numerous buildings, rising in almost every part of it, and the multitude of workmen employed upon them, form as lively a specimen of " the busy hum of populous cities," as can be imagined. A fine variety is added to this display of energy, by the vast number of vessels and boats continually plying in the bay and the rivers. Almost all the marketable articles of New-York are brought to it by water, and nearly the whole of its imports are conveyed into the different parts of the country in the same manner. The coasting vessels of the Hudson, New-England, and New-Jersey, appear to the eye to be numberless. So long ago as 1793, six hundred and eighty-three vessels entered this port from abroad, and one thousand three hundred and eighty-one coastwise ; in 1794, seven hundred and ninety-one foreign, and one thousand five hundred and twenty-three coasting vessels ; in 1795, nine hundred and forty-one foreign. Independently of the restrictions upon commerce adopted by the national government, the number of both has been continually increasing, and in all probability will continue to increase through centuries to come.

Hardly any sight is more rare or more beautiful than the steam-boats, which move on the waters connected with New-York ; and which began their first operation, deserving of any notice, at this place.

Another object, delightful to the lover of fine scenery, and to the patriot also, is the rapid increase of the number and beauty of the buildings, both public and private. The gayest landscape is less cheerful than this interesting display of prosperous energy. In the year 1784, the number of inhabitants

er.

of economy of the inhabitants is I think less remarkable, less universal, than their industry. A magnificent and expensive style of living is adopted by many of the citizens, and in a considerable number of instances has plainly outrun convenience, and sometimes the property, of those by whom it has been practised. Still by far the greater number are economical; and continually increasing their property. Their wealth is accumulated so rapidly, as for a considerable part it was in New-York, it is rather to be considered as extraordinary that so much frugality should prevail, and so many temptations to luxury be resisted, than that the actual extravagance of living should have grown up in so flattering instances.

The furniture and carriages of many of the inhabitants are elegant and beautiful. A great number of good horses are commonly seen here; bred chiefly on Long-Island, in New-York, and in the counties of Dutchess and West-Chester. Formerly, almost all the coaches were private property. Now they are employed in considerable numbers, and driving is a favourite amusement of the citizens. New-York is distinguished for its hospitality. Its original inhabitants imperfectly merited this character. Tables are set here with a luxury which must, I think, satisfy the taste of any epicure.

of those who frequent them has been increasing for a series of years. The clergy are highly esteemed, and treated with great respect. Every thing of a religious nature is regarded with becoming reverence by a great proportion of the citizens, and few, even of the licentious, think it proper to behave disrespectfully towards persons or things to which a religious character is attached. The sale of religious books is probably the most profitable branch of business to booksellers. These, however, are to a vast extent conveyed into the country, not only in this state, but in New-Jersey also, and particularly in New-England.

In every large city there will always be found a considerable number of persons, who possess superior talents and information; and who, if not natives, are drawn to it by the peculiar encouragement which it holds out to their exertions. The field of effort is here more splendid, and the talents are more needed, honoured, and rewarded than in smaller towns. New-York has its share of persons sustaining this character; men, really possessing superior minds, and deserving high esteem. Together with these, there is not a small number here, as elsewhere, who arrogate this character to themselves, and some of whom occasionally acquire and lose it; men, accounted great through the favourable influence of some accident, the attachment of some religious or political party during a fortunate breeze of popularity, or the lucky prevalence of some incidental sympathy, or the ardent pursuit of some favourite public object in which they happened to act with success. These meteors, though some of them shine for a period with considerable lustre, soon pass over the horizon and are seen no more.

The citizens at large are distinguished, as to their intelligence, in the manner alluded to above. To this place they have come with the advantages and disadvantages of education found in their several native countries. Some of them are well informed, read, converse, and investigate. Others scarcely do either; and not a small number are unable to read at all. Most of these are, however, Europeans.

The language spoken in this city is very various. When passing through the streets, you will hear English, French, Dutch, and German, and all the various brogues spoken by

be numerous nations mentioned above, when imperfectly acquainted, as most of them are, with the English tongue. Those, who are of English descent, speak the language with as much propriety as any other inhabitants of the Union. The well-educated descendants of the Dutch speak it substantially in the same manner.

The general attachment to learning is less vigorous in this city than in Boston: commerce having originally taken a more entire possession of the minds of its inhabitants. The character of New-York, however, has for some time been materially changing in this respect, and is still changing. A great number of the citizens give their sons a liberal education: and the interests of the Columbia college have become more an object of the public regard. Still there is not a little of that frivolous education, which I formerly mentioned, in fashion here, as well as in other places. Wealth also, in a much higher degree than good sense can justify, is considered as conferring importance and distinction on its owner. This pre-~~possession~~ is a blast upon all improvement of the mind, for it ~~announces~~ ~~announces~~ every one in whom it exists, that such improvement insignificant and useless.

The amusements in New-York are the same as in other cities, and occupy as much time, attention, and expense, as could ordinarily be pleaded for by the veriest votary of pleasure, and more than can be admitted by religion or common sense. Theatrical entertainments, assemblies, balls, concerts, &c., are extensively objects of attachment. Visiting watering places, riding, sailing, shopping, and frequenting various spectacles, intended to kill time, and to enable the authors to live in idleness, are favourite pursuits. Travelling, also, is a considerable object of attention to the more intelligent part of the inhabitants, during the mild season. A number of the citizens are annually seen upon the race grounds, near Harlem, and on Hempstead plain. Such of them as are, or wish to be sportsmen, hunt grouse and deer upon Long-Island, and catch trout in its waters. Since the establishment of steam-boats, excursions by water up the Hudson, to New-Jersey, and into New-England, have become favorite amusements.

There is no place, more frequently selected by foreigners as

an agreeable residence than New-York. Indeed, there is none where the natives of the several European countries can, at such a distance, so generally enjoy the satisfaction, derived from intercourse with their own countrymen.

In addition to this account, I am not a little gratified in being able to add, that real religion was, perhaps, never more prevalent in New-York than within a few years past. In proportion to its size, it is not improbably a more religious city than any other in the world.

The police of New-York is in the hands of a common council, consisting of the mayor, recorder, ten aldermen, and ten assistants; one alderman and one assistant being chosen by each of the ten wards, into which it is divided. You will easily believe, that the police of every city must be efficacious or not, according to the personal character of those with whom the power is lodged. Still it is true, that every government becomes insensibly energetic or imbecile by the progress of years; and by the influence of that series of events, numberless and nameless, which a considerable course of time regularly rolls on. From this source New-York has derived not a little advantage, and still more from the character of the gentlemen, who have successively held the mayoralty since the revolution. The ancient government of the city, which was the metropolis of a province, was energetic and exact, and the original inhabitants, as well those, who returned after the revolutionary war, as those, who during its continuance resided here, were so habituated to such a government, that most of them, particularly men of extensive influence, were unwilling to see any other substituted in its place. The first mayor after the revolution vigorously followed the steps of his predecessors, and had sufficient weight of character to make any resistance to his measures hopeless. His successors, generally influenced by similar views, and possessing a similar character, have had the wisdom to pursue the same course. In this they have been firmly supported by the distinguished citizens, and with so much uniformity, that the system may now be considered as placed beyond the danger of any speedy alteration.

With these advantages the police of New-York has become, I suspect, superior to that of any other city in the American

tion. The order maintained here is in a sense absolute. Law reigns with an entire control; and resistance to it is thought of. This, I acknowledge, is equally true of Boston: but Boston has scarcely more than a third of the population of New-York, and this population is chiefly native; while that of New-York is, to the amount of two-thirds, derived from different parts of the United States and from Europe. It is unnecessary for me to inform you, that a population, gathered from many different countries, with so many different principles, religious and political, with such a diversity of manners, habits, and even language; without attachments to either, to the place, to the government, or in many instances to the country; must be governed, if governed at all, with much more difficulty than a community of equal size, where all these things are inverted. The late Parisian mob, which, loose from the regions below, had come back to this world, feasted again on discord and carnage, awakened to a considerable extent a sympathetic pulse in the abandoned and promiscuous part of the American population. The measures, pursued by the police of this city, may be considered as having contributed largely to the preservation of these states from the miseries of suffering, which it would be difficult to describe or imagine. In Boston, the citizens at large, in a manner highly honorable to themselves, assumed the same determined attitude; and let me add, the same respectable character, and measures substantially of the same efficacious nature, are deservedly to be attributed to the citizens of Philadelphia. The following report of the treasurer for the year ending December 31st, 1812, will, I presume, give you a respectful opinion of the importance of one American city.

CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW-YORK.

Amount of cash received and paid, from 31st December, 1811,
to 31st December, 1812.

	Dollars.	Cents.
Paid for alms-house	73,488	88
Watch	57,521	78

Carried forward, 131,010 66

	Dollars. C
Brought forward,	181,010
Lamps	27,826
County contingencies	40,246
City contingencies.	9,161
Wells and pumps	3,574
Roads	4,776
Commissioners of streets and roads.	10,218
Canal Street.	84,251
Common lands.	24,948
Docks and slips	17,074
Sundry bonds	360,265
Interest on bonds	15,957
Interest on city stock	12,000
Collect.	509
New city hall	90,287
New almshouse	80,900
Signal poles	103
Police office.	867
Streets.	12,355
Repairs	13,350
Board of health	1,700
Committee of defence.	5,976
Washington market.	5,000
Markets	687
Balance in the treasury, 31st Decem- ber, 1812	58,724

 1,012,460

1811, December 31.

	Dollars. C
Balance in the treasury	2,518
1812, Received for ground and house rents	13,122
Water lot	9,171
Common lands, sales and rent	41,383
Ferry rent.	8,650
Tavern licences	6,025

 Carried forward, 80,871

	Dollars.	Cents.
Brought forward,	80,871	40
Market fees	6,687	80
Mayoralty fees.	729	50
Docks and slips, rent	21,887	50
Manhattan stock	940	0
Balance of stock of 1811	150,566	5
Excise.	9,089	46
Vendue sales	86,699	12
Street manure.	4,969	55
City stock subscription	700,000	0
	<hr/>	
	1,012,460	88

This report will exhibit to you in a single point of view the financial concerns of this city, both as to their nature and magnitude, the objects which are pursued, and the manner and the extent in which they are pursued. It is hardly necessary to observe, that these objects all wear on their face the stamp of utility; and from the scale, by which they are here estimated, present in a strong light both the wealth and the liberality of the citizens.

There is one subject, which exhibits both their wisdom and their liberality with less advantage. The water is generally very bad. Much has been said concerning the subject, and various plans have been proposed for remedying the evil. The Manhattan company was formed for this purpose, and the object of their incorporation, as expressed in the act, was "to supply the city with pure and wholesome water." They were empowered to raise a capital of 2,000,000 dollars in 40,000 shares, of which the corporation of the city was allowed to hold 2,000. When this object should be provided for, the company was authorized to employ their remaining capital in any pecuniary transactions, consistent with the laws of the state, and of the United States. Accordingly the company dug one or more wells, and conveyed water through a considerable part of the city in pipes. These have sometimes been in good order, and effectual operation; and at others have in various instances absolutely failed, at least for long intervals. The water actually conveyed was of an indifferent quality, the supply precarious, and the city not so well furnished as

before, when it was carried round in casks to every house. The capital was then employed in the banking business, which has been prosecuted by the company ever since.

It has often been said and believed, that the waters of the river Bronx are sufficiently elevated to admit of being conveyed into New-York. Whether this opinion is just I am unable to determine. If it should prove so, there cannot be a doubt, that it would yield a more copious supply, of a much better quality.

This attempt, however, will probably prevent the citizens from obtaining good water; in sufficient quantities, for many years.

The ferries over both the Hudson and the East river have heretofore been serious inconveniences to this city. The adoption of steam boats instead of the ordinary ferry boats, formerly employed, has chiefly removed this inconvenience, and made the crossing of these rivers easier and pleasanter, except when the ice is running, than if they were both supplied with bridges. Nothing can be pleasanter or safer than a passage in these boats.

The aspect of this city and its environs is delightful. All the objects in view are cheerful, and many of them are beautiful. The city itself, the interior of the island, bordering upon it for several miles; the western shore of the Hudson; the village on Paulus's Hook, called the City of Jersey, the islands in the bay, particularly Governor's Island; the distant shores of Staten Island; the passage between that and Long-Island; through which the Hudson empties its waters into the ocean; the shores of Long-Island, visible for many miles; the handsome town of Brooklyn, rising on a beautiful eminence, directly opposite to New-York; together with the Hudson; the East river, and the bay; form a combination of objects, alternately beautiful and magnificent.

A great part of this fine scenery is visible from the house in State Street, at the south end of the city. The view from the houses in this street is particularly attractive, from the vivid verdure, which in the mild season covers that cheerful field, called the Battery.

It will be impossible, as well as improper, for me to give an account of the men; who in the city of New-York have

on to distinction. The number is too great for a work of its nature: and I have not the means of the requisite information.

Among the governors sent to this province from Europe, Richard Hunter is remembered with particular respect, as a wise and upright ruler, and as a man enlightened by literature and science, and possessed of honourable and extensive views.

Lieutenant-Governor Colden was distinguished for great personal worth, and eminent attainments in science; particularly in natural philosophy and natural history. His botanical knowledge was probably unrivalled at that time on this side of the Atlantic. He seems, also, to have been well versed in the science of medicine. Nor was he less distinguished for his usefulness in active pursuits as a magistrate. He filled the chair of lieutenant-governor of the province for fifteen years, and during much of that period was at the head of the government. In this situation he maintained an honourable character for wisdom and equity. He projected the plan on which afterwards the American Philosophical Society was established at Philadelphia, and seems also to have entertained the first ideas of stereotype printing.

His Excellency William Livingston, governor of New-Jersey, was a native, and throughout most of his life an inhabitant of New-York. This gentleman was distinguished by an unusual combination of superior talents and great personal worth. He was born about the year 1723, was educated at Yale college; and received the degree of A. B. in 1741. His professional business was law, in which he rose to eminence. For a long period few men had more influence on the public affairs of this country. After he removed to New-Jersey, he was a representative from that state to the old congress. When the citizens of New-Jersey had formed their present constitution, he was chosen their first governor; and was annually re-elected till his death. In the year 1787, he was appointed a member of the general convention which formed the constitution of the United States. He died July 25th, 1790, at his seat in Elizabethtown, in the 68th year of his age.

The talents of Governor Livingston were very various. His imagination was brilliant, his wit sprightly and pungent,

his understanding powerful, his taste refined, and his conceptions bold and masterly. His views of political subjects were expansive, clear, and just. Of freedom, both civil and religious, he was a distinguished champion.

To his other excellencies, Governor Livingston added that of piety.

The Honourable William Smith, chief justice of the province of New-York, and afterwards of Canada, and John Morin Scott, Esq., both educated at Yale college also; were men of similar distinction. Mr. Smith took the degree of A.B. in 1745, Mr. Scott in 1746. Both gentlemen were lawyers of great eminence, and both were the peculiar friends of Governor Livingston. These three gentlemen are said to have united in the able review of American affairs, formerly mentioned in these Letters.

Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey, and Governor Clinton, were remarkably distinguished for knowledge of the human character, and skill in the management of men. Governor Clinton was also a gallant soldier, and one of the strongest pillars of the American cause, during the revolutionary contest.

Among the clergy of this city, Dr. Barclay and Dr. Ogilvie of the Episcopal church; Dr. Laidly, of the Dutch church; Dr. Mason, of the Scotch Reformed; and Mr. Bostwick and Dr. Rodgers, of the American Presbyterian; are remembered with great respect, for their talents, piety, and usefulness. Of the last of these gentlemen, the Rev. Dr. Miller, who has written his life, observes: "In that happy assemblage of practical qualities, both of the head and the heart, which go to form the respectable man; the correct and polished gentleman; the firm friend; the benevolent citizen; the spotless and exemplary Christian; the pious, dignified, and venerable ambassador of Christ; the faithful pastor; the active, zealous, persevering, and unwearied labourer in the vineyard of his Lord; it is no disparagement to eminent worth to say, that he was scarcely equalled, and certainly never exceeded, by any of his contemporaries.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VI.

Island of Mahattan. Country Seats. Roads. Battle of Haerlem. Surrender of Fort Washington. Haerlem Bridge. West-Chester. Army of General Howe. East-Chester. New-Rochelle. Mamaroneck. Rye. Mr. Jay. County of West-Chester. Appearance of this Country in 1777.

DEAR SIR ;

I CONTINUED in New-York until Monday morning ; when, having taken leave of Mr. M——, I left that city for New-Haven. The road, which anciently went round by King's bridge, now crosses the same outlet of the Hudson at Haerlem bridge, nine miles from the city, and in the neighbourhood of the village of that name. There are three roads on the island, which conduct travellers to this place : the western, or Bloomingdale road, the middle, and the Bowery, or eastern. All of them are good, but in dry weather are dusty ; the first is pleasant, but longer than the others ; the second is the shortest, and least pleasant ; the third is more travelled than either of the other two.

The island of Manhattan is about fifteen miles in length, and at an average a mile and a half, perhaps, in breadth. The surface has naturally very little beauty, and nothing which approximates to grandeur. The soil, also, is generally indifferent, and in most places lean. A considerable portion of it is still unproductive, consisting of marshes, cold and dreary, or of rocky and desolate elevations. The surface rises in an undulatory manner, as you advance towards the north. The acclivities are numerous, and frequently easy ; and the vallies are open, and sometimes graceful. Art has here extensively beautified the surface and enriched the soil, throughout the southern half of the island, and probably at a future period,

these improvements will be extended over the whole. About six miles of the northern end are little cultivated. The remainder is set at small distances with cheerful habitations, with well-stocked gardens, and neat enclosures: while the heights, and many of the lower grounds, contain a rich display of gentlemen's country seats, connected with a great variety of handsome appendages. No part of the United States has such a numerous collection of villas within so small a compass, nor is any ride in this country made so cheerful by the hand of art as the first six miles on the Bowery road; and, indeed, the whole distance to Haerlem bridge.

On the 15th September, 1776, the day after the Americans retreated from New-York, the British moved up the island six miles, and spread a considerable force from Bloomingdale on the western, to Horne's hook on the eastern shore of the island. The American advanced post was on the heights of Haerlem. The British moved into the flat ground between the heights, occupied by the two armies; and General Washington ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Knowlton of Connecticut, with a body of Rangers from New-England, and Major Leitch, with three companies from the third Virginia regiment, to fall by a circuitous course upon the rear of this detachment, whilst he amused them in front. The project was in a good degree successful. Knowlton and Leitch attacked them, partly on the flank and partly in the rear; in consequence of a change of their position, made while the Americans were taking their circuit. Notwithstanding the late misfortunes at Brooklyn, the attack was made with great spirit and success. Both Knowlton and Leitch, however, fell in the contest, at the head of their respective corps. The captains still continued the action with firmness and resolution. The British were reinforced, and detachments were sent by General Washington from the New-England and Maryland regiments to the aid of their countrymen. Thus sustained, they charged the enemy, drove them out of the wood by which they had been sheltered, and were urging them over the open ground, when they were recalled. The British force consisted of a battalion of light infantry, and another of Highlanders, with three companies of Hessian riflemen, under the command of Brigadier-General Leslie. This event was honourable to the Americans.

they had retreated, or rather fled, from the city of New-York the preceding day, panic struck by those apprehensions of danger, which, when the mind realises its certainty, and is ignorant of its extent, will for the time make a man even of determined bravery a coward. The panic was now over. They saw their enemy, knew his strength, and were led by gallant officers. They, therefore, assumed their proper character. About fifty of their number were killed or wounded, and more than one hundred of the British.

Of Major Leitch I have no knowledge beside what I have here communicated. Knowlton had served in the last Canadian war with great reputation, and was highly esteemed by his countrymen. General Washington, having appointed a successor to him, observed, that "he fell gloriously fighting at his post, and would have been an honour to any country."

About twelve miles from New-York, on the western side of the island, stood Fort Washington, intended, together with Fort Lee on the opposite shore, to serve as a defence of Hudson's river; such a defence, it was hoped, as would prevent British ships of war from advancing above this point. The design was fruitless and visionary; but not more so, perhaps, than the operations of every army will exhibit, which consists chiefly of self-taught officers and raw troops. The works also were inadequate, had the design itself been practicable. It is unnecessary to detail the story of its attack and surrender. A body of five thousand men, under the command of General Kniphausen, carried the lines, altogether disproportioned in their extent to the force destined for their defence, by a well directed assault, and Colonel Magaw, their commanding officer, surrendered the garrison as prisoners of war. It has been generally supposed that the defence was gallant and honourable. It would gratify me to see this opinion supported by any tolerable evidence. This was the last spot possessed by the Americans on the island of Manhattan, until after the evacuation of New-York in November 1783.

The ancient road from New-York to New-England crossed King's bridge, and the erection of a bridge between Haerlem and Morrisania was esteemed for a long time so expensive and difficult, as to forbid even the hope of its accomplish-

ment, unless at some distant period. In the year 1790 General Morris was authorised by law to erect a bridge between Haerlem and Morrisania. After some years he transferred this power to John B. Coles, Esq., of New-York. Mr. Coles immediately erected the bridge, viz. in 1796; and with such facility and dispatch as disappointed the predictions, and even the hopes of the public. In consequence of this event a new road was laid out from Haerlem heights to Mamaroneck, which, beside passing in many places over better ground, shortened the distance almost four miles in twenty.

Between Haerlem heights and the bridge is built the village of Haerlem, on both sides of a small creek. It contains about seventy or eighty houses, most of them neat; and among them several country seats, belonging to citizens of New-York, together with a church of the Dutch communion. The appearance of this village is cheerful and pleasant.

On a plain at a small distance from this village are the New-York race grounds.

After crossing the bridge we enter Morrisania, in the township of West-Chester, anciently a borough, in the English sense of that term. Whether it still retains this denomination I am ignorant. The town lies four or five miles from the bridge, on the Sound, and at that distance from the New-England road. I have never seen it. Between three and four miles from the bridge the road passes over an easy, undulating ground, containing very few houses. A great part of this distance the lands belong to the family of Morris. At its termination a pretty village, named Westfarms, has risen upon both sides of the Bronx, around some valuable mills upon that river, formerly owned by a Mr. De Lancey, and still generally known by the name of De Lancey's mills. This village owes its existence to the alteration of the road, and the erection of Haerlem bridge. It has already become, as I am informed, more considerable than the town of West-Chester, and has a very cheerful aspect. The houses are generally neat, and a few of them appear to be the residences of gentlemen. The inhabitants are principally mechanics and manufacturers, and are fast increasing in number.

West-Chester contains but one church, and, as I believe,

but one congregation, which is Episcopal*. The number of its inhabitants in 1790 was 1,396; in 1800, 1,377; and, in 1810, 1,966.

The soil of this township is moderately good, and some of it of a superior quality. The surface, which abounds in rocks and stones, is everywhere uneven, and generally unpleasant. Its position on the Sound, and the neighbourhood of New-York, make the land, however, much more valuable than better lands in the interior.

On the eastern limit of this township, where it meets the Sound, is the peninsula of Throg's Neck, a vulgar contraction of Throgmorton's Neck. On this ground General Howe landed a considerable part of his army, October 12th, 1776, in order to cut off the communication between the army of General Washington, then lying above and below King's bridge, with the country. Here he continued six days, and then transported his army to Pell's Point in the manor of Pelham, about six miles north-eastward.

This part of General Howe's conduct has ever appeared to me inexplicable. During the whole of the period while he lay at Throg's Neck he was within six miles of the line, on which General Washington moved his army from King's bridge to White Plains. The movement proceeded slowly and heavily, for the want of a sufficient supply of teams to convey the artillery, stores, baggage, &c. Had the Americans been attacked at this time by the British force, they must, I think, have been ruined. Such an attack might have been made with perfect ease on any one of these six days. An army, thus situated, even when thoroughly disciplined, and amply provided, must, from the slender force which it could present at any one point, have fallen victims to the strong columns led by General Howe. The bridge, which connects Throg's Neck with the main, was indeed broken down, but he might have landed his troops with equal convenience and safety upon the shore on either side, or at any other place within the township of West-Chester. Nor would the little means of defence furnished by the surface of the ground, the enclosures of stone,

* West-farms, since this was written, viz. in 1814, has been formed into a Presbyterian congregation, built a church, and settled a respectable clergyman.

groves, and buildings, nor the little American parties, which were directed to avail themselves of these means, have materially obstructed his progress. But the opportunity was lost, and General Washington moved his whole army to the rear of the White Plains. They were then attacked, but it was too late.

Equally inexplicable has it ever seemed to me, that the British commander did not originally move his army up the East, or the North river, or both, immediately after the battle of Brooklyn, and station them in the rear of General Washington. Had this measure been taken, the whole body of Americans, except a few fugitives, must have fallen into his hands. The defence of New-York was, I presume, undertaken solely to satisfy the citizens of that state; for, circumstanced as it was, no spot could have been less capable of a defence. The measure could never have been dictated by General Washington's own judgment. At the same time the possession of that city, though a great convenience to the enemy, could scarcely be considered even as a step towards the conquest of the country. Nothing in the conduct of the Americans, during the revolutionary war, was more ill-devised than the several efforts (including the erection of Fort Mifflin and Fort Mifflin) intended for the defence of this island and the Hudson.

East-Chester is the next township on this road. Its surface is somewhat smoother, and less stony than that of West-Chester, and its soil of a better quality. A small, scattered village, composed of indifferently looking houses, surrounds an Episcopal church, built of stone, about three-fourths of a mile north of the present road. I passed through this village in the year 1774, and know not a place possessed of so many advantages, which has altered so little within that period. The rest of the township is covered with plantations.

New-Rochelle, the next township, is more inviting. On a beautiful hill, about three miles from East-Chester, stands the village built by the French Protestants, who originally formed a settlement in this place. Several of their houses, and, I presume, of their descendants, are still remaining. The ground on which New-Rochelle is built is a handsome eminence of considerable height, gradually and almost insensibly declining to

st, west, and south, and commanding a delightful prospect of the neighbouring country and the Sound. The old houses, long buildings of stone, of one story, with few tall windows, and high, steep roofs, are very ill-suited to the appearance of this fine ground. Nor is the church, built by the same people in the same style, at all more ornamental. There are, however, several good English houses. Some others are situated on the border of the Sound*.

Mamaroneck, so far as it is visible from the road, is generally a rough, stony tract, covered with a strong soil. It is a collection of plantations, and can scarcely be said to contain even a hamlet. It is set, however, with a number of houses and excellent farms, and presents several very fine views to the eye of a traveller, particularly around Mamaroneck bay. On the creek of the same name, a mill, which enters the head of this bay, there has been lately built a large, well-appearing, and expensive building, which is intended for a manufactory, whether of cotton, or wool, or silk. I am ignorant.

Mamaroneck borders upon Mamaroneck eastward, and has a much smoother surface, and a still better soil. On an elevation, a short distance from its western limit, stands the mansion-house of the late Mr. Jay, father of the Honourable John Jay. It is now the property of Mr. Peter Jay, the youngest son of the original proprietor. This gentleman had the misfortune to become blind when he was fourteen years of age. It has not, however, prevented him from possessing a fine mind, and an excellent character, or from being highly respected and beloved by his acquaintance. Notwithstanding the disadvantage under which Mr. Jay labours, he directs all his own concerns with great success, and often with an ingenuity and discernment, which have astonished those by whom they were known. Some time since, as I was informed by a gentleman in his neighbourhood, Mr. Jay, having directed a carpenter to renew the fence which enclosed his garden, made a little excursion to visit some of his friends. Upon his return he was told, that the posts on the front line of the garden were already set up. He immediately went out to examine them, and having walked with

*The inhabitants have lately built a neat Presbyterian church.

attention along the whole row, declared, that it was not straight. The carpenter insisted, that his eyes were better guides in this case than Mr. Jay's hands. Mr. Jay still persisted in his opinion, and pointed out the place where the row diverged from a right line. Upon a re-examination the carpenter found a small bend in the row, at the very spot designated by his employer.

Delicacy of feeling was remarkably shown by the same gentleman on the following occasion. The account I received from the late Honourable John Sloss Hobart, one of the judges of the supreme court of this state.

Several gentlemen were at Mr. Jay's on a friendly visit, and among them Judge Hobart. In the room where they were sitting was a large stand, or what used to be called in this country a corner-table. One of the company observed, that so wide a board must have been furnished by a tree of remarkable size. Another doubted whether the board was single. It was examined; no joint could be found, and the generally uniform aspect of the surface seemed to prove that it was but one board. Governor Jay, who had gone out, was asked, when he returned, whether the table was formed of one or two boards. Upon his declaring that it was made of two, a new examination was had, but none of the company could find the joint. The Governor then observed, that his brother would be able to show them where it was. Mr. Jay soon came in, and having moved his finger for a moment over the middle of the table, rested it upon the joint. It was barely visible, even when thus pointed out. When we remember, that it was so nicely made at first, and that it had been waxed and polished for perhaps half a century, we shall be satisfied that the touchable so easily to detect an object, imperceptible to every eye in this company, must possess an exquisiteness of sensibility, which, antecedent to such a fact, would scarcely be credible.

There are two villages in Rye, one of which is customarily called Rye, consisting of perhaps twenty houses, built on the border of a small mill-stream, which passes through the centre of this township. The other is extended along Byram river, and contains fifty or sixty. Both of these villages are decent, and include several good houses. The southern and principal

the latter village is called the Saw-pit. The northern
 l Byram.

There are two small churches in Rye, an Episcopal and a
 Presbyterian. An Episcopal minister has occasionally been
 settled here, but there has been no Presbyterian minister
 of any remembrance.

The Hudson river, the eastern boundary of Rye, separates
 the county of New-York in this quarter from that of Con-
 necticut.

In these observations I shall add a few remarks concerning
 the county of West-Chester. This county extends about forty
 miles from north to south along Hudson's river, and about
 twenty miles along the Sound. Its northern boundary is a line
 drawn from east to west about twenty-five miles. Its eastern
 boundary is the crooked line, mentioned in the beginning of
 this work as the southern extremity of the west border of
 Maryland.

The county contains twenty-one townships. Those on the
 north are, however, small. It is universally settled, so far as
 the use of the ground will admit, and is almost merely a
 country of farms. All the villages of any importance have
 been mentioned in the observations made above, except one,
 Stamford, which, however, is the most considerable in the
 county and the shire town, and lies about twelve or fourteen
 miles north-west from Stamford.

The surface of this county is generally rough and hilly, but
 is not mountainous, except that it borders on the High-
 lands. It abounds in rocks and stones, chiefly granite. The
 lands on the Sound have generally a rich soil, and produce
 very well suited to the climate. The agriculture is mode-
 rate, and in a few instances, under the direction of
 gentlemen who have embarked in this business with
 success, I believe, excelled in the United States.

West-Chester is well watered with springs, brooks, and
 rivers. Its advantages for a market, and the means of
 conveying to it its produce, are perhaps singular, one of its
 rivers being the Sound, and another the Hudson.

The prospects presented in frequent succession on this road
 are very beautiful and brilliant.

Neither learning nor religion has, within my knowledge,

flourished to any great extent among the inhabitants. Academies have been established at New-Rochelle, Bedford, and Salem, but neither of them has permanently flourished. The ancient inhabitants had scarcely any schools, at least of any value. A few gentlemen are scattered in various parts of this county, possessing the intelligence usually found in that class of men, but the people at large are extremely stinted in their information.

The little attention paid by them to religion is strongly seen in this fact, that there are but two settled ministers in the six townships on this road. Yet the tract which they occupy contains six thousand and thirty-eight inhabitants. The congregations, which form the cures of these ministers, do not, I believe, amount to a thousand persons. The same unpleasant truth was also strikingly taught to the public by the Missionary Society of New-York the last year*. This respectable body determined by a solemn act, that West-Chester was proper missionary ground, and accordingly directed one of their missionaries to appropriate his labours to these people only. No person acquainted with the county will hesitate to acknowledge, that the decision was worthy of the wisdom and benevolence of the gentlemen by whom it was made.

The generality of these people are in a good degree industrious, and, although their houses are in great number indifferently, are yet in easy circumstances. But their minds are almost wholly engrossed by the field, the stall, and the market; the boat or the waggon which conveys them to it, and the gain to which it gives birth. With other interests most of them have little concern; and with other regions none. Very worthy people are found among them, in humble as well as superior life; but there is reason to fear, that a great part of the present generation will, as a great part of their predecessors have done, experience, when they enter the future world, their first solemn conviction that such a world exists. I feel a strong inclination to extend these remarks, but I will desist.

In the autumn of 1777, I resided for some time in this county. The lines of the British were then in the neighbourhood of King's bridge, and those of the Americans at Byram

* 1812.

iver. These unhappy people were, therefore, exposed to the lepredations of both. Often they were actually plundered, and always were liable to this calamity. They feared every body whom they saw, and loved nobody. It was a curious fact, in a philosopher, and a melancholy one to a moralist, to hear their conversation. To every question they gave such an answer as would please the inquirer; or, if they despaired of pleasing, such an one as would not provoke him. Fear was, apparently, the only passion by which they were animated. The power of volition seemed to have deserted them. They were not civil, but obsequious; not obliging, but subservient. They yielded with a kind of apathy, and very quietly, what you asked, and what they supposed it impossible for them to obtain. If you treated them kindly, they received it coldly; not as kindness, but as a compensation for injuries done them by others. When you spoke to them, they answered you without either good or ill-nature, and without any appearance of reluctance or hesitation; but they subjoined neither questions nor remarks of their own, proving to your full conviction, that they felt no interest, either in the conversation, or in yourself. Both their countenances and their motions had lost every trace of animation and of feeling. Their features were smoothed, not into serenity, but apathy; and instead of being settled in the attitude of quiet thinking, strongly indicated, that all thought beyond what was merely instinctive had fled their minds for ever.

Their houses, in the mean time, were in a great measure scenes of desolation. Their furniture was extensively plundered, or broken to pieces. The walls, floors, and windows were injured both by violence and decay, and were not repaired, because they had not the means of repairing them, and because they were exposed to the repetition of the same injuries. Their cattle were gone. Their enclosures were burnt, where they were capable of becoming fuel, and in many cases thrown down, where they were not. Their fields were covered with a rank growth of weeds and wild grass. Amid all this appearance of desolation, nothing struck my own eye more forcibly than the sight of this great road, the passage from New-York to Boston. Where I had heretofore seen a continual succession of horses and carriages, and life and bustle

lent a sprightliness to all the environing objects, not a single solitary traveller was visible from week to week, or from month to month. The world was motionless and silent, except when one of these unhappy people ventured upon a rare and lonely excursion to the house of a neighbour no less unhappy ; or a scouting party, traversing the country in quest of enemies, alarmed the inhabitants with expectations of new injuries and sufferings. The very tracks of the carriages were grown over and obliterated, and, where they were discernible, resembled the faint impressions of chariot wheels, said to be left on the pavements of Herculaneum. The grass was of full height for the scythe, and strongly realised to my own mind, for the first time, the proper import of that picturesque declaration in the song of Deborah :—“ In the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, in the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied, and the travellers walked through bye-paths. The inhabitants of the villages ceased ; they ceased in Israel.”

The county of West-Chester contained, in 1790, 24,003 ; in 1800, 27,428 ; and, in 1810, 30,272 inhabitants. East-Chester contained, in 1790, 740 ; in 1800, 738 ; and, in 1810, 1,089 inhabitants. Pelham contained, in 1790, 199 ; in 1800, 234 ; and, in 1810, 267 inhabitants. New-Rochelle contained, in 1790, 692 ; in 1800, 943 ; and, in 1810, 996 inhabitants. Mamaroneck contained, in 1790, 452 ; in 1800, 503 ; and, in 1810, 496 inhabitants. Rye contained, in 1790, 986 ; in 1800, 974 ; and, in 1810, 1,274 inhabitants.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VII.

Greenwich. Putnam's Hill. Stamford. Honourable Abraham Davenport. Rev. Dr. Wells. Honourable James Davenport. Skipan. Middlesex. Rev. Dr. Mather. Burning of Norwalk. Fairfield. Expedition of the British troops to Danbury. General Wooster. General Silliman. Rev. Mr. Hobart. Burning of Fairfield. Reflections. Burning of Greens-Farms.

DEAR SIR;

THE state of Connecticut is bounded in this quarter by the middle of Byram river. Byram point, on the eastern side of this stream, is the south-western corner of the state, and of the township of Greenwich. Its latitude is $40^{\circ} 58'$ north; and its longitude $74^{\circ} 18'$ west of Greenwich.

The township of Greenwich is formed of rough, stony hills, particularly on the road. More wild and desolate scenery can scarcely be imagined than that, which is presented to the traveller during the two first miles. But the grounds at a little distance, both above and below the road, are smoother. The soil is of the best quality, and fitted for every production of the climate. There is not a more fertile tract of the same extent in the state.

Greenwich is divided into three parishes. West Greenwich on the west; Greenwich on the east; and Stamford, a part of which is taken from Stamford, on the north. West Greenwich is vulgarly called Horseneck, from a peninsula on the Sound, anciently used as a pasture for horses; and it is the largest, richest, and most populous part of the township.

Greenwich contains four congregations, three Presbyterian and one Episcopal. The last is in West Greenwich, and is a

plurality, supplied at times by the Episcopal minister of Stamford. The Presbyterian church is a neat building, standing on an elevation commanding a rich and very extensive prospect of the Connecticut shore, the Sound, and Long-Island. The whole of this township is filled with plantations. The settlement was begun, after it had been purchased of the Indians, in 1640, under the Dutch government at New-York - then New-Amsterdam. In 1665, it was incorporated by Governor Stuyvesant. It was, however, originally purchased for the colony of New-Haven by Robert Feaks and Daniel Patrick. But the purchasers violated their engagements to that colony; and, together with the few inhabitants, placed themselves under the government of New-Amsterdam. The settlement went on heavily until the people returned to the jurisdiction of Connecticut, then including the colony of New-Haven. The Indians were hostile to the Dutch, and were therefore not very favourably inclined towards the inhabitants. In 1646, a furious battle was fought here on Strickland's plain. The contest was continued for a long time with great obstinacy, and was very bloody. The Dutch finally kept the field, and the Indians suddenly withdrew. Their graves, in which the slain were buried, were visible more than a century afterwards.

The inhabitants of West Greenwich are distributed into two distinct classes. A part of them are Connecticut people in their character: the rest resemble not a little the people of the neighbouring county of West-Chester. Generally they are in easy circumstances.

The houses are like those in the county of West-Chester. They are built on every road where the property and the convenience of the owner dictated. On the great road they stand at moderate distances, so that the whole tract is populated.

About one fourth of a mile east of the Presbyterian church there is a steep declivity, now generally called Putnam's hill, from the following incident. General Putnam was pursued to the brow of this precipice by some British light dragoons, in the revolutionary war. The road at that time turned, a little before it came to the brow of the hill, to the north; and, after proceeding a considerable distance, bent again with

sharp angle towards the south, having been dug along the steep in such a manner, as to make the passage practicable and tolerably safe. General Putnam, under the influence of the same spirit with which he entered the wolf's den, being hard pressed by his pursuers, forced his horse directly down the precipice; winding his course, however, in such a zig-zag direction as enabled him to keep his feet. His pursuers, when they came to the top of the precipice, struck with astonishment, or rather with horror, stopped; and, despairing of overtaking him by the circuitous course of the road, gave over the chase. Every traveller, who has heard the story, has not improbably felt his blood chill at the bare thought of such an adventure. The road is, however, so much altered at the present time as to prevent the eye from easily realizing the full extent of the hazard. It is now blown through the rocks above at a great expense, and continued by a causeway from the foot of the chasm to the valley below, in the very direction where the general descended.

On the brow of this hill stands a small decayed Episcopal church. This is the building, pompously exhibited in that mass of folly and falsehood, commonly called *Peters's History of Connecticut*, as of such magnificence, that it is ascended by a flight of no less than seventy steps. The truth is, that the members of the congregation, who lived below the hill, being unwilling to take the tedious circuit of the road, when walking to the church, and being unable to ascend the hill in its original state, gathered a collection of stones from the road and the neighbouring enclosures, and placed them at convenient distances, to aid themselves in climbing this steep. The number is commonly reported to be seventy; but, instead of being a magnificent flight of steps, conducting to a magnificent church, the appearance of the former is so insignificant, that a traveller, unless he has happened to observe, what indeed would very naturally escape his observation, the regularity of their arrangement, would not distinguish them from the common stones of the street. The latter is one of the most indifferent buildings, which bears the name of a church, of any denomination in the state of Connecticut.

Greenwich, the first or oldest parish in this township, is separated from West Greenwich by Mianus river, a sprightly

mill-stream, entering the Sound about four miles from Byram. The surface of this parish, also, is generally rough, and the soil excellent, especially towards the Sound. The inhabitants have been distinguished for their indifference to religion, and their neglect of the education of their children. The settlement of this spot was begun more than one hundred and fifty years since, and about one hundred and ten years of this period they have been destitute of a minister. The evil may, however, be partly attributed to the smallness of the parish, and is one instance of the malignant efficacy of that subdivision, heretofore mentioned*, by which congregations are rendered unable to support the public worship of God.

In 1756, Greenwich contained 2,021 inhabitants, no blacks; in 1774, 2,776, blacks 114, Indians 8; in 1800, 3,047; and, in 1810, 3,533.

Stamford, the next township, was purchased of the Indians by Captain Nathaniel Turner, agent for the colony of New-Haven, of Ponus, sagamore of Toquamshe, and of Wassucsee, sagamore of Shipan; who sold to Turner all the lands belonging to them, with a reservation of some ground for planting. "Turner gave the natives for the New-Haven purchase twelve coats, twelve hoes, twelve hatchets, twelve knives, two kettles, and four fathom of white wampum. Afterwards a part or the whole of this tract was purchased of New-Haven by some of the inhabitants of Wethersfield. The purchasers gave New-Haven for the township of Stamford thirty-three pounds, and obliged themselves to join with the people of that colony in the form of government, then lately agreed on. Twenty men agreed to settle here by the last of November, 1641, and before the end of 1641 there were thirty or forty families established. The inhabitants were, however, frequently alarmed by threatenings of invasion both from the Indians and the Dutch, and for a considerable time were at great expense in fortifying and guarding themselves; and once, in 1658, their troubles became so great, that they were on the point of a revolt, but were quieted by the prudent measures of the colony.

* See vol. 5, p. 265.

This township contains two parishes, Stamford and Northford; a part of two others, *viz.* Stanwich, already mentioned, on the north-west, and Middlesex on the south-east.

The surface is generally undulating and stony. Near the town there are two plains; one of considerable extent, where the town is built, and a small one about two miles farther toward; both handsome grounds. The hills and vallies also are rounded, and softer to the eye than those of Greenwich. The soil is excellent. The first parish contains three congregations, a Presbyterian, an Episcopal, and a Baptist; each of which has a decent church.

The town is built in an irregular manner. The principal street is a portion of the road, winding and destitute of beauty. It contains a few very good, a number somewhat larger of decent, and many ordinary houses.

Both religion and education have always been here at a low rate; yet for many years there have been several good private schools, in which, however, children from New-York were almost the only pupils.

In this town lived the Honourable Abraham Davenport, for a long period one of the councillors of the state, and, before that, of the colony of Connecticut. This gentleman was the son of Rev. John Davenport, the second minister of Northford, a grandson of Rev. John Davenport, the father of the New-Haven colony. Colonel Davenport was possessed of a vigorous understanding and invincible firmness of mind; integrity and justice unquestioned even by his enemies; of exactness in a degree nearly singular; and of a weight of character, which for many years decided in this county almost every question to which it was lent. He was early a professor of the Christian religion, and adorned its doctrines by an exemplary conformity to its precepts. He was often styled a rough diamond; and the appellation was, perhaps, never given with more propriety. His virtues were all of the masculine kind; less soft, graceful, and alluring than his friends possessed, but more extensively productive of real good to mankind than those of almost any man, who has been distinguished for gentleness of character. It would be happy for any or any other country, if the magistracy should execute its duty with the exactness for which he was distinguished. Colo-

early years, and, indeed, throughout most of his life. Yet an unwearied attention to useful objects, a critical observation of every thing important which fell under his eye, and a strong attachment to intelligent conversation, enabled him, by the aid of a discernment almost intuitive, to accumulate a rich fund of valuable knowledge. With respect to conversation he was peculiar. The company of intelligent persons he sought with the same eagerness and constancy, as the student his books. Here he always started topics of investigation, fitted to improve the mind as well as to please; and, in this way, gathered knowledge with the industry and success, with which the bee makes every flower increase the treasures of its hive. I never knew the value of intelligent conversation, and the extent of the contributions which it is capable of furnishing to the stock of knowledge possessed by an individual, exhibited more clearly and decisively than in his example. At the same time, his own conversation was so agreeable and intelligent, and his manners so engaging, that his company was coveted by all his numerous acquaintance. His life, also, was without a stain; and on his integrity, candour, and justice, his countrymen placed an absolute reliance. With these qualifications, it will not be a matter of wonder, that at an early period of his life he was employed by the public in an almost continual succession of public business; or that he executed every commission of this nature honourably to himself, and usefully to his country. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his age, of a paralytic stroke, brought on by a long-continued and very severe chronic rheumatism. Few persons have been more universally or deeply lamented.

There are three uncommonly interesting spots in this township: one on the western side of the harbour, which is called the South-field, a rich and beautiful farm. Another is a peninsula on the east side of the harbour, mentioned above under the name of Shipan, the property of Moses Rogens, Esq., of the city of New-York. This, also, is an elegant and fertile piece of ground. The surface slopes in every direction, and is encircled by a collection of exquisite scenery. The Sound, and Long-Island beyond it, with a gracefully-indented shore, are directly in front; and both stretch westward to a vast distance, and eastward till the eye is lost. On each side,

so, lies a harbour, bounded by handsome points. A train of rocks and bushy islands, peculiarly pleasing in themselves, increase by their interruptions the beauty of these waters. The farm itself is a delightful object, with its fields neatly enclosed, its orchards, and its groves. Here Mr. Rogers has opened an avenue, a mile in length, reaching quite to the water's edge. At the same time he has planted on the grounds, surrounding his house, almost all the forest-trees which are indigenous to this country. To these he has united plantations of fruit-trees, a rich garden, and other interesting objects, so combined as to make this one of the pleasantest retreats in the United States.

The third, named the Cove, is on the western side of Noroton river. On this spot, in very advantageous situations, have been erected two large mills for the manufacturing of flour, and a small village, or rather hamlet, for mechanics of various kinds. The view of the harbour in front, the points by which it is limited, the small but beautiful islands which it contains, the Sound, the Long-Island shore, a noble sheet of water in the rear, the pleasant village of Noroton, and the hills and groves in the interior, is rarely equalled by scenery of the same nature, especially when taken from a point scarcely elevated above the level of the ocean.

Middlesex is a small parish, the centre of which is five miles from Stamford.

On Sunday, the 22d day of July, 1781, while the congregations were employed in public worship, a body of British troops, consisting chiefly of refugees, surrounded their church, and took the whole number prisoners, together with their minister, the Rev. Moses Mather, D. D. This venerable man was marched, with his parishioners, to the shore; and thence conveyed to Lloyd's Neck. From that place he was soon marched to New-York, and confined in the provost-marshal's prison. Here his food was stinted and wretched, to a degree not easily imaginable. His lodging corresponded with his food. His company, to a considerable extent, was made up of idle rabble; and their conversation, from which he could not retreat, composed of profaneness and ribaldry. Here, also, he was insulted daily by the provost-marshal, whose name

was Cunningham; a wretch remembered in this country only with detestation. This wretch, among other kinds of abuse, took a particular satisfaction in announcing from time to time to Dr. Mather, that on that day, the morrow, or some other time, at a little distance, he was to be executed.

But Dr. Mather was not without his friends; friends, however, who knew nothing of him, except his character. A lady of distinction having learned his circumstances, and having obtained the necessary permission, sent to him clothes, and food, and comforts, with a very liberal hand.

Dr. Mather was a man distinguished for learning and piety, a strong understanding, and a most exemplary life. His natural temper was grave and unbending. His candour was that of the Gospel; "the wisdom, which is from above," which, while it is "pure and peaceable," is also "without partiality." Of this a remarkable instance may be given. In the prime of life he had a strenuous public controversy with one of the ministers in Connecticut, on a subject belonging to the discipline and communion of the church. The debate was sufficiently ardent on both sides. In the decline of life, but in the full possession of his faculties, he was convinced that he was in an error, by the very writings which he had before answered. This fact he cheerfully acknowledged to his brethren.

Dr. Mather died September 21st, 1806, venerated by all who knew him, in the 88th year of his age. He was educated at Yale college, of which he was a fellow thirteen years. This office he resigned in 1790. His powers, both of body and mind, he retained till a little time before his death.

Stamford contained, in 1756, 2,648 whites, and 120 blacks; in 1794, 3,503 whites, and 60 blacks; in 1800, 4,351 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 4,440. In this interval the township of New-Canaan, containing 1,599 inhabitants, was taken from Stamford and Norwalk, principally, however, from the latter.

Norwalk was purchased of the Indians, the eastern and middle parts about the year 1640; the western, in February 15, 1651. The settlement was little more than begun till the latter period, twenty families only inhabiting it at this time. The succeeding four years the number of settlers increased

so fast, that they were incorporated. Its history during the continuance of Indian ravages is distinguished by nothing peculiar.

The surface of Norwalk generally resembles that of Stamford, but the hills are less elegantly formed. The valley, which lies along Norwalk river, and in which the town is built, is beautiful. Few richer prospects of the same extent can be found, than that which is presented from the neighbouring eminences of this ground; the town, built in its bosom, with its cheerful spires; the river, flowing through the middle; the farms on the bordering hills; the rich plain, which skirts the Sound; and a train of islands fronting the mouth of the river, and extending eastward five or six miles, together with an unlimited view of the Sound and the Long-Island shore.

The soil of this township is excellent.

The houses are better built than in Stamford or Greenwich. It contains two churches, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal, both neat buildings. An academy was established here some years since, and continued for a considerable time, but was afterwards given up. The river is navigable for sloops to the bridge, and is the channel of some commerce, carried on principally coastwise. Its banks at the head of navigation are lined with stores. From the manuscripts of the Reverend Mr. Dickinson, formerly minister of Norwalk, Dr. Trumbull has derived the following facts:—

From the first settlement of the township to 1732, more than eighty years, there was no general sickness among the inhabitants, except the measles. During four years, from 1715 to 1719, only twelve persons died. Of a company of militia, consisting of one hundred, not an individual died during fourteen years, from 1716 to 1730. Mrs. Hanford, widow of the first minister, died September 12th, 1730, aged one hundred years.

These, it must be admitted, are very strong proofs of salubrity. Yet Norwalk has been long regarded as being in an uncommon degree exposed to the consumption. The late Dr. Learning, Episcopal minister of this town, having mentioned this fact to me in conversation, attributed it to the shape and position of the valley; through which, he remarked, the winds, both from the north and the south, blew with great

violence. Hence, he observed, the changes in the atmosphere were felt more deeply than either on hills or plains, and by delicate constitutions more fatally. Whatever may be the cause, the fact cannot, I believe, be questioned.

The Honourable Thomas Fitch, formerly governor of the colony of Connecticut, was an inhabitant of this town. There has scarcely been a wiser man, or a more useful magistrate, in that office, than Mr. Fitch. In the year 1765 he took the oath of office prescribed in the stamp act. This rendered him so unpopular, that the following year he lost the chair.

Governor Fitch was educated at Yale college, where he took the degree of A.B. in 1721. By profession he was a lawyer, and probably the most learned lawyer who had ever been an inhabitant of the colony. In his various public stations of councillor, judge of the superior court, lieutenant-governor, and governor, he was considered as not surpassed in wisdom and integrity.

In 1779, a British force, under the command of Governor Tryon and Brigadier-General Garth, having landed at New-Haven, and plundered the inhabitants on the 5th and 6th of July, proceeded to Fairfield on the 8th, and burnt it: thence they crossed the Sound to Huntington-Bay, where they continued till the 11th. They then sailed to Norwalk, and landed in the night, on the plain which lies east of the river. The next morning they marched into the town; and, after plundering the inhabitants, set fire to the houses. In this conflagration were consumed one hundred and thirty-five dwelling-houses, and a proportional number of out-houses and barns. From the street, which lies parallel to the river on the eastern side, ascends a small conical hill, named Grummon's Hill. From the top of this eminence, Governor Tryon, seated in a chair, surveyed the prospect, as was believed, with a pleasure which will be grudged to him by no person who merits the appellation of a man. The British were resisted in this enterprise, feebly indeed, by a little party of continental troops, and scattered bodies of militia.

The inhabitants were compensated in some degree for their losses by the state, which gave them, and their fellow-sufferers in Fairfield, Danbury, New-Haven, New-London, and Gretton, half a million of acres of land on the south shore of Lake

the eastern side of Norwalk is washed by Saugatuck river. It is a considerable mill-stream, which, rising from different parts in the northern townships of this county, washing a part of the fields, Reading, Weston, &c., discharges its waters into the Sound at this place. Its mouth for several miles affords a good harbour. At the head of the navigation it is crossed by a bridge, around which is a neat, flourishing, and pleasant village, built on both sides of the river, but chiefly on the eastern.

The township of Fairfield, which formerly included those of Reading and Weston, contains at the present time three parishes.

Fairfield, Greenfield, and Green's Farms, and a part of the parish of Stratfield. The surface is rarely exceeded in beauty. The hills, vallies, and plains are elegant in their form, and beautifully located. The prospects, which it furnishes from many points, are extensive, and rarely surpassed. The soil is of the first quality, and suited, in as high a degree as any other in this country, to every production of the climate.

The field, named by the Indians "Unquowa," was originally discovered by Roger Ludlow, Esq., the principal planter of the colony, and the first deputy governor of Connecticut. He led a part of the troops who pursued the Pequods to their last resort, and finally destroyed them, he was so much pleased with the beauty and fertility of the surrounding country, that

along the Sound, nearly four miles. The lands are rich, and on them reside some of the best farmers in the state. The only village which it contains is that already mentioned, on Saugatuck river. It includes one Presbyterian congregation.

At the mouth of the Saugatuck, on the eastern side, rises a hill of remarkable beauty, known by the name of Compo, the south-western corner of Green's Farms. In the year 1777, two thousand British troops, under the command of Governor Tryon, disembarked here, April 26th in the morning, and proceeded immediately to Danbury. Major-General Silliman, who at that time commanded the militia of this county, immediately dispatched expresses to spread the alarm through the neighbouring country. Before the militia could be assembled, the enemy had proceeded far on the road to Danbury, and reached it almost without opposition. Colonel Huntington, who was here with about one hundred men, retired to an eminence in the vicinity, with the hope of being reinforced. General Arnold was also in the neighbourhood, having been directed to superintend the raising of recruits. The enemy destroyed eighteen dwelling-houses, one thousand seven hundred tents, two thousand bushels of grain, and one thousand six hundred barrels of provisions. The next morning they returned through Ridgefield, where they set fire to a number of houses. On the road from Danbury they were attacked in their rear by Major-General Wooster, at the head of three hundred militia, with great spirit and resolution. Wooster however, was soon mortally wounded, fighting bravely at the head of his troops. Arnold joined General Silliman, who had collected about five hundred militia, and proceeded to Ridgefield, in front of the British. Here they threw up a barricade across the road, on a piece of high ground. A smart skirmish was maintained for an hour, when the Americans were obliged to give way. Arnold's horse, being shot, fell directly under him. Perceiving a British soldier advancing to kill him with a bayonet, he coolly kept his saddle, drew a pistol, shot the soldier, and then retired.

The British continued at Ridgefield through that night. The next morning, as they were proceeding towards Compo, Arnold, having increased his numbers to about one thousand men, and obtained some field-pieces, fell upon them again,

and skirmished with them, as the circumstances would permit. When the British reached Compo, they were hard pressed by the Americans; and probably would not have escaped from complete destruction, but by the following expedient, said to have been proposed by Sir William Erskine:—They landed a body of marines, and moving them into the van of their army, charged the Americans with so much vigour, that they were driven from the ground. The British then embarked in their boats with the utmost expedition, and reached their ships in safety: but so fatigued with their march, that many of the soldiers fell, it was said; upon the decks of the vessels, and there lay for a considerable time immoveable and torpid. The Americans, also, were most of them exceedingly weary. The marines, being fresh, took the place of their exhausted countrymen, and were an overmatch for the fatigued Americans. The loss of the Americans was estimated by them at one hundred killed, wounded, and missing. Among these, besides General Wooster, were two field officers*. The loss of the British, as estimated by themselves, was one hundred and seventy.

General Wooster was born at Stratford, in 1711, and was educated at Yale college, where he received the degree of A. B. in 1738. He entered upon a military life in 1739, during the war with Spain, and rose to the command of a regiment in the war with France, which began in 1755. In the expedition against Louisburg, in 1745, he commanded the Connecticut sloop of war; and in all the several commands which were given to him sustained a very fair and honourable character. At the commencement of the revolutionary war, he was appointed a brigadier-general in the American army. By the promotions which afterwards took place, he considered himself as injured, and sent in his resignation. Upon this he was made the first major-general of the Connecticut militia. He was distinguished for all the public and private virtues; was for many years a professor of Christianity, and adorned the religion which he professed. He married Mary, daughter of President Clap; a lady, of whom it may be said without exaggeration, that she has rarely

* One of them, Lieutenant-Colonel Gould, of Fairfield.

been excelled by any of her sex, in vigour of mind, excellence of disposition, or exemplariness of life.

A monument was voted to General Wooster by congress, but has never been erected.

General Silliman was a distinguished lawyer in this town. He was the son of the Honourable Ebenezer Silliman, many years a councillor, and judge of the superior court, in the colony of Connecticut. Both the father and the son were educated at Yale college, and sustained honourable characters through life. The activity and influence of General Silliman, in the revolutionary war, exposed him of course to the resentment of the British. His house was within little more than a mile from the shore, and the safest access to it was perfectly known to the refugees. In the month of May, 1779, a small part of the enemy attacked his house, took him prisoner, and conveyed him to Long-Island, and thence to New-York*.

* In 1799 Major-General Silliman was appointed, by the governor and council of safety, superintendant of the coast of the county of Fairfield. In the month of May, Sir Henry Clinton directed a small company of refugees to cross the Sound in a whale boat from Lloyd's Neck, and if possible to take him a prisoner. One of them was an inhabitant of Newtown, named Glover, a carpenter, who had been employed by General Silliman not long before; and, having been some time at the house, was perfectly acquainted with the safest and easiest modes of access to it. The crew consisted of nine. One was left in the boat. Eight came to the house about midnight. The family were awaked by a violent assault upon the door. General Silliman sprang out of bed, seized a musket, and ran to the door. As he passed by the window he saw the men, and at once comprehended their design. He then attempted to fire his musket, but it only flashed. At that instant the assailants broke through the window, and laid their hands upon him, exclaiming that he was their prisoner, and that he must go with them. At his request they permitted him to dress himself, and having plundered him of a fusee, a pair of pistols, a sword, and some other articles of no great value, proceeded with expedition to the shore. They reached it about two o'clock, and immediately embarked for Long-Island. As they approached the shore of Lloyd's Neck, Colonel Simons, the commanding officer, who was waiting for them, exclaimed, "Have you got him?" They answered, "Yes." "Have you lost any men?" "No." "That is well; your Sillimans are not worth a man, nor your Washingtons." General Silliman's eldest son was taken with him. The prisoners were ordered to the guard-house. The general asked the adjutant, whether this was the manner they treated prisoners of his rank? The adjutant replied,

Immediately east of Green's Farms lies the parish of Fairfield, extending on the Sound about four miles to Stratford.

"We do not consider you in the same light as we should a continental general." "How," said General Silliman, "will you view me when an exchange shall be proposed?" "I understand you," said the adjutant, and withdrew. These questions probably preserved General Silliman from the indignity of being confined in a guard-house. Soon after, he and his son were conducted in a carriage to New-York, under an escort of dragoons. On his arrival, a numerous body of people gathered to see him. A gentleman, who was a friend to him, advised him to withdraw, lest he should be insulted, and very kindly conducted him to good lodgings. Here he remained for some time, and was at length ordered to Flatbush.

At that time there was no prisoner in the possession of the Americans, whom the British would accept in exchange for General Silliman; and after some consideration, it was determined to procure one. The person pitched upon was the Honourable Mr. Jones, one of the justices of the supreme court of the province of New-York. Captain Daniel Hawley, of Newfield (now Bridgeport), undertook to accomplish the design. Having selected a proper crew, he proceeded in a whale boat to Long-Island, and having landed his men, concealed his boat in some bushes near the shore. Of the place where they landed I am ignorant, but it is said to have been at least fifty miles from the place of their destination.

The house of Judge Jones stood, and probably now stands, on the north side of Hempstead plain, in a solitude rather pleasant, and certainly very favourable to their enterprise. The Americans arrived about nine o'clock in the evening. There was a ball in the house, and the noise of music and dancing prevented the approach of the adventurers from being heard.

Captain Hawley knocked at the door, and perceiving that nobody heard him, forced it, and found Judge Jones standing in the entry. He instantly told him he was his prisoner, and immediately conducted him off, together with a young gentleman, whose name was Hewlett. A guard of soldiers was posted at a small distance from their road. When they came near the spot, Judge Jones hemmed very loud, and was forbidden by Captain Hawley to repeat the sound. He however did repeat it; but being told by his conductor, that another repetition would be followed by fatal consequences, he desisted.

On their way they were obliged to lodge in a forest through the day. The third night they reached their boat, and proceeded immediately to Newfield.

Mrs. Silliman, hearing of Judge Jones's arrival, sent him an invitation to breakfast. He came. During several days, while he was at her house, she took all the measures in her power to make his situation agreeable. But although few ladies could contribute more effectually to such a purpose, the judge was distant, reserved, and sullen. From this place he was ordered to Middletown.

It was a long time before the British would consent to an exchange; but

The plain on which the town is built is probably inferior in fertility and beauty to few lands in the state.

The centre of Greenfield is about four miles from the Sound, and the southern boundary about two miles and a half. This is one of the smallest parishes in Connecticut; and for a tract, distributed wholly into farms, exclusive of a little village around the church, consisting of fifteen houses, is one of the most populous. In the year 1790, the number of inhabitants was 1,499, living on fourteen or fifteen square miles. This fact will sufficiently explain the goodness of the soil. The scenery here, also is delightful.

The parish of Fairfield contains three villages: the town; a village at the mouth of Mill river, about a mile and a half south-west; and another a mile eastward, at the harbour of Black-Rock.

The town of Fairfield contains about one hundred houses, built principally along the great road, and round a handsome square in the centre, on which stand the Presbyterian church, the court-house, and the gaol. The houses are generally good, and in two or three instances rise above this character. The inhabitants are moderately industrious, possess good manners, are friendly and hospitable, and are generally sober, orderly, and firm supporters of good government.

There is an academy in this town, which is in good reputation. There is also another in Greenfield; and another in Green's Farms, characterised in the school law, heretofore recited, as a parochial school of the higher order.

Fairfield is the shire town of this county. Half of the courts, however, sit at Danbury, a considerable town at the distance of about twenty miles in the interior. Fairfield is also the port of entry for the whole coast of Connecticut, on the western side of the Hoestennuc. The commerce of this

in the month of May, 1780, they agreed, that if one Washburn, a refugee of a notoriously bad character, could be included in the exchange, as a kind of make-weight, they would release General Silliman for Judge Jones, and his son for Mr. Hewlett. The vessel, which conveyed him, was another employed to transport General Silliman to his own house on the Sound. The two gentlemen having dined together, proceeded immediately to the respective places of their destination. The general's return was welcomed with demonstrations of joy by all the surrounding country.

county is almost entirely carried on with New-York or Boston. The coasting trade is of considerable importance, while that which is foreign is comparatively small.

The following is an abstract of the duties collected on imports in this town:—

Years.	Duties.
1801	Dollars, 25,074
1802	17,905
1803	17,263
1804	19,037
1805	23,164
1806	29,638
1807	20,661
1808	1,810
1809	1,559
1810	6,229

Two miles west of the court house is the Pequod swamp, where the remains of that nation were finally destroyed, or taken prisoners. The present road passes through it.

The Rev. Noah Hobart, formerly minister of this town, possessed high intellectual and moral distinction. He had a mind of great acuteness and discernment, was a laborious student, was extensively learned, especially in history and theology; adorned the doctrine which he professed by an exemplary life, and was holden in high veneration for his wisdom and virtue. Among the American writers of the last century, not one has, I believe, handled the subject of Presbyterian ordination with more ability or success.

Mr. Hobart was educated at Harvard college, where he received the degree of A. B. in 1724. About ten years after, he was ordained over this church and congregation. He died, December 6th, 1773, a peaceful and happy death, in the 68th year of his age, and the 41st of his ministry. His manners were grave and dignified, and yet very pleasing and gentlemanly, and, in whatever company he was, few hesitated to acknowledge him the first person present. He left one son, who has been already mentioned, the Honourable John Sloss Hobart, of New-York, one of the judges of the supreme court in that state, then a senator of the United States, and

afterwards district judge of the district of New-York, a very respectable and worthy man.

On the 7th of July, 1779, Governor Tryon, with the army which I have already mentioned, sailed from New-Haven to Fairfield, and the next morning disembarked upon the beach. A few militia assembled to oppose them, and in a desultory, scattered manner, fought with great intrepidity through most of the day. They killed some, took several prisoners, and wounded more. But the expedition was so sudden and unexpected, that the efforts made in this manner were necessarily fruitless. The town was plundered, a great part of the houses, together with the two churches, the court-house, gaol, and school-houses, were burnt. The barns had been just filled with wheat and other produce. The inhabitants, therefore, were turned out into the world almost literally destitute.

Mrs. Burr, the wife of Thaddeus Burr, Esq., high-sheriff of the county, resolved to continue in the mansion-house of the family, and make an attempt to save it from the conflagration. The house stood at a sufficient distance from other buildings. Mrs. Burr was adorned with all the qualities which give distinction to her sex, possessed fine accomplishments, and a dignity of character scarcely rivalled, and probably had never known what it was to be treated with disrespect, or even with inattention. She made a personal application to Governor Tryon, in terms, which, from a lady of her high respectability, could hardly have failed of a satisfactory answer from any person, who claimed the title of a gentleman. The answer which she actually received was however rude and brutal, and spoke the want, not only of politeness and humanity, but even of vulgar civility. The house was sentenced to the flames, and was speedily set on fire. An attempt was made, in the mean time, by some of the soldiery, to rob her of a valuable watch, with rich furniture, for Governor Tryon refused to protect her, as well as to preserve the house. The watch had been already conveyed out of their reach, but the house, filled with every thing which contributes either to comfort or elegance of living, was laid in ashes.

While the town was in flames, a thunder-storm overspread the heavens just as night came on. The conflagration of near

hundred houses illumined the earth, the skirts of the
 s, and the waves of the Sound, with an union of gloom
 and grandeur at once inexpressibly awful and magnificent. The
 scene speedily was hung with the deepest darkness, wherever
 clouds were not tinged by the melancholy lustre of the
 s. At intervals the lightnings blazed with a livid and
 terrible splendour. The thunder rolled above. Beneath, the
 roar of the fires filled up the intervals with a deep and
 hollow sound, which seemed to be the protracted murmur of the
 sea, reverberated from one end of heaven to the other.
 In the midst of this convulsion of the elements, and these dreadful
 scenes of vindictive and wanton devastation, the trembling of
 the earth, the sharp sound of muskets, occasionally discharged;
 the roans here and there of the wounded and dying, and the
 shouts of triumph; then place before your eyes crowds of the
 wretched sufferers, mingled with bodies of the militia, and
 the neighbouring hills taking a farewell prospect of their
 liberty and their dwellings, their happiness and their hopes,
 you will form a just, but imperfect picture of the burning
 of Fairfield. It needed no great effort of imagination to
 perceive that the final day had arrived, and that, amid this
 total darkness, the morning would speedily dawn to which
 light would ever succeed; the graves yield up their inha-
 bitants; and the trial commence, at which was to be finally
 decided the destiny of man.

The apology made by Governor Tryon for this Indian
 massacre was conveyed in the following sentence:—"The village
 burnt to prevent the fire of the rebels from their houses,
 to mask our retreat." This declaration unequivocally
 declares, that the rebels were troublesome to their invaders,
 and at the same time is to be considered as the best apology
 which they were able to make. But it contains a valuable

townsmen, and the little collection of farmers assembled to aid them, had no power to disturb it. No British officer, no British soldier would confess, that in these circumstances he felt the least anxiety concerning any molestation from such opposers.

The injuries done to a single family were an immense overbalance for all the good acquired in this expedition, either by the individuals engaged in it, or the nation in whose service they acted. Particularly that highly respectable pair, Mr. and Mrs. Burr, in the loss of the mansion of their ancestors; and the treasures with which it had been stored through a long succession of years—where the elegant hospitality which had reigned in it, the refined enjoyments which were daily felt, and daily distributed to the friend and the stranger; the works of charity, which were there multiplied; and the rational piety, which was at once the animating and controlling principle; diffused a brilliancy marked even by the passing eye—lost more than the whole British nation gained by this devastation.

The next morning the troops re-embarked, and, proceeding to Green's Farms, set fire to the church and consumed it, together with fifteen dwelling-houses, eleven barns, and several stores. Among the houses was that of the Rev. Dr. Ripley, the respectable clergyman of this parish. Here, also, was another proof, that burning was the object of the expedition. The number of dwelling-houses consumed in Fairfield was eighty-five; of barns, fifty-five; of stores, fifteen; of shops, fifteen, &c. &c.

The question has often been asked, "Why do so many of the Americans entertain such hostile feelings towards Great Britain?" One answer to this question will be found in the scenes which I have described. Let us admit, that an enemy may be justified, even in burning a town, when the strength of his foe will be materially lessened by the conflagration, his resolution broken, his hostility essentially diminished, and the prospect of bringing the controversy to a speedy termination in an important degree increased. Here neither of these objects was achieved. The strength of the Americans remained entire, and their animosity was more intense. Nothing was done but mischief, and nothing was probably aimed at but the gratification of ill-nature. The name of Tryon is here that of

an incendiary, and will go down to succeeding generations with unmingled infamy.

Near the eastern limit of this township is the harbour of Black-Rock, its shores ornamented with a small, but neat village. This, next to that of New-London, is the best harbour in the state. The land, by which it is enclosed, is perhaps unrivalled in its beauty. A more elegant piece of ground than Grover's-hill can scarcely be conceived. But, notwithstanding the excellence of the harbour, and the conveniences which it furnishes for commerce, the place has been long neglected. Business is now commencing in it with a fair promise of success.

In the year 1756, Fairfield contained 4,455 inhabitants; blacks, 260. In 1774, it contained 4,863; Indians, 4; blacks, 315. Both these enumerations included the township of Weston, afterwards taken from Fairfield. In 1790, the number of inhabitants in Fairfield was 4,009; in Weston, 2,469. In 1800, the number of inhabitants was 3,735 in Fairfield; in Weston, 2,680. In 1810, Fairfield contained 4,125; and Weston, 2,618.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Stratford. Bridgeport. Rev. Dr. Johnson. County of Fairfield. Its Boundaries, Surface, Soil, Divisions, Healthfulness, &c. Milford. Rev. Samuel Andrew. Milford Marble. Long-Island Sound. Hellgate, or Hurlgate.

DEAR SIR;

STRATFORD borders upon Fairfield eastward. The surface, though less beautiful than that of Fairfield, is yet very pleasing to the eye of a traveller. A plain extends along the Sound, from its western boundary to the Hoostennuc, about six miles. This plain is a handsome piece of ground, bordered on the north by several hills. The soil also is of an excellent quality.

Stratford contains two parishes, Stratford and Stratfield = four villages, the Town, the borough of Bridgeport, the Old Mill, and Pughquonnuck; and four congregations, two Episcopal and two Presbyterian. Two of these congregations are in Stratford, the other two in Stratfield, which includes Bridgeport.

Stratford was originally known by the Indian name of Cupheag. It was purchased in 1639 by Mr. Fairchild, the principal planter, and settlements were begun the same year. The Indians in this sale reserved several valuable tracts for their own cultivation, but both the title and the proprietors are now, I believe, extinct.

Stratfield, the western parish, is extremely pleasant. There is not in the state a prettier village than the borough of Bridgeport. In the year 1783, there were scarcely half a dozen houses in this place. It now contains probably more than one hundred, built on both sides of Pughquonnuck river, a beautiful mill-stream, forming at its mouth the harbour of Bridgeport.

The situation of this village is very handsome, particularly on the eastern side of the river. A more cheerful and elegant piece of ground can scarcely be imagined than the point which stretches between the Pughquonnuck and the Old-mill brook; and the prospects presented by the harbours at the mouths of these streams, the Sound, and the surrounding country, are in a fine season gay and brilliant, perhaps without a parallel. The style of building adopted here is also unusually happy. None of the houses are large or splendid, but almost all of them, together with their appendages, leave upon the mind an impression of neatness and cheerfulness not often found elsewhere.

There are two churches in this village, an Episcopal and a Presbyterian, both respectable buildings, appearing like twins on the opposite sides of a small green. The Episcopal church in Fairfield is a plurality belonging to this cure.

There is a Baptist church, built in the rear of this parish, within the limits of Fairfield, the congregation of which is collected out of several townships, whose corners are near this spot.

The two parts of Bridgeport are connected by a bridge, ninety rods in length, which crosses the Pughquonnuck in the centre of the village, and was the origin of its name.

The inhabitants are almost all merchants and mechanics. Their commerce is principally carried on coastwise. For several years there was an academy here, but it is now discontinued. Scarcely any situation is more distinguished for health. The number of inhabitants is between six and seven hundred.

Stratford is a considerable town, containing, as I should judge, more than one hundred and fifty houses, and is better built than either of the preceding towns. The principal street is a mile in length, running parallel with the Hooestennuc, straight and wide. It contains also two churches, a Presbyterian and an Episcopal. The inhabitants have long been agitated by religious and political controversies. The usual effects, as well as causes, have existed here in their full extent. To detail them would be an invidious task.

The people of Stratford are excellent farmers, and their

fields, in tolerable seasons, exhibit crops, which are rarely exceeded in this country.

The Rev. Dr. Johnson, the first Episcopal minister in this town, was a man of distinguished reputation, and may be considered as the father of Episcopacy in Connecticut, and perhaps as the most distinguished clergyman of that description, who has been settled within its limits. This gentleman was born at Guilford, in 1696, was educated at Yale college, and received the degree of A. B. in 1714. In 1716, he was chosen tutor, and continued in that office three years. In 1720, he was ordained minister of the Presbyterian church in West-Haven. In 1723, he was episcopally ordained at London, and was afterwards settled at Stratford. In 1754, he was chosen president of King's college, in the city of New-York, and continued in this office nine years. In 1763, he resigned the presidency, and, returning to Stratford, resumed the charge of his congregation. He died in 1772, at the age of seventy-six.

Dr. Johnson was a man of talents and learning, of dignified manners, and high reputation. He published a Hebrew grammar, a compendium of logic, and another of ethics. The university of Oxford conferred on him the degree of doctor of divinity. His life was written by Dr. Chandler, the Episcopal minister of Elizabethtown.

At Stratford also still lives the Honourable William Samuel Johnson*, the son of this gentleman, and one of the most respectable men of whom this country can boast.

In the year 1756, Stratford contained 3,658 inhabitants, blacks 150; in 1774, 5,555, Indians 35, blacks 319. It then included the townships of Huntington and Trumbull. In 1790, Stratford, including Trumbull, contained 3,241, and Huntington 2,742. In 1800, the number in Stratford was 2,950; in Huntington, 2,792; and, in Trumbull, 1,291. In 1810, the inhabitants of Stratford amounted to 2,895; in Huntington, to 2,770; and, in Trumbull, to 1,241.

I will conclude this Letter by some general remarks on the county of Fairfield.

This county is bounded on the west by New-York, on the

* This gentleman died in the year 1819.—*Pub.*

by the Sound, and on the north-east, except a small one, by Hooestennuc river. Its figure approaches towards a circle, but with many irregularities. Its utmost length north to south is between forty and fifty miles, and its utmost breadth from east to west about thirty.

The surface is very various. The part which borders on the Sound has been already described. The interior is generally level, and in many places rough. There are mines of iron in the county, and there is a steel mine in Ridgefield. In Fairfield, a red ore has been discovered of an uncommon appearance. It is broken into spots on the surfaces of the fragments into which it is broken, and are perfectly smooth, and to the eye are in a regular line with the colour and the lustre of tin. This ore is said to contain copper. The person by whom it was discovered has refused to point out the place to the public, or to give any knowledge of it to any individual. Hence the ore has not been assayed.

The county abounds both in granite and limestone. The granite is the common grey granite of New-England, but it contains mica more than in most other places. The latter is used for building, and yields excellent lime. There are also stones of other kinds, particularly soap-stone in the township of Ridgefield, and rock crystals in that of New-Fairfield.

The forests are oak, hickory, &c. The single or swamp pine also grows here, and in a few instances pine.

The county abounds in springs, brooks, and mill-streams. There are eleven streams of the last class, which discharge their waters into the Sound between the state of New-York and the town of Hooestennuc. Mill-seats of the most convenient kind are very numerous.

The soil is better than that of any other in the state, being generally rich, and producing every thing which the climate admits. The pastures and meadows are fine, and the crops of grain are abundant. A few years since, more flax was raised here than in the whole of New-England beside. Mr. Burr, Esq., whom I mentioned above, informed me, that in ten years, in which he was naval officer at Fairfield, he was sent out of that township, at an average, twenty thousand bushels of flax-seed in a year; that the least quantity raised in any one year was seventeen thousand, and the

greatest twenty-five thousand. I have seen twenty acres of flax in a single field in the parish of Greenfield. A field of five acres produced thirty-five hundred weight, and a field of wheat yielded forty bushels an acre.

This county is divided into seventeen townships. The most considerable town in it is Danbury. It is distributed also into twenty-eight parishes, containing twenty-eight Presbyterian congregations, fifteen Episcopal, eight Baptist, one Sandemanian, and one Universalist. Of the Episcopal congregations seven are pluralities. Religion, though at certain times, and in certain places, vigorous, has prospered less from the beginning in this county than in several others.

It contains two associational districts. The churches in the western district have adhered with more strictness to the scheme of discipline established at Saybrook than those of any other, and have accordingly experienced fewer embarrassments in this difficult branch of evangelical duty. There has for many years been an union of firmness and catholicism in the ministers of this district not often seen. It is to be hoped that it will long endure.

Few parts of the world are more healthy. In my own congregation at Greenfield, consisting of one thousand persons, during one year not a single person died; and during another year only two, and one of these an accidental death. Upon the whole, there is not a more delightful spot of ground than the coast of this county. The surface is handsome, the soil fertile, the productions various and excellent, the air salubrious, while the waters furnish fish in abundance, and present every convenience for marketing. At the same time, many of the inhabitants are highly respectable for their intelligence and their worth. They labour under one inconvenience. Their ground is so rich, and so capable of easy cultivation, that the inhabitants have cleared it too extensively, and rendered wood for fuel scarce and dear. Peat exists in abundance, but custom has not yet reconciled many of the people to the use of it, and coal hitherto has not in any considerable quantities been discovered in New-England.

The Hoestennuc is crossed at Stratford on Washington bridge. The ferry, formerly used here, was attended with many, and those very great inconveniences. The Sound,

which it opens on the south, often rolled in a heavy swell. The north-west wind, when it coincided with the tide, forced the boats far down the stream. The ice was sometimes frozen only across a part of it, sometimes was too thin to be safe, and sometimes ran in the stream with such violence, and in such quantities, as to render the crossing both uncomfortable and hazardous. A bridge was nowhere in the United States demanded by the wishes of the inhabitants so extensively as at this place. At length a very bad one was erected, and in February, 1807, it was swept away by a violent freshet. A better one, after many delays and difficulties, was built, and is still standing. It is not handsome, but well contrived for the purpose; and, were proper ice-breakers formed in the stream above, would probably continue many years.

The township of Milford commences on the eastern side of Hooestennuc. The coast is pleasant and fertile. The interior is undulating, but not very pleasant. The soil throughout a considerable part is rich and productive, but much of it is cold and sterile.

Milford, named by the Indians Wopowage, was purchased by the Rev. Peter Prudden and others, principally from Wethersfield, in 1639. Forty-four planters settled themselves here immediately; but they found the Indians so numerous, that they surrounded the town plat, nearly a mile square, with a strong palisado.

Milford contains two parishes, and four congregations; three Presbyterian and one Episcopal. The last consists only of a few families. Each of these congregations has its church. Of North Milford I have already given an account. The other parish contains three congregations.

The town is built with an irregularity, which seems absolute. The houses are numerous, but generally indifferent. Two of the streets are moderately pleasant, but the whole appearance is uninviting.

The inhabitants of this town retain, beyond those of most other places, the ancient, plain, New-England character. There is to a considerable extent an union among them of simplicity, sobriety, industry, frugality, the love of good order, and attachment to the ordinances of religion. If they were to add to these commendable characteristics a general spirit

of liberality, and a general love of improvement, it would be well.

The Rev. Samuel Andrew of this town was the second president, or, as that officer was then called, rector of Yale college. He was chosen *pro tempore* in the year 1707, and continued in office till the year 1719. He did not, however, remove to Saybrook, where the college was first placed, nor to New-Haven, whither it was removed in 1717. But, though he resided at Milford, and performed the duties of the ministerial office, yet from time to time he visited the college, presided at commencements, and superintended the government of the students. He is still remembered here, and in the surrounding country, as an able and excellent divine.

In the eastern part of this township begins a range of marble quarries, extending a considerable, though hitherto undefined, distance into the interior. They have been traced as much as four or five miles. The colours of this beautiful stone are black, or at times a very deep blue, white, green, and yellow. All these colours are strong and vivid. The variegations, which it everywhere presents, are diversified beyond any thing, which I have seen: yet we have several hundred specimens of different European marbles in the mineralogical cabinet of Yale college. Nor are the variegations only diversified. They are alternately strong and delicate, and in both cases remarkably rich. Nothing equally beautiful, or equally fine in its texture, has been discovered in this country. Its existence was brought to light, after having been travelled over, as it lay in masses, and made into walls, to enclose the fields in which it was imbedded, for more than a century, by Mr. Solomon Baldwin, a member of the senior class in Yale college, in an excursion adopted in that seminary as an exercise for the students in mineralogy. This gentleman procured a lease of an extensive range of this elegant stone, and of a mill in the neighbourhood, at which it is now sawn, ground, and polished. Its distance from navigable water is less than two hundred yards. The quantity is apparently inexhaustible.

Lead ore, extremely rich, has been found in this township, but hitherto in small quantities.

In the year 1756, Milford contained 1,633 inhabitants; in

1774, 2,127, blacks 163; in 1790, 2,006; in 1800, 2,427; and, in 1810, 2,674.

I will conclude this Letter with an account of Long-Island Sound; the southern boundary of a part of the state of New-York, and of the state of Connecticut; on the margin of which lay the last great division of the journey just recited.

This arm of the ocean is one hundred and forty miles in length, from Oyster-pond point on the east to the western limit of New-Utrecht on the west, and from half a mile to twenty-five miles in breadth. The narrowest part is near Hell-gate, and the widest at New-Haven. At Rye it is about nine miles in breadth, at Stamford twelve, at Stratford eighteen, at Saybrook and Lyme fourteen or fifteen. At the head of New-Haven harbour, the distance is twenty-nine.

The shores on both sides of this fine piece of water are indented with many harbours. Of these, that of New-London on the northern, and that of Huntington on the southern side are the most considerable. In each of them the largest fleets may anchor with perfect security from every wind. Every township on either shore has one or more harbours, sufficiently spacious and convenient for the commerce which it will ever be able to carry on.

The navigation of the Sound is very safe, compared with that along a coast entirely open to the ocean. Yet at times it is dangerous. In the winter, when the weather is so severe as to shut the harbours, the double shore at times increases the hazard; and instances have occurred, though they have been rare, in which vessels have been lost, and their crews have perished. Several reefs run out some distance from the shore, and sometimes take up vessels, ignorant of the navigation, as do also a few solitary shoals and rocks, hidden beneath the surface. Of the latter, the Executioners, over against Cow-neck on Long-Island, and Mamaroneck on the Neck, and the Stepping-Stones against Great-neck, and Pelham (both necks in North-Hempstead), are the most remarkable.

In the mild season there is perhaps no voyage in any part of the world pleasanter than that, which is taken on the Sound, especially when the course is directed near the shore of the main. No expanse of water can be handsomer, or bounded

by more beautiful shores. The various points, successively stretching into its bosom, with the intervening indents; the villages, which succeed each other at small distances, with their white spires, seen over the tops of the trees, or rising in open view; the rich fields, which everywhere form the margin; the hills, elegantly ascending as the eye advances into the interior, covered with farms, and crowned with groves; and the multitude of vessels skimming the surface in every direction; combine in their succession as many varieties of beauty, serenity, and cheerfulness, as can easily be united within the same limits.

The Sound is replenished with a great variety of very fine fish. Among the finny tribes may be reckoned the cod, the striped and sea bass, the tuttaug or black fish, the sheep's-head, the blue fish, the frost fish, the white perch, the plaice - the flounder, and many others. Of shell-fish, there are lobsters, crabs, oysters, clams, muscles, escallops, &c.

Below Throgmorton's point, the Sound becomes narrow very suddenly. Thence to New-York a succession of handsome villas is seen at little distances on both shores. A more sprightly series of objects can hardly be imagined, when viewed in connection with their appendages.

Hell-gate, supposed to have been originally called Hurl-gate or the Whirling-gap or passage, has been an object of too much public notice to be omitted here without impropriety. Formerly it was rarely mentioned, but in terms of exaggeration and terror. In later times, however, it has been found to be almost harmless.

This passage lies about eight miles from New-York, between the islands of Manhattan and Parsell on the north-west, and Long-Island on the south-east. Haerlem river discharges its waters into the Sound between the two former islands. The bottom is here formed, at least to a considerable extent, by large rocks of granite, some of which are visible. The whirling of the waters at this passage is probably occasioned by three causes. 1st, The position of the rock 2dly, The sudden bend of the Sound at this place; and 3dly, The influx of the tide into Haerlem river, and its efflux. The agitation of the water at half flood, and half ebb, is sufficient to alarm almost any mind, not thoroughly familiarized to them

tion of this place, but about high and low water they
ry little disturbed. At the proper times, with a good
and a good pilot, vessels pass here without danger.
out these advantages they are sometimes thrown upon
cks or upon the shore. I know not, that Hell-gate has
y instance proved fatal to human life. Cargoes have
times been damaged, and sometimes lost. Frigates have
al times gone safely through this passage.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IX.

State of New-York. Its Boundaries. Mountains. Rivers and Agriculture. Iron Ore and Marble. Gypsum. Inhabitants, whence derived. New-England Settlers, their Character. Irish, German, and Scotch Colonists. French Protestants.

DEAR SIR;

THE state of New-York, including its uplands, is situated between $39^{\circ} 45'$ and 45° north latitude, and between $71^{\circ} 50' 45''$ and $79^{\circ} 47' 45''$ west longitude from Greenwich. Its greatest length, which is on the parallel of 42° is 316 miles, its greatest breadth is 304. In these measures Long-Island and Staten-Island are not included. It is bounded on the east by the western limit of New-England, formerly described, on the north by the 45th degree of latitude, from Lake Champlain to the river St. Lawrence; thence on the north-west and west by a line passing up the middle of that river, and through the middle of Lake Ontario, to the mouth of the river Niagara; thence up the middle of that river to Lake Erie, thence through the middle of Lake Erie to a line, which is the continuance of the eastern limit of that part of Pennsylvania which borders upon Lake Erie; thence by this limit till it crosses the 42d degree of north latitude; thence on the south by this degree, which is the northern boundary of Pennsylvania, until it strikes the river Delaware; thence by this river till it reaches the north-western corner of New-Jersey, at the great eastern bend of the Delaware; and thence by a south-eastern line, which separates New-Jersey from the counties of Orange and Rockland, to the Hudson.

The state of New-York, including one half of Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence, and the waters of Lakes Ontario

d Erie, which belong to it, forms an area of 46,086 square
les, or 29,495,040 acres.

The principal mountains in this state are, 1st, The High-
ds, a continuation of the Shawangunk, themselves a con-
uation of the Blue ridge of Pennsylvania. These cross
state in a north-east direction, and unite with the Tagh-
nnuc range. 2d, The Kaatskill mountains, which, ascend-
; from the south-west, approach, in the counties of Ulster
d Greene, within about ten miles of the Hudson, and then
nd in the form of a crescent to the north-west towards the
hawk. 3dly, West of these is a collection of rude emi-
nces, already described, spreading from the north boundary
Philadelphia, twenty, thirty, and sometimes perhaps forty
es into New-York. These are the north-eastern termi-
ions of the Alleghany range, and of those parallel ranges
ch run through a considerable part of the United States,
tward of this principal one; and subside into a plain
ntry about the middle of the breadth of New-York, be-
en Pennsylvania and Lake Ontario.

From the western side of Lake George commences a range,
from the eastern another, which, passing onward to Ca-
la, are united with a third, and together are called the
uvian mountains. Of the southern commencement of the
d range I am ignorant. From Burlington, as I have else-
are observed, it is visible to a considerable extent, and rises
stward of the other two.

The Taghkannuc range runs from the Sound along the
tern border of this state, until it enters the county of Rens-
ser; whence it passes through the county of Washington,
F enters Vermont at Fairhaven.

The Peruvian mountains received this name, because they
re supposed to contain mines of considerable value.

The rivers in this state, beside those which have been already
ntioned, are the Black river, Oswegatchie, Racket, Chazy,
oga, and Saranac; together with many others of no other
equence than as mill-streams. The Alleghany, one of
two principal head-waters of the Ohio, has its rise in the
nty of that name.

There are many small lakes in this state, which I have not
ticed, particularly in the country north of the Mohawk.

It is unnecessary for me to add any thing to the observations which have already been made concerning the climate, or to say any thing further concerning the soil, except that, taken together, it is inferior to that of no state on the Atlantic side of the Union.

The agriculture is very various. The Dutch farmers extensively follow that of their ancestors. The New-England colonists and their descendants pursue that of New-England; German, Scotch, and Irish settlers, vary from both and from each other. Several intelligent men in different parts of the state have improved the agriculture around them. The county of Dutchess is one of the best cultivated tracts in the United States.

Horticulture is little regarded by most of the original inhabitants: but the gardens of the gentlemen are not excelled in this country. The market of New-York is well furnished with vegetables, and, lately, that of Albany.

Wheat is the principal product, after that grass, and after that maize. Fruits of all kinds, suited to the climate, flourish in the southern half of the state, and many in the northern. Peaches abound in most of the counties south and west of Albany. In several parts of the western country nectarines and apricots prosper, the insects, which attack them in the older settlements, not having extended their ravages so far.

New-York abounds in iron ore. In the Peruvian mountains other ores have been discovered, but they have hitherto been very imperfectly examined. Most of the mountains are said to be granitic, but the predominating character of the country is calcareous. Slate abounds, marble has been discovered in several places, and at Amenia, on the eastern border of Dutchess county, a quarry has been for some time extensively wrought. The colour is white, blended with blue, so as to be of a cloudy and delicate appearance. The texture is moderately fine, but in some degree flaky.

Many parts of this state exhibit strong proofs of the deluge. Marine shells, of various kinds, are found in many places, both mineralized and in their native condition.

Gypsum abounds at the head of the Cayuga lake, in the township of Camillus, in the county of Onondaga, and in several other places. The remarkable sulphur springs in the township

f Phelps, denominated the Clifton sulphur springs, have been mentioned in a former part of these Letters. Many other minerals are found; among them are mentioned lead, zinc, and copper. But they are too imperfectly known to merit public attention.

There are no native forest-trees which are not found in New-England, except the cucumber tree and the black walnut. The former of these I have never seen. The black walnut grows in New-England in the most thrifty manner, but is not, believe, indigenous.

The inhabitants of the state of New-York, like those of the city, are derived from many countries. At least three-fifths of them are of New-England origin, and the number of these is rapidly increasing. The next largest class consists of the descendants of the original Dutch planters. After these are the Scotch, Irish, German, English, and French colonists, and their progeny. As I before observed, it is impossible to ascribe to these numerous classes a common character.

Those who have immigrated from New-England retain extensively, and many of them absolutely, their original character. When considered *en masse*, they exhibit such varieties which would be naturally expected from the account which I have given concerning the early settlers of a forested country, connected with that of the New-England people. They are stout, enterprising, resolute, patient, active, industrious, and persevering. Many of them are sober, orderly, moral, and fond of learning and good government. Many of them are intelligent, ingenious, acute, versatile, ready when disappointed to turn from one kind of business to slide into another, and fitted to conduct the second, or even a third or fourth, with much the same facility and success as if they had been bred to nothing else. A considerable number in the whole, and some in almost every settlement, however small, are pious. Others, amounting to a considerable number, are restless, fond of changing their places of residence to a sickly excess, uneasy in a regular established society, clamorous about political measures, haunting places of public resort; talkative, especially on political subjects, negligent of their own business, and regardless of religion. These are the foresters, whom I have heretofore mentioned; the pioneers, who march in front of the army

of substantial farmers, destined finally to colonize the country. Their number, which at the early periods of colonization is considerable, diminishes, of course, from two causes. One is, that a part of them are continually driven forward by the sober planters, who purchase their farms; the other is, that the remaining part become to a considerable degree such farmers themselves. Such as keep their place, and do not assume this character, dwindle ultimately into insignificance; and, when compelled by want and rags, labour for those who are able to supply their necessities.

You will easily suppose, that in this population must of course be included a proportional number of mechanics, manufacturers, merchants, physicians, and lawyers; and that among them there can hardly fail to be diffused a considerable number of persons well educated, and respectable for their intelligence and information.

The mass of this population forms at the present time a most important accession to the state of New-York; and is continually increasing, both in its numbers and value. Their energy is already felt in every part of the country. The efforts by which they have changed its vast forests into fruitful fields and gardens, are unparalleled, perhaps in the world. It is questionable whether mankind have ever seen so large a tract changed so suddenly from a wilderness into a well-inhabited and well-cultivated country, as that which extends on the great western road, from the German Flats to the Genesee river. Nor is it probable, that any such tract has assumed, within so short a time, an appearance equally beautiful. Before the year 1784, when Hugh White, the father of the New-England settlements in this region, removed his family from Middletown, and planted himself in Whitesborough, there was not a single spot cultivated by civilized man, between the German Flats and Lake Erie, except a solitary farm near the falls of Niagara, known by the name of the Stedman Farm. In the year 1810, this region contained 280,319 inhabitants; all planted in it within twenty-six years, and almost all within twenty-two. To a prodigious extent these people possess all the necessaries, almost all the comforts, most of the conveniences, and not a few of the luxuries of life. A great number of beautiful villages have risen up, as by the power of enchant-

ment; and the road for one hundred and twenty miles is in a sense lined by a succession of houses, almost universally neat, and frequently handsome. Throughout most of this extent an excellent soil, covered deep with vegetable mould, rewards every effort of the farmer with a luxuriant produce.

Throughout this extent, also, schools are established with a celerity delightful to the eye of benevolence; which cannot fail to foresee, in this propitious institution, the elevation, not of a few privileged individuals, but of the whole rising generation; the children of the poor, as well as of the rich; to intelligence and worth, the exaltation of man, and not of those merely by whom man is usually controlled.

To complete the picture, a numerous train of churches, and these often handsome buildings, are planted on the very ground devoted a little while since to the ravages of the scalping knife and the celebration of the powaw. Here religious assemblies are gathered, ministers are settled, and God is worshipped in the ordinances of his own appointment. Here men in great multitudes are prepared to become better inhabitants of this world, and formed for the happiness and the hopes of immortal existence. All these efforts are marked with industry and vigour; with an energy of mind, proceeding regularly and firmly from a state of society, rendered by its original circumstances necessarily imperfect, towards the utmost degree of improvement hitherto attained by civilized men.

It is impossible that such a spirit as this should not have efficacy wherever it is found, or that its effects should not be generally auspicious to the most valuable human interests. Where the greatest number of such men are assembled, its consequences will be suddenly and universally seen. In the region to which I have confined myself, they have burst upon the eye, and spread through a vast extent, with a rapidity, which leaves the spectator lost in astonishment. Where the numbers are small, the influence is of course less. Even here, however, it is often strongly visible, and the instances are not few, in which a single individual has diffused it happily over a considerable circle around him.

Nor is this efficacy perceivable only in the important concerns of mankind. It extends to those also which are of inferior magnitude, and to many which would elude every

expectation. It furnishes better mechanics and manufacturers, happier modes of directing human labour, and ingenious expedients, by which labour may be abridged. A New-England contractor formed a canal at Richmond, in Virginia. New-England contractors and labourers are by public advertisements invited, in form, to make important turnpike-roads and bridges in this and other states; and the proverbial inquiry of persons travelling in this state, and those both natives and foreigners, is, "Where shall I find a New-England inn?"

The Irish colonists in this state differ from each other, as they did in their native country. Those who are descended from the English and Scotch are better informed, and therefore of a superior character. They are also generally habituated to a just sense of the importance of good order and good government; are usually industrious, sober, and possessed of apprehensions, not incorrect, of the nature and value of religion. This is particularly true of those who are descended from the Scotch. It will be easily believed, that persons of such a character must, of course, be extensively good subjects, and prosperous in their business. The western and southern Irish are often almost absolutely uneducated. This renders them liable to many impositions, and consequent misfortunes. They are also to an extensive degree hostile to the government under which they were born, and very naturally transfer some portion of that hostility to any other government under which they may live. So far as they know any thing concerning religion, they are generally Papiats. From the dissocial nature of Popery, it can scarcely be supposed, that here, more than elsewhere, they should view Protestants with complacency. From their extreme ignorance, their apprehensions concerning moral obligation must be essentially defective and this defectiveness must be increased by the doctrines taught in the Romish church concerning absolution, indulgences, and other licentious tenets, easily comprehensible even by men growing up in these unhappy circumstances. As they have been originally and only directed by others, it is hardly possible that they should direct themselves. With these things in view, it will follow of course, that in very many instances they must be bad managers, poor, and vicious.

The evils which I have specified are not, however, derive

native character of these people. From what I have heard, and particularly from my own observation, I am persuaded that the native character of the Irish is inferior to that of no other people. To me they appear not to be distinguished in native activity of mind, sprightliness, wit, good-nature, generosity, affection, and gratitude. Their peculiar faults and vices, I am persuaded, are owing to the want of education, or to a bad one. Give them the same advantages, which are enjoyed by others, and they will stand upon a level with the best of their neighbours.

Scotch colonists preserve, unaltered, the character they brought with them. They are industrious, frugal, patient of hardship, persevering, attached to government, reverential to religion, generally moral, and often pious. At the same time they are frequently unwarrantably self-complacent, rigid in their dispositions, unbending in their opinions, sequestered, avaricious, ready to unchurch those who differ from them, and to say, "Doubtless we are the people." If they acquire property, and leave it to their children, they are better citizens than any other class of colonists. Such as are well educated, and liberally disposed, are agreeable neighbours and friends as are furnished by education; and such as give themselves up to vice are as ready to profligate. The number of these is, however, very small.

Germans, who settled themselves in this state, were formerly the most ignorant inhabitants of their native country, but a great part of them have transmitted this unfortunate hereditary taint to their descendants. A small collection of these is mentioned to me by authority, which I cannot dismiss as a very worthy and respectable body of plain people; distinguished for their industry, good order, sound morals, and attachment to religion. Those on the Mohawk are, in many respects, of a different character.

French Protestants who colonized New-Rochelle, have chiefly, if not wholly, become mere Americans; in no way distinguishable, except by their surnames, from the descendants of the English colonists. It is a fact deserving of notice, that a considerable number of these people have been

persons of high respectability, and have been elevated to very honourable stations ; and many others have acquired ample fortunes, and sustained very desirable characters in private life. A prophet might attribute their prosperity to a particular blessing of God, who on many occasions has been pleased to shower his favour upon the descendants of those who have been persecuted for their piety.

Of all these classes of colonists it is to be observed generally, that they will soon be so entirely amalgamated with those from New-England, as to be undistinguishable.

I am, Sir, &c.

END OF VOLUME III.

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TRAVELS

IN

NEW-ENGLAND AND NEW-YORK.

BY

TIMOTHY DWIGHT, S. T. D. LL. D.

LATE PRESIDENT OF YALE COLLEGE;

AUTHOR OF

THEOLOGY EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, &c.

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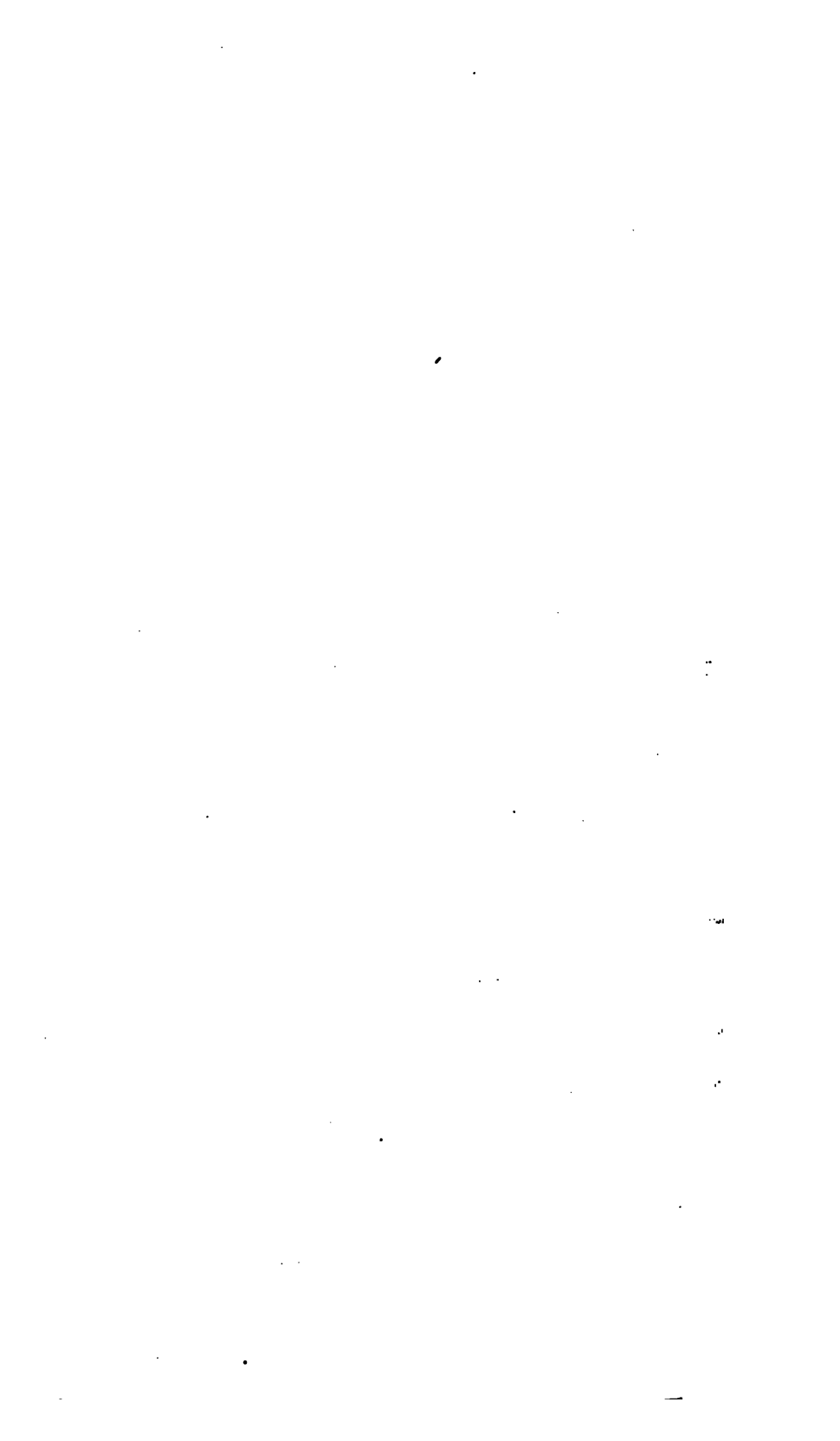
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JOURNEY TO NIAGARA.

LETTER I.

Journey to Sheffield. White Marble. Rapid descent of the Streams which fall into the Hudson, and into the Schoestennuc. Egremont. Manor of Livingston. Clark's-rack. Character of First Settlers in little Landing Places. Kaatskill. Canton. Durham. Kaatskill Mountains. Bristol. Blenheim. Stamford. Harpersfield. Meredith. White Pine Tree. Franklin. Sidbury. Miserable Inns. Troublesome Innkeeper. Unadilla. Oxford. Norwich. Jericho. Chenango River and Valley. Sherburne. Hamilton. Cazenovia.

DEAR SIR;

ON Wednesday, September 19th, 1804, I began a journey to the falls of Niagara. I was detained by rain until six o'clock in the afternoon, and then rode to Watertown: twenty-six miles. The next day I proceeded to Sheffield: twenty-one miles. At Litchfield, and afterwards at Canaan, I expected to find my destined companions in this excursion; but missed of them in both places. At the latter, after a solitary ride of between fifty and sixty miles, I found some gentlemen going to Sheffield, whose company made the remainder of the way very agreeable. The day was remarkably mild for the season, and was followed by a severe frost; the frost at Sheffield being, the next morning, about the thickness of a dollar, and the tender vegetables generally destroyed. During the preceding nine years there has not, in those parts of the country where I have journeyed, been a frost, sufficiently intense to destroy vegetables of this class, until about the middle of October.

At Sheffield I found two gentlemen designing to set out for Kaatskill*, and with them I proceeded very pleasantly on the journey. The road turns directly west from Sheffield, and enters the state of New-York in the township of Hillsdale. The part of it, which is in Massachusetts, is alternately a forest and a collection of solitary settlements.

About a mile and a half from Sheffield we passed by a number of workmen employed in sawing, grinding, and polishing marble. Immense quarries of this mineral are found in the range of hills, at the foot of which their works were erected. It is white, and generally of the same texture with that at West-Stockbridge. The workmen, however, showed us some specimens of a much finer quality, and very beautiful. The business is here in its infancy; but, if pursued with industry and prudence, can scarcely fail of being profitable.

The ascent of the Taghkannuc range, on the eastern side, is gradual and easy; on the western, the declivity is long and steeper. From the bottom of this range the tributary streams of the Hudson run through a country twenty miles in breadth, with a rapidity not less than that, with which those of the Hooestennuc run five miles. Both the valley and the bed of the Hudson, therefore, are much nearer the level of the ocean, in this latitude, than those of the Hooestennuc. This conclusion is obvious, also, from an attention to the current of these rivers. That of the Hooestennuc, from Canaan to Derby, is almost universally rapid; and is interrupted by several falls and rifts. The whole perpendicular descent of these must be more than two hundred feet; and that of the general current much more. From Canaan to the Sound, the length of the river, as measured on the road, is seventy-two miles; and this distance, although the road follows the course of the river in a remarkable degree, is yet short of the truth. Almost all this distance is a continued ripple. Three hundred feet will be a moderate allowance for such a descent, throughout such a distance. In the Hudson there is not even a rapid below Troy.

The first township through which we passed, after leaving Sheffield, was Egremont in Massachusetts, bordering upon

* The name of this town was originally spelled Kaatskill, but has since been altered by the legislature to Catskill.—Pub.

the western line of the state, and lying on the summit and eastern declivity of Taghkannuc. The soil of this township is generally good. The settlement is comparatively recent. The inhabitants live on scattered plantations; and suffer the usual inconveniences, both moral and physical, of such settlements. Their number, in 1790, was 759; in 1800, 835; and, in 1810, 1000.

From the ridge of this mountain there is a handsome view of the Green Mountain range, and a noble one of the Kaatskill mountains.

The stone found on Taghkannuc, so far as we had an opportunity to observe it, is principally blue, shining schist, like that, formerly mentioned, on Saddle Mountain.

After we began to descend from the ridge, we saw on the left, between two steep declivities, a small and very beautiful valley, of a rich soil and verdure, so narrow and so deep, as to be styled without impropriety a ravine. In this retired spot stood a few humble dwellings, which appeared as if every eye, both of the natural and political world, would pass over them without disturbing their peaceful inhabitants. No spot more presented to my eye more forcibly the idea of being sequestered from intrusion and bustle. It was a valley of Switzerland; and I felt as if it would be easy to find in this little spot the cottage of Venoni.

When we had passed the line, which divides Massachusetts from New-York, the appearance of the country in many respects was changed in an instant. The houses became ordinary and ill-repaired. A great number of them were taverns; generally, however, of so wretched an appearance, as must, one would think, prevent the entrance of any traveller. Not a church nor a school-house was visible till we reached Claverack; at the distance of sixteen or eighteen miles. About the taverns, early as it was, were gathered a number of persons from the neighbourhood, idling and drinking away their time, rude in their appearance, and clownish in their manners.

From the ridge to Claverack the whole country is slate land, the soil tolerably good, and the surface an alternation of hills and vallies. There is so much sameness in the succession as to make the whole prospect tame and dull, without

any thing picturesque or even sprightly. The houses, also, are generally indifferent, and the agriculture on a humble scale. I ought to add, that this tract is extensively cultivated by tenants; and belongs to one branch of the family of Livingston.

We dined at a very good inn in Claverack, a pleasant and very ancient Dutch settlement. This town is about four miles from Hudson, and contains sixty or seventy substantial houses, built in the Dutch manner; two churches, a Dutch and an Episcopal, a court house, and a gaol, all of them ordinary buildings. The site of Claverack is a handsome elevation, near a sprightly mill-stream, which is bordered with intervals.

Agriculture in this neighbourhood seems to be at a stand. Neither improvement nor enterprise meets the eye, and every thing, except the passing of a great number of waggons, wears the appearance of stillness and seclusion.

Claverack is the shire town of the county of Columbia. In 1790, it contained 3,262 inhabitants; in 1800, 4,414; and, in 1810, 3,593.

On the Hudson there are many clusters of houses and stores, which are gathered at the end of every considerable road, terminating at the bank in what is called a landing. Trade is the motive, which at the first settlement summons to these places adventurers of every sort from every quarter. Together with a collection of discreet and virtuous people, there is sometimes an unhappy proportion of loose, lazy, shiftless, and unprincipled inhabitants. They are of the clan, which I have heretofore mentioned under the name of foresters.

It is a peculiar characteristic of the ignorant and vicious part of such aggregations to feel, that their settlement intimately resembles great trading towns. To exhibit this resemblance to each other, and to strangers, is always a favourite object of their attention. Too ignorant, however, to discern in what the real respectability of such towns principally consists, and too vicious willingly to adopt what is excellent in their character, they employ themselves in copying the fashions, follies, and vices of cities. To be first and excessive in fashions; to make a parade in the midst of poverty; to be pert; to gamble: to haunt taverns; to drink; to swear; to

l newspapers; to talk on political subjects; to manage the
irs of the nation and neglect their own; to profess them-
es infidels; to seem to know every thing, and plainly to
> nothing about religion; to array themselves against its
isters, its friends, and its interests; and to be "wiser in
r own conceit, than seven men, who can render a reason;"
strong features of the character of such men.

Another peculiar characteristic, found in many of the in-
itants in such settlements, is a bold spirit of commercial
enture. They chiefly come together for the purposes of
e; and generally have neither the capital, skill, experience,
caution, which are indispensable to success in business of
nature. With a full conviction of their competency, they
tract debts, and trust their property to persons whom they
e never seen, without fear, and almost without thought.
y, therefore, bargain with every body, who will bargain
them. Their darling object is to have the reputation of
g a great deal of business; and the question, whether it is
e with advantage or not, seems to give them little anxiety.
I will not wonder, that many of them speedily become
krupts.

Another trait in the character of such settlers is expensive-
e. To be like the inhabitants of great cities, they feel that
r must in some measure resemble them in show. This
t displays itself in dress, buildings, furniture, and modes
iving; and is often the gulf which swallows up the pro-
y and ruins the family.

The road from Claverack to Kaatskill is disagreeable;
dering through a solitary country, composed chiefly of
gh and barren hills, and containing a very few indifferent
ces.

At the ferry we were obliged to wait a long time; and what
worse, were compelled during this time to hear two men,
e brutes, professedly talking, and actually swearing and
ing, about politics and religion. Of these subjects neither
hem knew any thing except a few words, to which each
shed no other signification, except that some of these were
words of his own party or sect, and the remainder words
hat which he opposed. Our passage was in other respects
and pleasant.

Kaatskill is a town, built on a creek or mill-stream of the same name. It contains about one hundred houses; almost all built on a single street, near and parallel with the creek, and in a direction from south-east to north-west. Several of the houses are built of brick. These, and some others which are of wood, are good buildings. A high and steep hill rises in the north-east at a small distance, leaving an easy slope at the bottom, of sufficient breadth for this street and its appendages. The soil is clay; in wet seasons very muddy, and in dry very dusty. Naturally it is cold and barren; but capable, with good husbandry, of producing plentiful crops. Many of the grounds, heretofore enclosed, are now suffered to lie waste; a decisive proof, that they are of little value.

The business done at Kaatskill is considerable; consisting principally in the importation of foreign commodities from New-York and elsewhere, and in the exportation of wheat, flour, and lumber. Much of this business is done in the way of barter*; and is attended with all the evils incident to those modes of exchanging property, in which there is no settled standard of dealing. One of the chief benefits of money is, that it furnishes the parties in all contracts with a known rule of estimation; by which they can determine the value and price of their commodities, and understand perfectly the nature of their bargains.

Kaatskill, *i. e.* the creek which bears this name, is navigable into the heart of the town for vessels drawing nine or ten feet of water. The channel of the Hudson is here one third of a mile distant from this shore. An island, bordering upon the channel, formed probably by the slime of the creek, is connected with the shore by a beach formed in the same manner. On this beach the inhabitants have begun to build a causeway, which is to unite the island with the main, and to give them access to the channel of the Hudson. This work, an honourable proof of enterprise in these inhabitants, has since been completed; and an opening made from Kaatskill to the ocean for mercantile vessels of any burthen.

Kaatskill contains two congregations, an Episcopal and a Presbyterian. The Episcopalians, aided by the funds of Trinity church in the city of New-York, have erected a neat

h. The Presbyterians meet in the court-house*. There are a few Baptists, and a smaller number of Methodists. There are in the township, also, two Dutch churches, one five miles north, and the other four miles west of the town. There are two academies in this town; one of them incorporated.

The prospects from the high grounds, near the village, all present two very interesting objects, the Hudson and the Catskill mountains. Otherwise they are dull and discouraging. The want of a full representation of the fine scenes of nature and the pleasing objects of art.

Kaatskill is the shire town of the county of Greene, which includes also the townships of Coxackie, Greenville, Free-Canton, Durham, New-Baltimore, and Windham. The Catskill mountains, so far as they are entitled to any distinction, have their whole course in this county. The number of inhabitants, in 1800, was 12,584. It then contained four townships. In 1810, its inhabitants amounted to 19,536. The township of Kaatskill contained, in the year 1790, 1,980 inhabitants; in the year 1800, 2,408; and, in 1810, 4,245.

I found my expected companion, Professor D—— of Yale College, and Mr. D—— of New-Haven, at Kaatskill. Here we spent our time very agreeably in a circle of good friends on Monday, September 24th, when we rode to Bristol in the county of Schoharie, through the townships of Canton and Windham, as they were then named. You will observe, that the political divisions of this state are continually changing, especially in the more recent settlements. It is impossible for a stranger, therefore, to follow these changes, unless he were to have frequent recourse to the records of the state.

Our journey proceeded in a turnpike road, a branch of the "Hudson's" turnpike, from Hartford to Albany, commencing in Connecticut, and passing to Wattles's ferry on the river at Esopus. Thence it is proposed to extend it to the county of Trumbull, on the southern shore of Lake Erie. The road is well made. After leaving Kaatskill, we passed by a dam, built on the creek, in one of which is the best water-fall that I have met with. The dam is formed by a ledge of sandstone, the front of which is perpendicular, and so high,

* They have since built a handsome church.

as to be on a level with the floor of the fourth story of the mill. This building stands on the side of the creek, in a spot perfectly safe; the water-wheels are overshot; and the whole expense laid out upon the dam is incurred by placing a single stick of timber upon the brow of the ledge, and by forming a flume, perhaps four or five feet in length. It cannot, I think, have exceeded ten dollars. The stream is abundant, and never failing. The interior furnishes immense quantities of wheat. Navigable water is scarcely four miles distant. More than thirty thousand barrels of flour are, or may easily be, manufactured here in a season.

Between these hamlets, and near the bank of the creek, there is a cave, said to extend, in a winding direction, thirty rods in length. The account must, I think, be conjectural; for the entrance is so ragged as to discourage effectually all investigation.

The country from Kaatskill through the township of Canton is a dull, dreary region. The ground is clay, the soil lean and filled with slate, the forests low and unthrifty, the houses few and miserable, and the cultivation wretched. Such of the inhabitants as we saw, corresponded in their appearance with all the particulars of this description. Few spots, within my knowledge, wear a more forbidding aspect. The dulness of the scene was, however, relieved by fine views of the Kaatskill mountains.

Canton, which since this journey has changed its name to Cairo, is a counterpart of the region already described. Its surface appeared to my eye as if it had been anciently and frequently burnt over by the Indians, and not unfrequently by those who succeeded them. The settlements, which we saw, were few, recent, and wretched.

From Canton we entered Freehold, passing through a settlement called New-Durham, and since incorporated into a township by the name of Durham. Here the face of the country changed in an instant. The surface became a succession of long, easy declivities on the north-eastern margin of the Kaatskill range, together with beautiful, open vallies lying between them. The soil, a mixture of loam and clay, is rich, and abundantly productive of both grass and wheat. The inhabitants have availed themselves of their advantages. This

settlement, when we were on the ground, was of little more than twenty years standing; yet it was thoroughly cleared, well cultivated, and divided by good enclosures into beautiful farms. Indeed, every thing here wears the appearance of prosperity. Almost all the inhabitants are emigrants from Connecticut, and have preserved the habits of their native country. Of this we saw sufficient proof in their school-houses and their church. The congregation consists of two hundred families. Among them there has lately prevailed an extensive revival of religion, a rich reward for their efforts to establish the worship of God.

From Durham the road rises by a very easy and regular ascent to the ridge of the Kaatskill mountains, here divided into two arms, at the distance of more than twenty miles from the northernmost of the three principal summits. From the ridge at this place are seen the valley of the Hudson, Saddle Mountain, and the Taghkannuc and Green Mountain ranges. This valley is here at least forty-miles wide. Its extent northward and north-eastward is vast, exhibiting a remarkable specimen of the grandeur produced by amplitude, but is not ornamented, nor even relieved, by variegations of natural or artificial beauty. To the west, nothing was visible but huge piles of mountains, separated by deep and narrow vallies.

∴ Into this valley our road descended very gradually along the declivity of the northern ridge. Here we found a few lonely plantations, recently begun upon the road. The southern ridge, or rather the south-western, is a rude and lofty mountain. At the bottom runs a sprightly mill-stream, winding in several places through rich intervals, a small number of them cleared, and covered with flourishing verdure. Occasionally we passed a cottage, and heard the distant sound of an axe, and of a human voice. All else was grandeur, gloom, and solitude. The mountains on either hand seemed to shut out the few inhabitants of the valley from the rest of mankind. If I can conjecture the feelings of a Swiss, and the habits which he must be supposed to derive from the circumstances of his native country, I should believe, that in this spot he might easily imagine himself to be still in Switzerland.

We reached our destined inn soon after sun-set. It was kept by a plain, but very friendly and obliging Dutchman,

named Reichtmeyer, who had been planted here a considerable time, and had an excellent farm under good cultivation. One of his sons was the first uneducated Dutchman whom I have heard speak English so perfectly, that I should not have suspected him to have been of Dutch extraction.

The latter part of our journey lay in the township of Bristol and the county of Schoharie. It was incorporated in 1797, and contained, in 1800, 1,088 inhabitants.

In the morning, September 25th, we proceeded on our route through a part of Blenheim, a part of Jefferson, a corner of Stamford, and through the townships of Harpersfield and Kortright, to Meredith: thirty-seven miles. The first part of our way lay in the valley already described. The northern ridge receded gradually toward the north-west; the southern continued its former western direction, and increased its height and rudeness until it terminated on Schoharie creek, eight miles from Reichtmeyer's. When we arrived at the creek, we found the bridge swept away by a late flood. This stream rises in the neighbourhood of Kingston, and runs directly north to the Mohawk, about eighty miles. Its bed is deep and rocky, its course rapid, and its waters, during every considerable rain, swollen instantaneously by torrents from the mountains into a deluge. Its banks, for a great distance, are formed by the ends of these eminences, rising on both sides in a long succession, and abutting upon the river in the form of huge promontories. The appearance of these heights, and of the whole neighbouring region, is singularly shaggy, wild, and horrid; nor is the prospect cheered by a smiling object.

We were necessitated to ford the river. Happily we found a waggoner on the spot, who directed us to a place where we crossed it without much difficulty. On the opposite bank, however, we were compelled to make our horses climb up a rocky precipice, scarcely practicable, and attended with no small danger.

From the Schoharie we entered Blenheim, ascending a mountainous acclivity, near three miles in length. This township, so far as it was visible from the road, we found an almost absolute forest, as we afterwards did those of Jefferson and Stamford. I can scarcely conceive, that an agreeable residence will ever be found in either of these places.

Blenheim was incorporated since the year 1790, and Jefferson since the year 1800. The former contained, in 1800, 775 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,319; and the latter, in 1810, 1,740. Stamford was incorporated in 1792, and contained, in 1800, 924 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,658. It lies in the county of Delaware. In this part of our road we crossed two of the head-waters of the river which bears that name, and found them mere mill-brooks.

Harpersfield, which is in the same county, is a settlement of some standing. The surface is irregular, the hills are sudden, and the valleys are narrow. The face of the country is much inferior in beauty, and the soil in fertility, to Durham. The houses are comfortable; and the inhabitants have built themselves a decent church, added to it a steeple, in this region a singularity, and settled a clergyman. When I speak of a clergyman, with any qualification in the phraseology, I always intend a man regularly educated for the ministry, and regularly inducted into that office.

In the year 1790, Harpersfield contained 1,726 inhabitants. It was then an extensive tract of country, and belonged to the county of Montgomery. The present Harpersfield contained, in 1800, 1,013 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,691. It is now in the county of Delaware, which has been formed since the census of 1790.

All the hills and mountains in this region run from south-east to north-west, in the same direction with the Kaatskill range, some of them, however, inclining more towards the north, and others towards the west. It is observed by Evans, in the memoir accompanying his map of the British colonies, that the Kaatskill mountains are the termination of the Alleghany range, and that the country westward of them is a continued plain, of the same elevation with these mountains. These assertions, which originally excited in my mind no small astonishment, have been extensively believed, as well as often repeated. Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth.

The Kaatskill mountains are a range of lofty eminences, of no great breadth, the most elevated summits of which are far higher than any other land in the state. Westward of them the country, throughout a considerable extent, is a rude col-

lection of hills, and of interjacent vallies, often so narrow and deep as strongly to resemble ravines. The loftiest of these eminences is a mere hillock, compared with the height of the Kaatskill. All of them, so far as I had opportunity to observe, run in a north-western direction, at right angles with that of the Alleghany range. The Alleghany range terminates near the head-waters of the Genesee river, and is visible from the great western road to Niagara. The space between the Kaatskill and its dependencies, and the Alleghany range, or that occupied by the head-waters of the Susquehannah, is filled up with hills and vallies, running in a great variety of directions; so great, that to the eye on elevated ground the whole region appears to be a mere mass of confusion.

From Harpersfield we entered Kortright. The settlements on the road, in this township, are less numerous than in Harpersfield. The principal of them is formed in a pleasant valley, and on the bordering hills, which are handsomely arched. In such objects we felt not a little interested, as having been for some time strangers to them. The soil and the houses of Kortright differ little from those in Harpersfield. We saw neither church nor school-house. In 1800, Kortright contained 1,513 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,993.

From Kortright we entered Meredith. This township, as to its surface, is entirely distinguished from every other on this road, being formed of smooth, easy, elegant rising grounds, and of vallies of corresponding beauty. Durham can boast of finer prospects, and of a handsome surface; but the surface in Meredith is far more inviting to the eye than that of Durham.

From the house of Mr. Law, a handsome mansion in the centre of the town, the prospect stretches to the south, over a valley ultimately bounded by mountains, at the distance of thirty miles; and to the north, over another valley, which extends ten miles. The hill, which limits the northern prospect, is covered with a magnificent growth of white pines, one of which, having fallen down, was measured by Mr. Law, and was found to be two hundred and forty-seven feet in length. This cluster is the only considerable one, composed of full-grown trees of this kind, which I have seen. A few years since, such trees were in great numbers along the northern parts of Connecticut river, but they are now very generally

destroyed. It is not improbable, that the next generation may never see a white pine of the full size; and may regard an exact account of this noble vegetable production as a mere fable.

The soil of this township is rich, being the same with that mentioned heretofore in the description of Hartford. We saw mats here six feet in length, and were informed by Mr. Law, that they frequently grew to seven.

The central parts of this township labour under a singular, as well as very great inconvenience, the want of water for domestic uses. Wells have been dug to very great depths, but without any success*.

The central square mile in Meredith is laid out in lots, of a moderate size, for the accommodation of merchants, mechanics, and others not employed in farming. The turnpike road, which passes through the middle of this plat, is here crossed by another road passing through the middle of it also, from north to south. Around the point of intersection is laid a public square, intended to be the site of a church, an academy, town-house, school-houses, &c. The ground is naturally handsome, and the situation very pleasant. It is not improbable, therefore, that on this spot may be hereafter added the beauties of art to those which it derives from nature. For these advantages, and many more important ones, which will seriously contribute to their future prosperity, the inhabitants of this township will be indebted to the taste, good sense, and good principles of Mr. Law, almost the only person, I am sorry to say, who in directing the concerns of a new settlement has, within my knowledge, furnished occasion for remarks of this nature.

Meredith is in the fullest sense a new settlement. In the year 1800 it contained only 213 inhabitants; and, in the year 1810, 726. Peculiar efforts have been made by Mr. Law to introduce into this township sober, industrious, virtuous settlers. In this manner he has probably secured its prosperity, both moral and physical, for a century. Since the date of my journal the inhabitants have built an academy, in which they assemble for public worship.

In the morning we left Meredith, and passed through

* One has been dug since, which yields a tolerable supply of water.

Franklin, and a corner of Sidney, to Unadilla: twenty-eight miles. The first part of our road through Meredith, and the eastern part of Franklin, was almost wholly a forest. As soon as we left Meredith the hills began to be steep and rough, and the country to lose its beauty. From this forbidding tract we entered a settlement on the Ouleout, a handsome mill-stream, which is a branch of the Susquehannah. The valley through which it runs extends from east to west a considerable distance. The borders of the Ouleout are in a long succession formed by rich intervals, divided into meadow and arable, and covered alternately with a lively verdure, and good crops of maize, and other species of corn; the river winding through them with a course elegant and delightful. The settlement is for some miles a thinly built village, composed of neat, tidy houses. The inhabitants are Baptists and Presbyterians. One of these classes had raised, and was building, a church. Every thing on this spot indicated prosperity. From Meredith to this settlement the road descended with a disagreeable rapidity. Here we found it very pleasant. When we left this village it became again disagreeable. The rapid declension was renewed. The country wore a forbidding aspect. The hills were steep and shaggy; and the vallies narrow, rude, and lean. The houses, also, were thinly scattered; and many of them denoted great poverty. Both Franklin and Sidney are in the county of Delaware. In the year 1800, Franklin contained 1,390 inhabitants; and, in the year 1810, 1,708. Sidney, in the year 1810, contained 1,388.

When we arrived at the Susquehannah, we found the only innkeeper on the eastern side of the river unable to furnish us a dinner. To obtain this indispensable article, we were obliged, therefore, to cross the river. The ferry-boat was gone. The inhabitants had been some time employed in building a bridge; but it was unfinished, and impassable. There was nothing left us, therefore, but to cross a deep and rapid ford. Happily, the bottom was free from rocks and stones, and the passage from the danger, which we encountered in fording the Lower Amonoosuc; a stream of about the same breadth and depth as the Susquehannah at this place.

About four miles from the ferry we came to an inn, kept

by a Scotchman, named Hanna. Within this distance we called at several others; none of which could furnish us a dinner. I call them inns, because this name is given to them by the laws of the state; and because each of them hung out a sign, challenging this title. But the law has nicknamed them, and the signs are liars. It is said, and I suppose truly, that in this state any man, who will pay for an innkeeper's license, obtains one of course. In consequence of this practice, the number of houses, which bear the appellation, is already enormous. Too many of them are mere dram-shops; of no other use than to deceive, disappoint, and vex travellers, and to spread little circles of drunkenness throughout the state. The government probably derives from them a small pecuniary benefit; but the purpose, for which the license is given, is frustrated. No inquiries, if I am correctly informed, are made concerning the character of those, to whom they are distributed. Not a question is asked, whether they are able or unable to entertain travellers; whether they are men of fair reputation, or of none. No system is formed, no restrictions are prescribed. The object is left to chance, and the licenses are offered for sale, as goods, wares, and merchandize. The effects of this negligence in the government of the state are deplorable. A traveller, after passing from inn to inn in a tedious succession, finds that he can get nothing for his horse, and nothing for himself. At the same time he is molested, by night and by day, by a collection of dram-drinkers, who offend his eye by their drunkenness, and his ear with their profaneness and obscenity; while they prevent or disturb his sleep, by the noise and riot of their intoxication. In many parts of this state, whether the object of the traveller be food or lodging, he must diligently inquire, at a sufficient previous distance, for a comfortable place of entertainment; and must shorten or lengthen his journey, so as to suit these indispensable purposes.

If these evils resulted merely from the recent settlement of the country, they certainly ought to be borne without a complaint. Partially this is the cause. But they are chiefly owing to the multiplication of these houses, and to a criminal neglect of requiring the proper qualification, as an indispensable pre-requisite to giving the license. Were only one inn

permitted, where there are now five or six, proper houses might usually be selected, sufficient custom secured to enable the innkeeper to furnish the requisite accommodations, and the traveller find a supper and a lodging, where now he can obtain neither food nor sleep.

We at length procured a dinner, and finding no house at a proper distance where we could be lodged, concluded to stay where we were. Our fare was indeed bad enough, but we were sheltered from the weather. Our innkeeper, beside furnishing us with such other accommodations as his house afforded, added to it the pleasures of his company; and plainly considered himself as doing us no small favour. In that peculiar situation, in which the tongue vibrates with its utmost ease and celerity, he repeated to us a series of anecdotes, dull and vulgar in the extreme. Yet they all contained a seasoning, which was exquisite; for himself was in every case the hero of the tale; and the *merum sal* of Athens could not have been more delightful. To add to our amusement, he called for the poems of Allan Ramsay; and read several of them to us in what he declared to be the true Scottish pronunciation; laughing incessantly, and with great self-complacency, as he proceeded. For his ability to read in this manner I found he valued himself more than for any other characteristic; and he often declared to us, that he had found but one man in America, who could read the Scottish dialect as well as himself. The man, it seems, is a native American; and for this attainment only was held by our landlord in extravagant estimation. I never before saw a Scotchman, who did not possess a strong attachment to his native country. But our host appeared to value Scotland for no other reason than because it had given birth to so respectable a personage as himself.

The road, on which we had travelled since we left Kaatskill, is called the Susquehannah turnpike. It commences at Kaatskill, and terminates at Wattle's ferry; is well made, but passes over ground too uneven to be pleasant. A new turnpike road is begun from the ferry, and intended to join the great western road from Utica, either at Cayuga bridge, or Canandagua. This route will furnish a nearer journey to Niagara than that which is used at present.

The township of Sidney terminates at the river. That, in which we now were, is named Unadilla, and lies in the county of Otsego. It is composed of rough hills and vallies, with a handsome collection of intervals along the Susquehannah. On a remarkably ragged eminence, immediately north-west of the river, we saw the first oaks and chesnuts, after leaving the neighbourhood of Kaatskill. The intervening forests were beech, maple, &c. The houses in Unadilla were scattered along the road, which runs parallel with the river. The settlement is new, and appears like most others of a similar date. Rafts, containing each from twenty to twenty-five thousand feet of boards, are from this township floated down the Susquehannah to Baltimore. Unadilla contained, in 1800, 828 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,430.

Thursday, Sept. 27th, we left our inn, and rode through Oxford township, and No. 15 in Norwich, to the north line of No. 10 in the same township. I presume also we must have crossed a corner of Jericho, before we entered Oxford; but, as I am ignorant of the dividing line between these townships, may easily have mistaken this fact. The whole distance was thirty-one miles.

The first two miles of our road along the Susquehannah were tolerably good, and with a little labour capable of being excellent. We then crossed the Unadilla, a river somewhat smaller, but considerably longer, than the Susquehannah proper; quite as deep, and as difficult to be forded. Our course on this river was south-west. We then turned directly north along the banks of the Unadilla; and, travelling over a ragged hill, passed through a noble cluster of white pines; some of which, though not more than three feet in diameter, were, as I judged, not less than two hundred feet in height. No object in the vegetable world can be compared with this.

The way, which we were advised to take, was an obscure path, crossing a tract which lay in an acute angle, formed by the common road. We were assured, that we should save five miles out of ten of our distance. About five miles of our way we had no other than a horse track; with the aid of which we crossed two deep vallies and two lofty hills, the crest of them a mountainous height. Our path was alternately airy, rocky, and steep; so steep at times, as to oblige us to

lead our horses. To add to our trouble, we were several times at a loss concerning our road; and, the country being an absolute forest, were unable to inquire.

After descending the last of these hills we found the common road, on the margin of the river Chenango. Here we soon left the township of Oxford, and entered that of Norwich. In this part of our journey we passed through a corner of Jericho, and the whole breadth of Oxford; both of them in the county of Chenango. I have already exhibited the appearance of these townships in the parts through which we passed. The town of Oxford is built on the Chenango, four or five miles west of our course. It is said to be a pretty, flourishing village, of considerable size and business.

Oxford contained, in 1800, 1,405 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 2,983. Jericho contained, in 1800, 939 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 1,608.

Oxford is the shire town of this county*. The soil of the township appeared generally to be good.

The remainder of our journey lay within the township of Norwich. A township in this state, you will remember, is a very different thing from what the same word indicates in New-England. There it denotes a tract, often less, and not very frequently more, than six miles square. Here a township is most commonly a considerable extent of country. Windham, for instance, contains more than one-third of the county of Greene; and Batavia, almost the whole county of Genessee; a tract little less than the state of Connecticut. To this mode of division the present state of population gives birth. As inhabitants of townships, the people of this state are entitled to a great part of the privileges and subjected to a great part of the duties which belong to its citizens. For this reason, whenever a sufficient number of persons have planted themselves in a given tract, of such extent, that they can act without serious inconvenience in the proper business of a township, such a tract is incorporated for this purpose. When you read therefore, in these Letters, that a township in this state contains several thousand inhabitants; you will remember, that the ground occupied by them is in

most instances of sufficient extent to form several such townships as those in Connecticut or Massachusetts.

Norwich, through which lay the remainder of our journey this day, contains six squares and a large gore, or irregular tract, equal in the whole to seven New-England townships. The parts, through which we travelled, were Nos. 15 and 10. Our road passed wholly along the river Chenango; partly on intervals, and partly on the rising grounds, by which they were bordered. The surface was agreeable, and the road good.

This river is little less than the Susquehannah before its junction with the Unadilla, and of considerably greater length. It rises in Cazenovia; and, running a south-eastern, southern, and south-western course, unites, after receiving the Tioghmogha, with the Susquehannah, between the townships of Chenango and Union. It is a beautiful stream. Two ranges of hills run parallel with its course for a great distance. Between them spreads an expansion, composed partly of declivities and partly of intervals, extending, after we entered it, more than thirty miles in length, and from half a mile to two or three miles in breadth. Down the river it extends many miles farther. The part of this valley, through which we passed, particularly the first twenty miles, is much more beautiful than any other spot, which we saw in our journey, except the valley of the Mohawk. The intervals, especially, are possessed of all the elegance and fertility found in those, which lie far up Connecticut river. These fine grounds are devoted to the several objects of cultivation suited to the climate, and bountifully reward the labours of the husbandman. By the hills, which are of considerable height, handsomely varied in their summits, and in several places finely tufted with groves of white pine, this region is, to the eye, sequestered from the world. Like the vale of Cashmire, it seems capable of yielding, within itself, ample means of happiness to a great number of virtuous inhabitants. At a future period, when the population of these states shall be far advanced, men of intelligence and virtue may, perhaps, seek a retreat from the folly, bustle, and vice, which haunt the residence of wealth and splendour, in the beautiful vale of Chenango.

" We fared this day much better than the preceding.

: Norwich was incorporated in 1793. In 1800 the number of

its inhabitants was 2,219; in 1810, that part of it, which still retained the name, contained 2,550.

Tuesday morning, September 28th, we left Norwich and rode to Cazenovia, through the townships of Sherburne and Hamilton, pursuing our course along the Chenango to its head-waters, about sixteen miles. The settlements, here, seemed to have been little more than begun, and terminated soon after we left the Chenango in an absolute forest.

Before we left the valley, we crossed a tract of muddy road, such as I formerly described in the account of Littleton. After we ascended the hills, in which the Chenango finds its springs, we struggled through six or eight miles more; the mire being deep, and encumbered with roots and stones. These hills lie partly in Hamilton and partly in Cazenovia. They are rough and unpleasant. The soil, however, is good. The settlements are absolutely new, and the inhabitants are labouring under all the inconveniences and hardships attendant upon the difficult task of clearing a wilderness.

Sherburne contained, in 1800, 1,282; and, in 1810, 2,488 inhabitants. Hamilton contained, in 1800, 2,363; and, in 1810, 2,220 inhabitants.

Both these townships have, I suppose, been divided since the year 1800; and both, in tracts farther eastward, have considerable settlements. The county of Chenango, also, has been divided; and the northern division, including these townships, is named the county of Madison.

Within a few miles of the town of Cazenovia, the face of the country was suddenly changed. The steep hills and narrow vallies gave place to a succession of easy rising grounds and open expansions. To us this change was peculiarly pleasant. We were wearied by labouring down rapid descents and climbing steep acclivities; and our eyes, long straitened in their excursions, and tired by a confinement to the same disagreeable objects, were delighted with being able to expatiate over an extensive region. We also found the road better, and a chain of settlements continued to the town of Cazenovia. We arrived at sun-set.

The time was peculiarly unfortunate. A regiment of militia, collected from the surrounding country, had just been dismissed, after a review. Many of the officers and soldiers

had come from such a distance, that it was too late for them to return home. They had, therefore, taken lodgings here for the night. Tumult and disorder are incident to occasions of this nature; here they were increased by peculiar circumstances. The officers, lately commanding the regiment, were men of worth and reputation. They possessed also a considerable share of military skill, spirit, and ambition. Under their discipline the regiment had become distinguished for peculiar improvements in every part of the military character, and had prided itself not a little on this distinction. When these officers were displaced by the government of the state, all the noncommissioned officers in the regiment, as a testimony of their disgust, resigned their places; but their resignation was not accepted.

The newly appointed officers were of opposite politics, and as opposite characters. They were, as we were informed, destitute of all military knowledge, and ignorant even of the most ordinary exercise. When they first appeared upon the parade, the soldiers professed to be wholly unacquainted with their duty, and intentionally performed every manœuvre in the most awkward and improper manner. At length the officers, mortified beyond expression, besought them in terms of very humble supplication to do their duty. The soldiers replied, that if the officers would be so good as to teach them how it should be done, they would readily obey their instructions. This, however, the soldiers well knew they were unable to do. The evil was, therefore, without remedy.

The troop, attached to this regiment, a fine, volunteer company of young men, dressed in a handsome uniform, well accoutred and well mounted, refused absolutely to obey the new officers, and compelled the government of the state either to disband them, or continue their former officers in command. The latter part of the alternative the government chose as the less evil, not improbably because it would hazard the loss of the fewest votes. These men, therefore, still held their commissions, except, perhaps, the captain. At his house the troop had this day engaged a dinner. But when they found, that the field officers of the regiment were to dine at the same table, and to take precedency of their own officers, they withdrew to a man.

This little tale exhibits, in a clear light, the depraving efficacy of ambition on the minds of those, who are seized by the love of place and power. Nothing could more forcibly display the grovelling tendency of this character than the measures adopted by the government of the state on this occasion.

Such expedients as these rend asunder the sinews of government. Subjects cannot fail to discern in them the selfishness, injustice, and folly of their rulers. The law loses its dominion, and the government its utility. The contempt and reprobation, directed immediately to those who are appointed, are instinctively transferred to those who appoint, and from the officer to the law under which he acts. Besides, the concessions, here made by the magistrate, were made to revolt, and can terminate in nothing but the encouragement of disobedience. The government, which thus yields, will soon be obliged to yield regularly, and at no great distance of time will be a government in name only.

I shall not now descant on the morality and policy of rewarding with offices of trust and profit those, who are of our party, merely because they are of our party; or those, who support our political advancement, merely because they support it. This subject I may, perhaps, resume at another time. At present I shall only observe, that it is a prostitution alike of principle and decency, and that within a moderate period it may subvert the freedom of any country.

We arrived when the confusion, to which I have alluded, was at its height, and found the only inns in the town pre-occupied. Mr. B——, a respectable inhabitant of this town, having become acquainted with our situation, very politely invited us to his house, where we found every proof of refined hospitality, and spent the evening in the company of intelligent, friendly, and well-bred gentlemen.

The town of Cazenovia is a pretty settlement, built on the south-eastern quarter of a small lake, bearing the same name. This beautiful piece of water is about four miles in length from north to south, and from half to perhaps three-quarters of a mile in breadth. A mill-stream enters it at the southern end, and, passing through it, carries its waters onward to the Oneida lake. It is principally supplied by subjacent springs. Its temperature is, therefore, cool, and its waters are salubrious.

The houses in this town are chiefly built on a single street, running from east to west. Generally they are decent, and some of them neat. Colonel Lincklaen, a native of Holland, and agent of what is here called the Holland company, has built a handsome seat with pretty appendages on the eastern border of the lake.

By this gentleman I was informed, that a considerable part of the lands, which had been sold under his agency, had already gone through the hands of several successive proprietors. What is true of these lands is extensively true of the whole of what is called the western country of this state: the persons, by whom these lands are purchased, have, in many instances, been of the class, which I have mentioned before as pioneers, or foresters. The character of these people, and the manner in which they conduct the business of forming plantations in the wilderness, I have heretofore exhibited. To that exhibition I shall add nothing here, except, that when they have sold their first farm they purchase and sell, in the same manner, a second, a third, and sometimes a fourth; and that their progress from east to west removes, and has already removed them, from New-England to New-York, from New-York to the state of Ohio, and from the state of Ohio to Louisiana. In this manner the strong columns of civilized men regularly push before them these Arabian troops; and will, at no great distance of time, follow them to the Pacific Ocean.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Holland Company. Face of the Country from Sullivan to Canandagua. Manlius. Varieties of Names given to Townships. Onondaga. Salt Springs. Marcellus. Early Fall of Snow. Skeneateles Lake. Aurelius. Cayuga Bridge. Account of Lakes in this Region. Junius. Geneva. Seneca Lake.

DEAR SIR;

THE Holland company originally purchased in this vicinity 60,000 acres of land; a large tract in the neighbourhood of Whitesborough, lying about fifty miles north-eastward from Cazenovia; and almost the whole county of Genesee, at the western end of this state. I have already mentioned, that they have also made a considerable purchase in the western parts of Pennsylvania. Their whole possessions in these two states are considerably more extensive than Connecticut.

Saturday, September 29th, we left our hospitable friends at Cazenovia, and proceeded through the townships of Manlius and Onondaga to Marcellus: thirty-one miles. For three miles our road lay along the beautiful lake, which I have mentioned, and was very pleasant. It ought to be remarked, that the fever and ague is here unknown: and that the soil of this neighbourhood is rich.

The Cazenovia road joins the western turnpike, as it is here called (that is, the great road from Utica to Canandagua), at the distance of four miles; and in the centre of a pretty settlement, in the township of Manlius. Here our travelling inconveniences chiefly vanished. The road was excellent, the surface smooth, and the settlement, though nearly of the same date, was much farther advanced. The houses were better, and were surrounded with more conveniences. Fruit trees

also abounded, and among them the peach, growing and bearing with the utmost luxuriance. Indeed from Cazenovia onward the appearance of the country differed less from that of the ancient settlements in New-England than from that of the country through which we had lately passed. Still there are intermingled many proofs, that it had been recently settled.

The houses, visible from this road, generally stand on its sides, and have been built within the last fifteen years; most of them, indeed, within ten. The changes, made here during this period, are greater than any person who has not been an eye-witness of them will believe; and greater, I suspect, than any which have taken place in the United States during an equal length of time. I think it may be fairly questioned whether they have ever been paralleled in the world.

As this country differs materially from any other through which I have passed; it will be necessary to exhibit it in a general description; particularly, because an extensive sameness spreads over it, and few of those distinctive features, which divide other tracts into minuter portions, are found here.

The surface from Sullivan to the western limit of Canadagua (beyond which a sensible alteration begins) is made up of hills, vallies, and plains*. In this description I include about twenty miles on each side of the road, so far as that extent was visible on our route. Throughout the whole tract I do not remember a single mountain, except two or three, of a moderate height, at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles on the south. None of the hills are high; nor are they, except in very few instances, of a rapid ascent. Each hill may be conceived of in the following manner. When you ascend from a valley to the top, you behold a vast plain spread before you, and on both hands, where the view is uninterrupted except by forests. These plains are not indeed without inequalities; but they are such as make little impression on the eye. The traveller passes over them with sensations, differing very little from those, which are excited by a surface absolutely level; and they often extend from six or eight to twelve or fourteen miles. Descending into a valley he finds a long

* Sullivan is immediately north of Cazenovia, and east of Manlius.

continued hollow, reaching in length a great distance, and in its appearance semi-cylindrical, except that it is flattened at the bottom. The heights of the hills on either side are limited by a line nearly horizontal, exactly resemble each other, and stretch many miles north and south of the road. As he passes onward day after day, he will find the streams, the lakes, and the villages, to be almost the only variations from this picture. Not an interval, except in two spots, not an arched or pointed summit, a round or conical hill, a cliff or a precipice, was visible, from Utica to Buffaloe Creek; a distance of two hundred miles; except a small tract of undulating country in Bloomfield and Charleston, to be mentioned hereafter. The traveller can, therefore, find no difficulties presented by the surface; nor the farmer any serious hindrances to his cultivation. But the man of taste will find those varieties wanting, which have delighted his eye in other regions; and the poet and the painter will seek in vain for those objects, which they have been accustomed to behold under the influence of fascination; and to depict with enthusiasm and rapture. The phrase, "beautiful country," as used here, means appropriately, and almost only, lands suited to the purposes of husbandry; and has scarcely a remote reference to beauty of landscape. When we first entered this region, after having escaped from the rude hills, which surround the head-waters of the Chenango, we were not a little gratified; but before we had travelled in it a single day, it became dull and wearisome.

Of the progress, which has been made in settling this country, you may form tolerably correct apprehensions from the following account. There are a few instances, in which the forests extend on the road four, five, and six miles. On the Seneca river we found one spreading perhaps seven or eight. Frequently they occupy small distances. The settlements are either villages, hamlets, or long continued lines of farm-houses, distant from each other an eighth, a fourth, a half, and sometimes three-fourths of a mile. The villages are few; the hamlets are more numerous; but the extent is chiefly occupied by these lines of farm-houses. There is nothing, which can be called a town; except Geneva and Canadagua.

The houses throughout this tract are almost universally of wood; many of one, and many of two stories. A great num-

er of them are decent buildings; many are neat; and some are handsome. Taken together, they exceeded my most sanguine expectations.

On the borders of a mill-stream, and around the mill erected upon it, there is regularly a small cluster of houses. Three such streams water the township of Manlius. The road is lined with farms and houses throughout. The soil is good, and the fields are in a good state of cultivation.

Manlius was incorporated in 1794, and is the first township in this quarter belonging to the county of Onondaga; and in this quarter, also, the first of those called the military townships. These, composing the three counties of Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, contain a million and a half of acres; and were given, after the close of the revolutionary war, to the officers and soldiers belonging to the state of New-York. The number of these townships is twenty-five, and each contains sixty thousand acres. Within them, however, are two considerable reservations: one belonging to the Onondaga, and the other to the Cayuga Indians. This tract, generally considered, is one of the best in the western country.

There is something singular, and I think ludicrous, in the names given to townships in different parts of this country. In the tract under consideration, they are chiefly derived from ancient heroes. This may be considered as characteristic of the nature of the grant, and the spirit of those to whom it was made. To exhibit their love of learning and wisdom, they have added to these the names of Solon, Tully, Locke, Cato, Cicero, and Galen; and, to evince their taste for poetry, they have annexed those of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, Milton, and Dryden. In the county of Tioga, which lies directly south of the military tract, we are presented with a new set of names; such as Oghquaga, Chenango, Tioga, Owego, Chemung, &c. In the county of Oneida we find the names of Arcadia, Hybla, Penelope, Lucretia, Pomona, Flora, and Boreabella; and in the county of Herkimer, immediately east of that, we have Unanimity, Frugality, Perseverance, Sobriety, Enterprise, Industry, Economy, and Regularity. In the county of St. Lawrence, north of these, we find another set: Kilkenny, Killarney, Kildare, Ballybeen, Ennis, St. Patrick, and Crumack. In another spot, still, we have the following

cluster: Coeyman's, Guilderlandt, Watervliet, Boght, Cox-sackie, Cobblehill, and Schoharie. I think you will agree with me, that all these could not have come together by any common means, nor in the exercise of that ingenuity which falls to the share of ordinary men.

Manlius contained, in the year 1800, 989 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 3,821.

The township of Onondaga is composed of a remarkable valley, called Onondaga Hollow, and the flat hills on both sides. On the eastern elevation the soil is inferior to that of Manlius; and, what we had not seen since we left Uradilla, is covered with a forest of oaks.

Onondaga Hollow is a deep valley, or, to describe it more exactly, a plain, sunk far below the level of the bordering country. The limit, at the base of the hills on each side, is almost absolutely straight, and therefore remote from beauty. The bottom is a level, nearly perfect; and was originally a lean, shrub oak plain. Its breadth is more than three-fourths of a mile. On the south it has a boundary of distant hills; on the north it is unlimited. Through the middle of it runs Onondaga creek, which empties its waters into a lake bearing the same name, and is here crossed on a good bridge. What is singular in this country, it is bordered for a considerable distance by two narrow, ribbon-like intervals.

Within this township are the celebrated springs, called the Onondaga salt springs; scarcely rivalled in the world, if they are at all rivalled, in their utility to mankind. These springs rise in a marsh at the head of Onondaga lake, sometimes called from them the Salt lake*. This piece of water is about seven miles long, and, where widest, three broad. It is very deep. The water on the surface is perfectly fresh, but at a moderate distance beneath is salt. The cause of this fact is obvious: the lake receives its waters from both fresh and salt sources; and the salt water, being specifically heavier, subsides. According to Dr. De Witt's estimate, taking the specific gravity of rain water at 1, that of these springs is from

* This account of the salt springs I have derived from a memoir of Benjamin De Witt, Esq. M. D., and from the verbal information of Mr. Byington, of the company of Wood and Byington, principal occupants of the salt works at this time (1804).

1.078 to 1.110. The temperature is from 50° to 53°; and that of the lightest and the heaviest was the same.

The water of these springs is remarkably impregnated with salt. Fifty gallons yield, by boiling, a bushel of salt, weighing fifty-six pounds. It contains a considerable quantity of lime.

The head of the lake is surrounded for some distance by marshy ground, interspersed with a few trees and bushes, and abounding in flags and wild grass. The salt-springs issue chiefly from the marsh, near the banks by which it is enclosed, and at various distances from the waters of the lake. The principal springs, which are most highly impregnated with salt, and which supply the greater number of the manufactories at present established, issue from the marsh in a group, at the foot of the declivity commonly called the Salt Point, near the spot where the Onondaga creek joins the lake. On this point is built the village of Salina. There are many other salt springs in different parts of the marsh, some along the shores of the lake, several miles farther down, and others at a considerable distance up the creek. All these are not, however, equally replenished with this mineral.

These springs issue perpendicularly from the marsh through small orifices. The water is conveyed into cisterns, and thence into potash kettles, containing generally about eighty gallons, and placed over furnaces. When they are filled they are made to boil briskly, until the lime is deposited and removed. The salt then begins to crystallize, and the boiling is suffered to proceed gently, until the water is chiefly evaporated. The salt is then taken out, and drained dry.

Dr. De Witt obtained, from half a pint of this water, 1½ oz. avoirdupois of salt, and 26 gr. of calcareous earth. A gallon of the water, therefore, contains 8,816 gr., or 20 oz. and 76 gr. of salt, and 416 gr. of calcareous earth. According to this experiment, this water contains more than one-sixth of its own weight in salt. It also includes carbonic acid gas, and a small quantity of the sulphuric acid.

Mr. Byington informed me, that the customary estimate of the salt, actually obtained in the works, was fifty-six pounds of salt from fifty gallons of water. This is believed to be the strongest natural brine hitherto found in the world. Dr. De

Witt supposed the water to be impregnated almost to saturation. Mr. Byington told me, that salt could not be dissolved in it, except in exceedingly small quantities.

The latter of these gentlemen also informed me, that the quantity of salt made in the year 1803 amounted to 96,000 bushels, and that in 1804 it would extend to 100,000. A duty of four cents on the bushel is paid to the state.

This salt is forbidden by law to be sold for more than sixty cents per bushel. Notwithstanding the expense of transportation, therefore, it is obtained on very moderate terms by all the inhabitants of the western country, even at the greatest distance. Nor is this all: the regions round the lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, are supplied with salt from these springs. Even this is not all: Messrs. Wood and Byington have contracted to furnish the merchants in Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) with four thousand barrels, containing five bushels each, in the years 1805, 1806, and 1807. This is to be delivered by the contractors at Oswego, near the south-eastern corner of Lake Ontario. The transportation from the springs to this place is wholly by water, except twenty yards. At Oswego it will be shipped for Queenstown, and thence conveyed by land eight miles to Chippewa. There it will be shipped again for Presque Isle, on the south-eastern shore of Lake Erie. Thence it will be transported by land to Le Bœuf, by a portage of fifteen miles; and thence, by French creek and Alleghany river, to Pittsburgh. From Pittsburgh it will be conveyed as far as the falls of the Ohio, for the general supply of the inhabitants on both sides of that river.

From these facts you will learn the importance of these springs; and will naturally ask, whether they are so copious as to supply such an extent of country; especially when it shall be generally inhabited? I answer, without hesitation, that the quantity of water is sufficient for the whole of the tract to which I have referred. The deficiency, if it exist, will not be found in the quantity of water, but in the difficulty of manufacturing it into salt. This is accomplished by boiling; and demands, even on the present scale, a very great quantity of fuel. The wood in the vicinity is already consumed, and must even now be transported from a distance, which very seriously enhances the expense of the process. Should the

not be pursued, therefore, for any great length of time, as the quantity of the salt itself must be materially increased. I proposed to Mr. Byington to adopt the process in use on the peninsula of Cape Cod, and formerly described in these papers. After I had explained it, he was so well satisfied of its expediency, that he determined to put it in practice. Whether the attempt has been made, I am ignorant. The great obstacle to its success, within my knowledge, is the occasional wetness of the seasons in this region. But allowing due consideration all the importance which it could claim, I am convinced, that it will prove much more convenient, safer, and less expensive, than the present mode. One of the greatest evils, attending this business, is the unhealthiness of the tract bordering on the springs. One period of the year is proverbially styled here *the sickly season*; at that time a considerable number of the workmen die annually. This evil is attended, and probably increased, by another; *viz.* the excessive consumption of ardent spirits by the workmen. From a long experience, that these furnish the greatest security against the effects of the climate, these unhappy people use them so freely, as in considerable numbers to become drunkards. The sickness of this spot is rationally believed to flow from the impurity of the waters in the marsh. These are salt waters diluted by fresh; a compound which in the hot season becomes more suddenly and entirely putrid, than either of the ingredients would be if unmixed. The smell in the warm season is very offensive, and fills the atmosphere of the vicinity. The diseases, which prevail here, are the fever and ague in spring, and the bilious remittent in the autumn. It is a very unhappy reflection, that so much vice, and so great a waste of human life, should be incident to the acquisition of this very valuable article. Should the other process be adopted, a great saving of the hands now employed, and a sixth part of the expense of these would probably compass the object. On these accounts the exposure would be proportionally less; and the vice would undoubtedly be lessened with the extension of the business. The mines, from which these springs derive their salt, must be near; otherwise they would be more diluted with the water of other subterranean streams. The attempts

made to explore them have, however, furnished no prospect of obtaining the salt in mass.

Other salt-springs of considerable importance have been discovered in different parts of this state, viz. in the counties of Cayuga, Seneca, Ontario, and Genesee. The quantity of salt furnished by all these sources, in 1811, was the following:—

	Bushels.
Onondaga	453,840
Cayuga	54,000
Seneca	25,000
Ontario	8,760
Genesee	1,400
	543,000

This quantity, allowing three bushels to each, will furnish salt for 181,000 families; or, supposing six persons in each family, for 1,086,000 persons.

The tract, surrounding the Onondaga salt springs, is now formed into a township, called Salina, which contained, in 1810, 1,299 inhabitants.

We found a small number of houses in Onondaga Hollow.

The hill on the west of the valley is higher and steeper than any between Albany and the falls of Niagara. The soil on the height is clay; and is said to yield wheat better than the rich loam, so generally found throughout this country. Here, a little north of the road, stands the court-house of this county. It was designed to be a pretty building; but being unfinished, and standing in a solitary situation, has a gloomy aspect. The brow of the hill presents to the view of the traveller Onondaga and Oneida lakes, and the country, by which they are surrounded.

Onondaga is said to have been the principal settlement of the Iroquois; and to have been considered by them as a kind of metropolis.

The township of Onondaga contained, in 1800, 893 inhabitants; and the present township, in 1810, 3,775. The whole township, including Salina, contained, at the latter date, 5,074.

Marcellus, the next township, exhibits little to the eye of the traveller to distinguish it from the country in its neigh-

neighbourhood. The land here is however superior to most in this region; and produces all the grains and grasses of the climate in abundance. Wheat has yielded forty-five bushels an acre; maize, from seventy to eighty; and oats seventy. Oats on an average grow to the height of five feet, and yield fifty bushels. The central settlement on this road is thrifty and handsome. The inhabitants have erected a well-appearing Presbyterian church; and are labouring with a commendable spirit to obtain a minister. On the morning of September 20th, we were not a little surprised to find the ground entirely covered with snow, to the depth of an inch where it was least dissolved, and the shower still falling. This was a sight which no person in the township had ever seen at the same season of the year. We attended public worship; and suffered from the cold more than on most sabbaths in the winter. The congregation were decent to an edifying degree; and, it seems, assemble every sabbath, whether a preacher be present or not: some of the graver members of the church in the latter case making the prayers, and reading a sermon. This, though very common in New-England, was hardly expected by us here; but is one desirable proof, among many, of the happy influence of the institutions, under which they have been educated. A general spirit of decency, sobriety, and good order, is here very plainly characteristic. Religion is revered, and the sabbath regarded as a day consecrated to God.

Around the church there is a prosperous settlement formed in a valley, which is watered by a sprightly mill-stream, called Nine-mile creek. This stream conveys the waters of Otisco lake in the south-eastern corner of Marcellus into that of Onondaga, and furnishes a considerable number of valuable mill-seats.

In the year 1800, Marcellus contained 909 inhabitants; and, in the year 1810, 4,735.

On Monday, October 1st, we left our inn, very well pleased with our entertainment; and rode through the remaining part of Marcellus, and through Aurelius, and Junius, to Geneva: thirty miles. The country exhibited a similar face to that through which we had lately passed. The hills and vallies, however, returned more frequently; and the declivities were longer and steeper before, than we found them on this day's journey. In the western part of Marcellus there is a beau-

tiful lake, named Skeneateles; commencing in the township of Tully, crossing the corner of Sempronius, and reaching through a considerable part of Marcellus. Its length is fifteen miles; and its breadth from one to two. At the outlet of this fine piece of water, sprightly and vigorous, running between high and rough banks, and without any of those marshy incumbrances, which spread deformity and disease around the outlets of so many lakes in this region, there is a small settlement, which I thought peculiarly pretty. It is built upon the north end of the lake, and upon a handsome, clean margin. The lake is in full view, and interested me more than any other on this road. The shores on both sides are elegant, arched slopes; the eastern, already handsomely cultivated. The soil is excellent, and the fields were covered with a glowing verdure. At the south end of the lake the prospect is limited by distant mountains; in this region uncommon, and therefore peculiarly gratifying objects.

The township of Aurelius, which lies immediately west of Marcellus, wears the same general appearance. The inhabitants are visibly prosperous; and, what is uncommon here, have settled a clergyman. This gentleman will not, I think, die for want of exercise. His cure comprehends probably seven or eighty thousand acres; and he preaches successively at four different stations*.

We dined at Cayuga bridge, where there is a hamlet, consisting of three very good, and eight or ten indifferent houses. Its situation is pleasant; commanding a fine view of Cayuga lake, and the country on its borders.

The bridge over this lake, considering the recency of the settlements, may be justly styled a stupendous erection; and is probably the longest work of the kind in the United States, the planking being no less than a mile in length†. It is built on wooden trestles, in the plainest and most ordinary manner; and exhibits nothing to strike the eye, except its length. It is said to have cost 20,000 dollars, and to be the property of a Mr. Swartwout of New-York. The toll is a quarter of a

* The large and flourishing village of Auburn has been wholly built since the date of this journey. It is within the limits of what was then Aurelius.—*Pub.*

† The new Boston bridge is commonly said to be longer; but the application of "bridge" is there given to two bridges, and as many causeys.

for man and horse ; the highest, I believe, in the United States, if we consider the amount of the capital, and the expense of travelling.

The appearance of Cayuga lake, except that there is no outlet, is exactly that of a great river. Its length is thirty-miles ; and, if we include its windings, not far from forty.

The water is clean. The banks are of a moderate elevation, sloping, and, so far as the eye can reach, wholly cleared, except at this little settlement, by a forest.

We have already mentioned several of these lakes. You may perhaps wish to have a general account of them. The whole number in the western country is nineteen ; of which fifteen discharge their waters into the great lake Ontario. Two of these, viz. Otsego and Caniaderago, are the head-waters of the Seneca river, or Seneca proper. A third, Mud lake, is one of the head-waters of the Tioga. A fourth, Chataughque, is the principal head-water of Conewango creek ; one of the head-waters of the Seneca river. The first fifteen, beginning with the easternmost, and proceeding onward to the westernmost, are the following :—

Names.	Length.	Breadth.
Seneca	20 miles.	6 miles.
Seneca	4	0½
Seneca	7	3
Seneca	4	1½
Seneca	15	2
Seneca	5	3
Seneca	11	2
Seneca	38	4
Seneca	35	4
Seneca	20	2
Seneca	15	2
Seneca, or Honeoye	6	2
Seneca	3	1
Seneca	7	3
Seneca	8	3
Seneca	10	3
Seneca	5	2
Seneca	15	2½
Seneca	5	1

To these if we add Long lake (of which, however, I know nothing but the name, and that it is said to lie in the county of Ontario), the number will be twenty. You will observe, I have given the greatest length and breadth of each. The first fifteen empty their waters into Lake Ontario by two channels. Of these the first eleven find a common passage in Oswego river; the remaining four by the Genesee. Crooked lake enters the Seneca by a small stream. The Seneca river carries their united waters into Cayuga river, just at the outlet. The Canandagua meets it farther down; as do the Owasco and Skeneateles still farther. Cross lake is a bason, formed by the common stream below the junction of the Skeneateles. The Onondaga unites with it about twenty miles still lower; and the Oneida, after receiving the waters of the Cazenovia, ten miles lower still. All these waters are considered here as received by the Seneca river, until their junction with the Onondaga. After this the common stream is known by the name of Onondaga or Oswego river, which is navigable for boats about seventy miles. At a future day, it is probable, that through this channel a considerable commerce will be carried on down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence with Montreal, whenever that city shall become the seat of regular and extensive business. Canandagua, Seneca, Cayuga, and Oneida, are already useful channels of internal intercourse to the inhabitants on their shores, particularly for the transportation of lumber and wheat.

These lakes are important additions to the beauty of the country. All those, which I have seen, are handsome. How far they contribute to health or disease, it is difficult to determine. The lakes themselves, I suspect, are salubrious. Several of their outlets are, however, evidently noxious.

This is certainly true of the Cayuga outlet; which, together with some others, is marshy and disagreeable to the eye. The families at the bridge, though living on high and clean grounds, are, between the middle of August and the middle of October, exposed, as they informed me, to fevers, especially to bilious remittents. We found some of them very ill at our arrival. As the settlement lies south-eastward of this marshy ground, I was surprised to find this mentioned as the cause of the evil. In Connecticut, persons living at a small distance, on

the southern side of stagnant waters, are rarely injured by them; while those, who live at considerably greater distances on the northern side, particularly the north-eastern, are apt to be sickly at this season of the year. The reason is; the southern winds, particularly the south-western, blow in that state, with little interruption, throughout the summer half of the year. My surprise ceased when I was informed, that the north-western winds blow almost continually throughout the same season in this region, and therefore waft the miasmata of the marsh directly to this cluster of houses.

In the township of Aurelius there were, in 1800, 3,312 inhabitants; and, in 1810, 4,642.

The Lake Owasco lies almost equally in this township and Scipio.

After we had crossed the bridge, we entered the township of Junius; and, travelling through a thinly settled and uninhabited country about three miles, came to the Seneca river, a large, sprightly mill-stream of remarkably pure, transparent water. Here we found a small and poor settlement. The remaining distance to Geneva, about seven or eight miles, is a forest. The soil is a hard clay, producing scattered and tinted oaks. Here also we found, in two or three spots, the only white pines since we left the Chenango. The whole aspect is dull and forbidding.

Two or three miles east from Geneva we left the turnpike, and directed our course to the Seneca lake. On the north end of this beautiful water, strongly resembling Lake George in its elegant, pellucid appearance, the waves, agitated by the south wind, have thrown up a hard beach, consisting wholly of small pebbles, about six feet in height, and two rods in breadth. A better road and a pleasanter ride can scarcely be imagined, that is, in a country so destitute of cultivation. The outlet of the lake, which is the commencement of Seneca river, is bordered by a low, marshy, dismal ground, a copy of the scene of those, concerning which Ossian says, that their mist is "the dart of Death."

Geneva stands at the north-west corner of the Seneca lake. The town is partly built on the acclivity by which it is entered from the east, and partly on a single street, running north and south along the summit of the hill, the most beautiful eminence, I think, for the site of a town which I ever beheld.

The street is about a mile in length, and from 150 to 200 feet in breadth. The surface is an easy, obtuse, elegant arch, and at the highest point elevated about 200 feet above the lake. The houses are chiefly built on the western side, the lands on the eastern being devoted to gardens, declining to the water, and forming a very ornamental part of the landscape. The houses on the acclivity, and at its foot, are generally very indifferent, as are also a number of those on the hill. There are a few pretty buildings, a considerable number of decent ones, and, what is remarkable, as the town is scarcely of sixteen years' standing, a number well advanced in decay. This fact is partly accounted for by the negligence of the proprietors, and still more by the slight, imperfect manner of building, which to a great extent prevails throughout this region. The prospect from the street is more attractive than any other in this part of the state. The lake is the most beautiful piece of water west of the Hudson. The shores on both sides are handsome rising grounds, covered, like those of the Cayuga, with a rich forest. The south-eastern view is terminated at a great distance by a mountain of considerable length and moderate height, which, though exhibiting a straight, uniform summit, adds here an interesting variety to the landscape. The whole aspect is remarkably cheerful and pleasant, and is warmly commended by every traveller. Fortunately, the disagreeable buildings and marshy grounds which I have mentioned are chiefly out of sight.

Geneva is a settlement, formed by Major Williamson. The spot was pitched upon, both as an object of taste and a theatre of business. Hitherto, the latter part of the design has, however, failed. There are several stores and mechanics' shops, and a considerable distillery in the list of its buildings. But the general aspect of business is dull and lifeless.

A respectable clergyman is settled here, who preaches half the time to the inhabitants, and is employed the other half, as a missionary in the surrounding country, by the general assembly of the Presbyterian church.

There are about seventy houses in this village. It lies in the township of Seneca, which, in the year 1800, contained 1,522 inhabitants; and, in 1810; 3,431.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Easton. Canandagua. Bloomfield. Charlestown. Hartford. Genesee River. Genesee Flats. Oak Plains. Their peculiar Appearance, owing to Fires kindled by the Indians. Their Soil productive. County of Genesee. Buffaloe. View of the Lake, &c. Beautiful Collection of Clouds.

DEAR SIR;

TUESDAY, October 2d, we left Geneva in the morning, and rode to Bloomfield through Easton and Canandagua: twenty-one miles. In Easton we saw nothing remarkable, except that the forests to a considerable extent were composed of oaks. This township contained, in the year 1800, 476 inhabitants.

The township of Canandagua lies chiefly on the western side of the lake, heretofore mentioned as bearing this name, and in the centre of the county of Ontario.

The town of Canandagua* is built chiefly on a single street, formed along the great road. Its site is partly an easy, handsome acclivity, and partly an elevated level, at its termination. The situation is inferior in beauty to that of Geneva. The town itself is greatly superior. The houses are remarkably good; in a better style than that of most older settlements, and at the same time are not defaced by any appearances of decay. The inhabitants are without a church, but have settled a respectable clergyman. A good building is erected here for an academy, on a very pleasant elevation. It is not yet completed, but so far advanced, that it is intended to establish a

* This name was formerly written Canandargue, and is now commonly written Canandaigua. Both modes are erroneous. The Iroquois have in no other case used the diphthong ai.

school in it the ensuing winter. This building was erected by several public-spirited individuals, who have endowed the institution with funds, consisting chiefly of lands, continually increasing in their value, and, as is said, already worth 40,000 dollars. It is under the management of a board of trustees.

The stores in this town are more numerous, and the mercantile business more extensive, than in any other west of Utica. At present it is the resort of the whole surrounding country. How long it will retain this advantage cannot be foreseen. Trade, everywhere fluctuating in some degree, is in a newly settled country always ready to shift its residence. The inhabitants of Canandagua have availed themselves of their present advantages. A general spirit of industry and activity is everywhere visible, and the whole town wears a very cheerful appearance of thrift and prosperity.

The state of society is in several respects superior to what is found in any part of this country west of Whitesborough. The disadvantages, attendant upon recency of settlement, undoubtedly exist, but in a less degree than in any other place which we had visited on this journey,

The soil also is excellent, and yields abundantly the various produce of the climate. I never saw fruit trees more luxuriant. The late peaches were not gathered; and of many trees, which I examined in the garden of Dr. Williams, there was not one, the boughs of which were not either bent quite to the ground, or broken by the load of fruit. Plums, apricots, and apples, all prosper with a similar luxuriance. Some of the peaches which I tasted were finely flavoured. General Taylor, an inhabitant of this town, was supposed to have in his orchard 1,100 bushels of peaches. Some persons have begun to distil the juice of this fruit into brandy.

The enemies, which attack these fruits in many of the ancient settlements, such as the peach worm, the canker worm, the rose bug, and the caterpillar, together with several sorts of flies, some of which sting the fruit, and others the twigs, of the more delicate fruit trees, have not yet made their appearance. Accordingly they all, even the nectarine, are cultivated with entire success. It is to be regretted, that these enemies, which make a regular progress wherever man provides them with food, will at no great distance of time ravage

ens and orchards of this region, as they have long
se of others.

Madagua is the shire town of this county. In the court-
a decent building, the inhabitants hold their public

Madagua lake is a fine piece of water. At the north
is deformed by a marshy outlet, and a margin of bul-
nut it generally has a sprightly, beautiful aspect. The
resemble those of the Seneca, but are furnished with
nature of having several points on both sides, which
handsomely into the water. The southern limit is
ly formed by distant mountains. In the year 1800,
township contained 1,158 inhabitants; and, in 1810,

Bloomfield, the next township to Canandagua, is large, con-
sists of four squares, through the two southernmost of which
our road. This tract is generally a collection of hills
and ridges, resembling in a good degree those in Connecticut,
and in long continuations, or ranges, like all the preceding
from Manlius to this township, but assuming many
of form, and therefore, to us at least, particularly
. In these hills the inhabitants are furnished with the
best article of stone for building and fencing. The soil,
consists of loam with gravel, is excellent, and produces
very well suited to the climate.

The forests of Bloomfield are composed of oak, and in some
places of chesnut and hickory, together with maple, beech,
&c., this tract yielding all the variety of timber found in
the northern parts of New-England. The oak which grows
here and which is the most valuable production of the forest,
is straight, tall, and easily riven. A great part of the fields
are enclosed with rails made of this timber; and the inhabitants
think it will not fall very far short of the chesnut in resisting
the effects of the weather. Of this, however, they cannot be
entirely satisfied judges, because their experience has extended
only through the short period of ten or twelve years. Even if
they could be disappointed in their expectations, many of
them will be able to form their enclosures of stone. In both
respects they are distinguished from most of the people of this

Lands in this township have yielded fifty bushels of wheat an acre.

Bloomfield is also not less distinguished from all the preceding country by a succession of brooks and springs, watering the farms of the inhabitants as in New-England. A stream, called Mud creek, on which there are several pretty intervals, waters the whole of the eastern side of this township. Another, which is the outlet of Hemlock, Little, and Hanyaya lakes, passes through both of the western divisions, and thence joins the Genesee river in the township of Hartford. A third rises in the centre of Bloomfield, and, running northward through Northfield, discharges itself into Irundequot bay, on the southern border of Lake Ontario. By these streams the inhabitants are very conveniently furnished with mill-seats. A similar supply of water, for the various purposes of life, is not often found in the western counties of this state.

Bloomfield is wholly divided into farms, and contains three congregations. In two of these clergymen are settled. The third has lately built a beautiful church, the handsomest I met with westward of Albany.

A part of Bloomfield is the easternmost of those grounds, which, for reasons hereafter to be mentioned, are denominated Oak Plains. Charlestown, and a part of Hartford, are included in this tract.

In the year 1800, Bloomfield contained 1,940 inhabitants, and, in 1810, 4,425.

The next morning we left our friends at Bloomfield, and being furnished with fresh horses, rode through the remaining part of this township, Charlestown and Hartford, to Genesee river; and beyond that river nineteen miles to Bemis's inn, the township of Southampton: thirty-eight miles. The Rev. Mr. F., of Canandagua, joined us at Bloomfield.

Charlestown, and the uplands in Hartford, generally resemble those in Bloomfield. The settlements in the former these townships are of about the same standing, but the country is to my eye less pleasant and less fertile. The settlements in Hartford are more recent, so far as we saw them than those in Charlestown; and both the soil and the surface are visibly inferior.

Genesee river, by which Hartford is bounded on the west

rises in Pennsylvania, a little south of its northern boundary, and near the middle point of its length from east to west. In the near neighbourhood of its fountains rise the head-waters of the Alleghany river, the Tioga, and the Sinnemahoning, branches of the Susquehannah. The Genesee, after entering the state of New-York, runs about thirty miles north-westward, and thence north-eastward in a winding course about seventy more. After crossing the state of New-York, and separating the counties of Steuben and Ontario from the county of Genesee, it discharges its waters into Lake Ontario, at a small distance westward of Irundequot bay. In its course it passes over three sets of falls, said to form a descent of one hundred and eighty feet in the whole. Where we crossed this river in Hartford, we found it about the size of the Susquehannah and Unadilla, and a dull, disagreeable stream.

On this river are the Genesee flats, large and very rich intervals, the boast of the inhabitants, and, in my opinion without reason, the envy of their neighbours. These lands are not unfrequently considered by the people of the western country as the best in the Atlantic states, and perhaps in the world. The quantity of land, which they include, I am unable to ascertain, but it may amount, perhaps, to 30,000 acres, a greater quantity than that on any other river of the same size within my knowledge.

The soil of these lands, where we crossed them, is the same with that of most other new grounds in this and other regions, *viz.* a black, vegetable mould. Beneath this is a deep stratum, formed by the finer particles of loam, washed from the hills surrounding the head-waters of its tributaries, and floated down and deposited by the river in the manner formerly mentioned. The depth of this mass is said to be from one to ten or twelve feet. I presume the estimate is just, for it is no uncommon thing for intervals to exceed even twenty feet. The husbandry, employed on these lands, must at this early period be supposed to be very imperfect. Such as it is, the parts, which are converted into meadow, are said to yield annually three tons of good hay by the acre. It ought to be remembered, that the vegetable mould, with which they are covered, is the best of all manure; that they are, therefore, in their highest state of productiveness; and that, if estimated

according to their present fertility, they will certainly be over-rated. The intervals on the Mohawk were, within my remembrance, not less celebrated than these. That these are still lands of an excellent quality is unquestionable.

Intervals have two advantages beside their inherent fertility. They are easily cultivated; and are annually manured with the slime brought down by the streams, of which they are the borders. The Indians perfectly understood their value, and chose them for their own scanty husbandry, with the same preference which their successors have discovered. Our road lay through a tract called the Cannewagus Reservation, on which were remaining a few ruined Indian weekwams, and the usual miserable relics of Indian agriculture.

These intervals yield wheat less successfully than other products, that which grows here weighing considerably less than that of the uplands. Hemp is cultivated with the greatest advantage; and it is said, that more than 50,000 dollars worth of this useful crop has been raised the present year. The opinion has long prevailed, that hemp would grow successfully only on intervals, drained marshes, or other grounds of a peculiarly rich and deep soil. It seems not a little surprising, that this opinion should ever have been taken up, and much more that it should have become general, especially in New-England; for it grows here, spontaneously, to an enormous size around the houses of slovenly proprietors, and often in the highways. It is now become an object of the most successful cultivation in many places, on uplands of no extraordinary fertility. Nor does it impoverish the land on which it grows beyond the average degree of other crops.

The intervals on the Genesee are eminently unhealthy, so unhealthy, as to strip them of all their peculiar value.

At the distance of a mile and a half or two miles beyond the Genesee, we found a small inn. Here we dined on bread, butter, and cheese, in the open air, our hostess being laudably employed in scrubbing the only room in the house, except two or three which might be called bed closets.

After dinner we soon entered the first of the oak plains, on this side of the river. It extends about seven miles along the road.

The second begins about eight miles west of Batavia village.

about thirty-three miles from the Genesee, and extends to maple swamp, or low valley, about five miles.

The third begins immediately beyond this swamp, and extends to Tonnewanta creek, about five miles more.

The fourth occupies most of the distance between Tonnewanta and Murderers' creek, about three miles.

The fifth commences at Ransom's, fifty-one miles from the Genesee, and extends to Ellicott's creek, or Eleven-mile creek, about eight miles.

The sixth begins three miles from Ellicott's creek, sixty-three from the Genesee, and reaches to Four-mile creek, four miles.

This account respects the old road only, and on this road all the distances are computed.

The first of these plains is in every respect less interesting than the others. Its surface is less beautiful, and the ground less open. Young trees and shrubs, of a lean, forbidding appearance, are everywhere springing up; which, together with a few miserable settlements, looking as if they would long retain this character, left us little to be pleased with, except the firmness of the road—in this country no contemptible gratification. On this plain, however, we found one interesting curiosity. A large part of the stones and rocks, for some distance on the road, to the amount of one-third or one-fourth of the whole mass, was formed of marine shells. Among them we observed a great many of the oyster, muscle, and whorl. Some of these were petrified, or perhaps, in other language, mineralized. Others were in their perfect native state; and both retained their proper figure, unaltered by time or accident. The distance of this spot from the ocean was about three hundred and sixty miles; and the elevation above its level probably not less than eight hundred feet.

From this plain we entered upon a tract of maple ground, extending about twenty-four miles on the road. At fifteen miles from the river we began our passage through a maple swamp, four miles in breadth. Here all the evils, formerly mentioned as attendant upon a new road, were experienced in the highest degree. The stumps and roots were innumerable, and singularly perplexing and dangerous. The mud, throughout most of the distance, was knee-deep; and

often so stiff, as to make it impossible for a horse to extricate himself without extreme labour. The sun was just set when we reached this ground. The road was a narrow passage, newly cut through a forest. The darkness soon became intense and palpable, the branches of the trees on the opposite sides of the road meeting over our heads, and excluding the faint light of the stars; so that we were obliged to trust ourselves wholly to the guidance of our horses. A wolf, which I presume considered us as having sufficiently lost our wits to become his lawful prey, howled after us at a small distance; but, having preserved his own, perceived that we were too numerous to be attacked. These animals are frequent in this region, and often do mischief to sheep, and other small cattle. They have not been known to attack men in the day time. In the night companies of them have compelled individuals, travelling alone, to betake themselves to trees for safety, and confined them to this unpleasant lodging until morning.

After groping and struggling for three hours, through this miserable tract of four miles, we arrived at nine o'clock at our destined inn. It was a log-house, but we were very kindly and comfortably entertained.

The next morning, Thursday, October 24th, we left Bemis's and rode to Munger's: thirty-seven miles.

From Bemis's to Batavia the country is thinly and very recently settled. The village of Batavia is twenty-four miles from the Genesee, and stands on the Tonnewanta creek, which furnishes it with mill-seats. The ground which it occupies is low, but toward the eastern end rises into a small elevation. It contains from twenty to thirty houses, a considerable number of them built of logs, the rest small, and chiefly of one story. The court-house, a well-looking structure, has three stories, the second of which is the county gaol.

A more untoward situation, both for pleasantness and health, is not often selected for a town. In the season, when we were on the ground, so many persons were ill of the diseases common to this region, that those who remained well were scarcely able to nurse the sick. The waters, which had stagnated in the road, were very loathsome, both in their appearance and smell.

Joseph Ellicott, Esq., agent for the Holland company, resides in this village. This gentleman has published a valuable map of the county.

From Batavia there are two roads to Buffalo creek, and a third which passes directly to Queenstown, seven miles below the falls of Niagara. The last is the nearest route to the falls, but being lately and imperfectly made, and passing through a country scarcely at all inhabited, presents a traveller a disagreeable path, and wretched accommodations.

The new road to Buffalo creek is five miles shorter than the other, but is of recent date; and stretches out into no less than thirteen miles of mud, before it becomes re-united.

The old road, which I suppose to have been the ancient military route, contains from eight to nine miles of mud, out of twenty-three. We chose this by the advice of gentlemen acquainted with both; and soon entered upon the first of three miry expansions, lying in this part of our journey. Here, however, we had the advantage of day-light; and the mire was less deep than on the preceding evening. Yet it was sufficiently tedious.

We dined at Dunham's, five miles beyond Batavia.

After leaving Dunham's, and passing through another maple swamp, we entered upon the second of the plains, mentioned above. From the appellation, plains, usually given to these tracts, you will naturally think, as I did, that they are level grounds. This, however, is a mistake. They are generally elevated, and everywhere present a surface, rising easily, without any sudden declivity, except on the borders of streams or swamps. The variations of surface are however continual; and some of the eminences rise considerably above the common level.

These grounds are also termed *openings*, as being in a great degree destitute of forests. The rest of the vegetation, with which they are covered, consists of grass, weeds, and shrubs of various kinds. The grass resembles a species, sometimes seen on the intervals of the Connecticut, and named, perhaps locally, *thatch*. The stalk is single, from three to five feet in height, tinged in various parts with a brown hue, and topped with a spreading ear, generally resembling that of spear-grass. Beside the shrubs, which have

nothing remarkable in them, there are on all these plains some, and on some of them many, young trees; particularly on that near the Genesee.

These grounds are of a singular and interesting appearance. The trees, growing on them, are almost universally oaks. They are of four sorts; two white, the other two, the black and the yellow. One of the white is very common in New-England, the other is of a species already mentioned in the account of Bloomfield. This tree is very tall. The stem is exactly straight, handsome, and without limbs to the height of fifty or sixty feet; and the crown is superior in beauty to that of every other species. In the low grounds bordering the second, third, and fourth of these plains, we saw many of these trees remarkably elegant, and excelling every vegetable production except the white pine. The bark is of a very light hue, and separated into regular divisions, resembling those of the rock-maple, but much more beautiful. When this tree is full-grown, its height exceeds one hundred feet.

On these grounds also grow the chesnut, the shag-bark, or kiskatoma, and several other trees.

The soil of these plains is loam, of a light brown hue, mingled with gravel, and covered by a very thin vegetable mould; the residuum chiefly of shrubs and herbage.

When one of these plains is seen at a little distance, a traveller emerging from the forest naturally concludes, that it is the commencement of a settled country; and, as he advances towards it, is instinctively led to cast his eye forward, to find the town or village, of which it is the outskirts. From this impression his mind will be unable to free itself; for the thought, though given up, will recur again and again, in spite of his absolute conviction, that he is in the heart of an immense wilderness. At the same time, a sense of stillness and solitude, a feeling of absolute retirement from the world, deeper and more affecting than any which he has ever suspected before, will be forced upon him, while he is roving over one of these sequestered regions. No passage out of them is presented to his eye. Yet though the tract around him is seemingly bounded everywhere, the boundary is everywhere obscure; being formed by trees thinly dispersed, and retired beyond each other at such distances, as that, while in

many places they actually limit the view, they appear rather as border dim, indistinct openings into other tracts of country. Thus he always feels the limit to be uncertain; and, until he is actually leaving one of these plains, will continually expect to find a part of the expansion still spreading beyond the reach of his eye. At every little distance, especially on the higher grounds, the view is widely, though indefinitely, extended along the surface; and a little above, where he looks through the stems of the trees, is bounded only by the horizon. On every side a multitude of chasms conduct his eye beyond the labyrinth, by which he is surrounded; and present an imaginary passage back into the world, from which he is withdrawn; bewildering him with expectation, continually awakened, to be continually disappointed. Thus, in a kind of wild, romantic rapture, he wanders over these plains, with emotions similar to those, with which when a child he roamed through the wildernesses created in Arabian tales, or the imaginary regions spread before him in a dream. He is not only separated from all human beings, but is every moment conscious of this separation. Whenever he ascends one of the superior elevations, he seems to stand above the rest of the globe. On every side he looks downward, and beholds a prospect, with many vistas opening indeed around him, but conducting his eye to no definite object, and losing it in confusion and obscurity. His view is confined neither by forests nor mountains; while yet trees, in a thin dispersion, partially interrupt it; but at the same time discover, through their various openings, that it has no other limitation than the skirts of the heavens.

While he wanders onward through this bewildering scenery, he cannot fail to remember, that on these plains Indians have lived, and roved, and hunted, and fought, ever since their first arrival from the shores of Asia. Here, unless they molested each other, there was nothing to molest them. They were the sole lords, the undisturbed possessors of the country. Here, therefore, he will call up before his imagination the secret windings of the scout, the burst of the war-whoop, the fury of an Indian onset, the triumphant display of scalps, and the horrors of the war-dance before the tortured and expiring captive. Whether these thoughts will be excited in

the mind of any future traveller I know not; in my own, they sprang up instinctively.

The origin of the peculiar appearance of these grounds is probably this. The Indians annually, and sometimes oftener, burned such parts of the North-American forests as they found sufficiently dry. In every such case the fuel consists chiefly of the fallen leaves, which are rarely dry enough for an extensive combustion, except on uplands; and on these only when covered with a dry soil. Of this nature were always the oak and yellow-pine grounds; which were therefore usually subjected to an annual conflagration. The beech and maple grounds were commonly too wet to be burned. Hence on these grounds the vegetable mould is from six inches to a foot in depth; having been rarely or never consumed by fire; while on the oak and pine grounds it often does not exceed an inch. That this is the effect of fire only and not of any diversity in the nature of the trees, is evident from the fact, that in moist soils, where the fire cannot penetrate, the mould is as deep on the oak as on the maple grounds. This mould is combustible, and by an intense fire is wholly consumed.

The object of these conflagrations was to produce fresh and sweet pasture, for the purpose of alluring the deer to the spots on which they had been kindled. Immediately after the fires a species of grass springs up, sometimes called fire grass, because it usually succeeds a conflagration. Whether it is a peculiar species of grass, I am unable to say; not having seen it since the days of childhood. Either from its nature, or from the efficacy of the fire, it is remarkably sweet, and eagerly sought by deer. All the underwood is at the same time consumed, so that these animals are easily discovered at considerable distances; a thing impracticable where the forests have not been burned. You will remember, that to supply himself with timber for a weekwam, and with wood for fuel, was the only use, which an Indian could make of a forest; and that the earth furnished him with nothing but a place for his residence, his garden, and his game. While, therefore, he destroyed both the forest and the soil, he converted them to the most profitable uses for himself.

When these grounds had been often burned, they were of

course covered with grass. The seeds and nuts, whence future trees would have germinated, were extensively destroyed by successive fires. Few trees, therefore, could spring for want of seeds, and fewer still because the surface was covered with grass; for wherever that vegetable has gained possession of the soil forest trees will never spring. The small number scattered over these plains grew on spots, which were less ravaged by the fire because they were moist, or because they were less covered with leaves.

Thus, in time, these plains were disforested to the degree in which we now see them, and were gradually converted into pasture grounds. It ought to be observed, that they were in all probability burnt over for ages after they were disforested; I presume down to a very late period. In a dry season of autumn the grass would furnish ample fuel for this purpose.

That this is the true cause of the singular appearance of these plains can scarcely be doubted, when the following facts are compared.

That the Indians customarily burned, every year, such parts of the forests as were sufficiently dry to admit of conflagration.

That these were the only grounds, which, except in rare cases, could be successfully burned.

That, wherever they have been for a considerable length of time free from fires, the young trees are now springing up in great numbers, and will soon change these open grounds into forests, if left to the course of nature. Such, particularly, is the fact on the first of these plains, near the Genesee river; and still more strikingly in Bloomfield and Charleston, where the fires have been longer intermitted.

That in various places the marks of the fire are now visible on the trunks of the remaining trees, particularly near the ground. These marks I suppose to have been impressed at a comparatively late period, and by fires kindled in the grass.

That on the borders of these very plains, trees, of exactly the same species, are now growing in great numbers, and in the usual regular succession, of all ages and sizes, within the nearest neighbourhood of those on the plains; and that this diversity, perfectly explicable on this supposition, is inexplicable on any other.

That there can be no account given, why the vegetable

mould should be so thinly spread over these plains, except that it has been continually consumed by fire; since it exists in the usual quantity in the forests, composed of the same trees, on moister ground, bordering these plains on every side.

And, that all the phenomena are, if I mistake not, explained by the cause alleged.

Should it be asked, why there are no such grounds in New-England, in which country also Indians lived and hunted; I answer,

1st, The New-England oak and yellow pine forests have not been subjected to fire for many years.

2dly, No accounts of their ancient appearance have come down to us.

3dly, The whole of southern New-England, except the mountains and swamps, was almost wholly covered with oak and pine forests. All, therefore, being capable of an annual and easy conflagration, there was no inducement to burn any single part frequently. Yet, beside the well-known fact, that the Indians kindled the forests yearly for the above-named purpose, there are now remaining many proofs of such fires.

4thly, That within my own remembrance there were, in the township of Northampton, spots desolated in a similar manner. These, although laid waste in an inferior degree, were yet so far destroyed as to be left in a great measure naked. Now they are completely covered with a thick forest. I suppose these grounds, however, to have been frequently burnt by the English inhabitants, who foolishly followed this Indian custom, in order to provide feed for their cattle in the spring.

These plains have, until very lately, been considered as of little value, when compared with the maple and beech land; which here is called, by way of distinction from them, timbered land. From numerous experiments made on them within a short time it appears, however, that the wheat sown on them not only grows luxuriantly, and yields a rich crop, but is heavier by several pounds in the bushel than that which grows on the maple lands. It is also whiter and better, and commands therefore a higher price. It is hardly necessary to observe, that these facts have rapidly raised the plains in the public estimation.

On the third plain we found a singular mass of limestone gravel, consisting of pebbles, about the size of a nutmeg, and nearly the same shape. They were apparently formed of a partial dissolution of white lime rock, and were very nearly of one size. The mass extended over a considerable distance on the surface.

The second, third, and fourth of these plains lie between Dunham's, twenty-nine miles, and Van De Vender's, forty-seven miles, from the Genesee river. In this extent there is but one house, which is within one mile of Van De Vender's. Seventeen miles in this part of our journey, therefore, were destitute of a human habitation. There is, however, an Indian settlement, called the Tonnewanta village, lying three or four miles north of the road, on the creek of the same name. To this village benighted travellers not unfrequently betake themselves, and find hospitable entertainment.

We arrived at Van De Vender's, a log house, about sunset; but were unable to procure entertainment, the house having been pre-occupied. After having travelled eight miles, four of them in a heavy rain, we gladly alighted about nine o'clock, and placed ourselves at Munger's, a log-house, at a little distance from the road. Scarcely were we seated when we found ourselves in a state of very serious embarrassment. The house contained neither flour nor bread. We had rode thirty-seven miles, and were not in very good humour to go to bed supperless. Nor were we willing to begin our journey the following day without a breakfast. In this quandary a good-natured waggoner, who was removing his family into Upper Canada, and carried his provisions along with him, kindly relieved our distress by offering to furnish the innkeeper with the necessary quantity of flour. With this supply our good landlady very expeditiously placed before us a cup of hyson tea, with loaf sugar, cream, and excellent hot biscuit and butter. This supper, though found everywhere in decent inns and older settlements, was here unexpected and very highly relished. The house was not more than half built. The region in which it stood was almost uninhabited, and we were wet and weary. It rained all night, and a part of our company were occasionally sprinkled. However, we slept soundly, and in the morning refreshed ourselves with an excellent breakfast.

We were detained till late the next morning by the rain. At length, perceiving it to slacken, we began our journey to Buffalo Creek, and arrived about two o'clock; fourteen or fifteen miles. We were twice stopped by the rain, and were fatigued by crossing a deep maple swamp, three miles in breadth, a fac-simile of that in the neighbourhood of Bemis'.

The county of Genesee comprises the whole western end of the state of New-York. It is bounded on the north by Lake Ontario, on the south by Pennsylvania, on the east by the counties of Steuben and Ontario, and on the west by the river Niagara, Lake Erie, and a line drawn from that lake (limiting, eastward, a small tract, purchased of congress by the state of Pennsylvania) until it intersects its north line. The greatest length of this county from north to south is ninety-two miles. On the south line it measures ninety-six miles. From Lake Erie to the county of Ontario, in a direct line, the distance is fifty-eight miles. This tract is commonly said to contain upwards of four millions of acres, being more than are included in the state of Connecticut. Its surface in the northern parts is remarkably level; not a single hill, of any importance, being found on the great road from Genesee river to Buffalo Creek; unless the descent and ascent to and from the swamps and mill-streams should be called hills. Here, however, we only fall below the common level, and rise to it again. Nor is there, so far as I have been informed, any considerable hill between the road and Lake Ontario, if we except the brow of the lime-stone stratum, which, it is said; crosses the whole breadth of this tract, entering the county of Ontario on the east, and Upper Canada on the west.

The southern parts of this tract, including perhaps one-third and possibly two-fifths, of the whole, are said to be hilly, and even mountainous. From the number of considerable streams rising in this region, and forming a part of the head-waters of the Alleghany and Genesee rivers, the account appears to be true.

This county, throughout the northern half, is scantily furnished with springs and streams. All these, of any size, except Allen's creek, a branch of the Genesee, and two or three smaller ones, which empty their waters into Lake Ontario, have been already mentioned in the course of these Letters.

smaller streams and springs are scarce. The soil of this country is principally of the two kinds, already so often mentioned, that of the oak, and that of the maple lands. As I shall have occasion to consider this subject more particularly hereafter, I shall only remark for the present, that I consider this tract as inferior to several of those, which lie farther west. Still it is a fertile country, and capable of producing abundantly all the vegetation of the climate.

The settlements in the county of Genesee are very few. There is a farm, in the neighbourhood of the falls of Niagara, all the various kinds of fruit, produced at Canandagua, have long flourished. Hereafter they will probably flourish throughout its whole extent. The only villages, which it contains, are Batavia and Buffalo creek. The eastern part of this county, eleven miles in breadth on the south, and twenty-four miles on the north, is formed into three townships: Northampton in the north, Southampton in the middle, and Leicester in the south, which is fifty-seven miles in length, on the south. The rest of the county, though everywhere divided by surveys, is included in the single township of Batavia; probably the largest, which ever existed in the world.

From Buffalo Creek to Lake Ontario, a distance of thirty-two miles, the state has reserved to itself one mile in breadth along the river Niagara; intending to control, without any interfering claims, the future navigation of this spot. Within the reservation is included the ground opposite to Rock Rock, of which I shall have occasion to take notice hereafter. Independently of the two lakes, Erie and Ontario, the river Niagara, and the plains already described, I know nothing in the county, which is particularly beautiful or magnificent. The uniformity of the surface must always be obvious to the eye.

The county of Genesee is, and during a considerable period will probably continue to be unhealthy. The tracts along the Genesee river, and on Lake Ontario, are particularly so. Buffalo Creek is also sickly. Batavia has been already mentioned. The oak-plains appear to furnish a fairer promise of health, than any other part of the northern half. In a flat country the streams, during the summer half year, will of course be noxious.

Almost all this extensive tract is the property of the Holland company. These gentlemen, it is said, give very little encouragement to settlers. Too wealthy to feel any necessity of selling their lands, and knowing that they will of course increase in value, they propose, as I am informed, conditions of purchase, which are not very alluring. The unsettled lands in other parts of the country will therefore be chiefly occupied before these are taken up. This is the more probable, as the state of Ohio, the territories of Indiana and Illinois, and even that of Louisiana, have already become inviting objects to emigrants.

Buffaloe Creek, otherwise called New-Amsterdam, is built on the north-eastern border of a considerable mill-stream, which bears the same name. A bar at the mouth prevents all vessels, larger than boats, from ascending its waters. For boats it is navigable about eight miles. Its appearance is more sprightly than that of some others in this region. The south-western bank is here a peninsula, covered with a handsome grove. Through it several vistas might be cut with advantage, as they would open fine views of the lake, a beautiful object. The prospect, which they would furnish towards the west and south-west, would be boundless.

The village is built half a mile from the mouth of the creek, and consists of about twenty indifferent houses. The Holland company own the soil. Hitherto they have declined to sell it, and, until very lately, to lease it. Most of the settlers have, therefore, taken up their ground without any title. The terms on which it is leased are, that the lessee shall within nine months build a house, thirty feet in front, and two stories in height; and shall pay, if I mistake not, two dollars annually for each lot of half an acre. The streets are straight, and cross each other at right angles, but are only forty feet wide. What could have induced this wretched limitation in a new wilderness I am unable to conceive. The spot is unhealthy, though of a sufficient elevation, and, so far as I have been informed, free from the vicinity of any stagnant waters. The diseases prevailing here are those, which are common to this country. The inhabitants* are a casual collection of adventurers; and have the usual character of such adventurers.

ected, when remote from regular society, retaining sense of government or religion. We saw about as many Indians in this village as white people. The superintendent of Indian affairs for the Six Nations resides here*.

Black Rock is at present the thoroughfare for all the commerce and travelling interchangeably going on between the western states (including New-York and New-Jersey) and the territories bordering on the great western lakes. The creek frequently said to unite with the river Niagara. I have seen, as I believe every other man would, who spoke from his own inspection, that it unites with Lake Erie; and the river Niagara begins two miles further north, at least below, Black Rock. Here the first perceptible current commences; while at the mouth of the creek the water, unless agitated by winds, are perfectly still, and have the same appearance as other parts of the lake.

Black Rock, a town, which is a mile square, is laid out in lots of the state into house lots. The lots are to be disposed of at public sale in December of this year, upon terms which I am unacquainted with. Should they be equitable, the town, which I mentioned, will soon centre here. Between Black Rock and the shore is the only secure harbour on the American side, and a much better than any on the British side of the river, at this thin a great distance. A road is already begun from Black Rock to Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the river, and will probably be completed within a year.

This period is not distant, when the commerce of this neighbourhood will become a great national object, and involve no small part of the interests and happiness of millions. I shall not say more particularly hereafter.

At the date of this journey the county of Genesee has been divided into five; Genesee, Niagara, Alleghany, Cattaraugus and Chautaugue. The two first, Genesee on the east and Niagara on the west, are bounded on the north by Ontario. The three last, Alleghany on the east, Cattaraugus in the middle, and Chautaugue on the west, are bounded on the south by the north line of Pennsylvania.

The village of Buffaloe was burned down during the late war. Since that time it has been re-built, and is now a beautiful and flourishing town containing one hundred and fifty houses.—*Pub.* 1820.

In this division the distribution of the western country in the state of New-York is probably completed.

	Townships.	Inhabitants in 1810.
The present Genesee contains	10	12,644
Niagara	4	6,132
Alleghany	5	1,942
Cataraugus	1	458
Chataughque	2	2,381
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	22	23,557

The shire town of Genesee is	Batavia.
Niagara	Buffaloe.
Alleghany	Angelica.
Cataraugus	Hamilton.
Chataughque	Maysville.

From these facts it appears, that the Holland company have thought it proper to part with some of their lands, on terms so reasonable as to allure a considerable number of purchasers; and that the population of this tract, although very gradual, has yet increased more rapidly than I had expected:

The prospect presented at Buffaloe is now most attractive, notwithstanding the interruption mentioned above. Directly opposite, at the distance of two miles, but in full view, stands Fort Erie, a block-house, accompanied by a suit of barracks and a hamlet. This collection of houses is built on a beautiful shore, wears less the appearance of a recent settlement, and exhibits a much greater degree of improvement than any thing which we saw west of the Genesee river. Beyond this hamlet a handsome point stretches to the south-west, and furnishes an imperfect shelter to the vessels employed in the commerce of the lake. Seven of these vessels (five schooners, a sloop, and a pettiugre) lay in the harbour at this time, and presented to us an image of business and activity, which, distant as we were from the ocean, was scarcely less impressive than that presented by the harbour of New-York, when crowded with almost as many hundreds.

Behind this point another, much more remote, stretches out

in the same direction, exhibiting a form of finished elegance, and seeming an exactly suitable limit for the sheet of water, which fills the fine scoop between these arms. Still farther southward, the lake opens in boundless view, and presents in a perfect manner the blending of unlimited waters with the sky.

Over these points assembled, as if to feast our eyes at the commencement of the evening after our arrival, one of the most beautiful collections of clouds ever seen by a votary of nature. They were of elegant forms, and of hues intense and refulgent. The richest crimson, fading into the tinges of the pink and the rose, adorned them on one side, and gold burnished into the highest brilliancy on the other. Several strata of these splendours, extending over one-tenth of the horizon, lay above each other, in the most fascinating variety of fantastical beauty; while others, single, in pairs, or in small groups, vied with the larger assemblages in contributing to the glory of the scene. Towards the south-west and north-east, two long ranges of leaden-coloured clouds, with fleeces of mist hanging beneath them, reached round two-thirds of the horizon. These, at intervals, were all along changed, sometimes gradually and sometimes suddenly, into the gayest crimson and the most vivid purple, alternated in such a manner as to defy the utmost efforts both of the pen and the pencil. The sky above, of that pure bright aspect which succeeds a storm; when it becomes clear with a soft serenity, was varied from a glowing yellow, a brilliant straw colour, and a willow green, into a light, and finally into a darker azure, the beautiful blue of autumn.

Beneath all this glory the lake, a boundless field of polished glass, glittered, alternately, with the variegated splendour of the clouds and the hues of the sky, softening and improving the brilliancy of both with inimitable delicacy, and leaving on the mind the impression of enchantment rather than of reality. Not a breath was felt, not a leaf trembled, not a sound was heard, not a fluctuation disturbed the elegance of the surface. A lively imagination would easily have fancied, that a paradise might be found beyond this charming expansion.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Brief Account of the great Lakes which supply the River Niagara. Lake Superior: its Islands, Rivers, &c. River St. Marie: its only Outlet. Opinion, that there are subterranean Outlets, examined. Lake Huron. Lake Michigan. Island of Michilimackinac. Huron River. Lake St. Clair. Lake Erie. Evidence, that the Waters of these Lakes are lower than they formerly were.

DEAR SIR;

BEFORE I commence my account of the river and falls of Niagara, it will not be amiss to describe, summarily, the great chain of lakes, whose waters are conveyed to the ocean through this channel. Without a just apprehension of the extent of this singular collection of waters, it will not be easy for you to conceive, or even to admit, correct views of the importance and splendour of the river St. Lawrence.

The first and westernmost of these inland seas is Lake Superior. Carver, whose accounts, so far as they have been examined, have, notwithstanding the discredit at first attached to them, been found to be remarkably just and accurate, and who coasted the north-eastern and north-western shores of this lake near twelve hundred miles, informs us, that its whole circuit measures more than sixteen hundred: an estimate somewhat larger than that of M'Kensie. It lies between 46° and 49° north latitude, and between 84° and 93° west longitude from London. So far as he had opportunities of examining, its shores are rough, rocky, and mountainous. The water is remarkably transparent; so that, in his language, over a depth of six fathoms, his canoe, instead of appearing to rest on the water, seemed as if suspended in the air. In the

it is warm at the surface, but at a small depth is very

Superior contains many islands, and among them five considerable size, Round, Pont-Chartrain, Philippeaux, and Royal; the last one hundred miles in length in breadth. Neither of these islands has hitherto explored. Some of them, regarded by the Indians as places, are holden in high veneration.

Forty small rivers enter this lake; and three of a size: the Nipegon, the Michipicoton, and the St. Lawrence. The first on the north-eastern, and the second on the western side. The third, whose springs are the most waters of the St. Lawrence, discharges itself at the eastern angle. To the eye this lake, except at the two ends, is an ocean: the view being literally boundless. Like an ocean also, it is frequently, and furiously, agitated by winds which are in the highest degree dangerous to navi-

gation. Copper is found in many places on the shore, and on the small islands, particularly on those which are near the western coast.

The Nipegon river, a little eastward of the Nipegon, descends, before its entrance into the lake, over a perpendicular rock, more than six hundred feet in height.

Superior abounds in fish of various kinds, the principal which are the trout, the white-fish, and the sturgeon. The channel through which the waters of this vast reservoir are carried into the Huron is the river St. Marie, which in its narrowest part is not more than six feet in depth. By Carver, and others who have followed him, it is supposed, that, after the utmost allowance for the quantity of water evaporated from its surface, the St. Marie is an insufficient channel for the conveyance of the superabundant waters of the lake, and that, therefore, they are drawn off by one or more subterraneous passages. Permit me to examine this opinion. If subterraneous passages exist, which descend to the bottom of the lake, or pass circuitously round the globe, or any considerable distance beneath the surface, they must for thousands of years have been filled, and certainly can admit

no more supplies from the lake. If they break through the surface, the effusion of water from the orifice must be too extraordinary to have escaped observation. If the passage terminates at the bottom of one of the neighbouring lakes (say Huron, or Michigan), the nearest, and therefore the most promising resorts in this investigation, the water above and around the opening would boil with a force, which must detect the fact; since every part of these lakes is continually wandered over, both by the Indians and the whites. The only remaining supposition is, that these conduits open in the bed of the St. Lawrence; where the effect would be still more visible than in either of the lakes, or in the ocean; above whose surface that of Lake Superior is elevated at least a thousand feet. The pressure of a column of this height, to speak in very moderate terms, would create such a disturbance of the surface of the ocean, as must long since have been marked by many of the numberless vessels, which ply continually in every part of the Northern Atlantic. Such a phenomenon must have been universally known throughout the eighteenth century, and probably through the latter half of the seventeenth.

At the same time, such a subterranean stream, proceeding from this lake, would occasion a violent whirlpool on the surface; and this must have been observed by some or other of the numerous voyagers, who pass over it every summer; but nothing of this nature has been seen. On the contrary, the waters in calm weather are perfectly smooth and quiescent.

That the river St. Marie is a sufficient outlet for the waters, sufficient I mean to carry off all its supplies, except what are exhausted by evaporation, I have not a single doubt. In the year 1810, a lake in the township, either of Glover or Greensborough, and county of Orleans, in the state of Vermont, broke through its barriers, and emptied its waters into the Lake Memphremagog. The bed was left entirely vacant. Before this event a mill-stream ran out of it into the river La Moille: a stream now runs from its bed into Barton river, furnished by the same springs, which, originally subjacent, supplied the waters of the lake. The difference between the two streams is imperceptible. From this fact it appears, that the little stream, which formerly carried the waters of this lake into the La Moille, apparently disproportioned to the quantity

ter, conveyed off whatever was superfluous, or in other words whatever was supplied by the springs. This lake was two miles and a half in length, a mile in breadth, and hundred and ninety-seven feet in depth. The quantity of water which flowed into this bed, and accumulated this mass, in other words, the supplies necessary to form such an inundation, was incomparably less than we have been accustomed to believe*.

A whole mass of Connecticut river often runs during a part of the summer in a channel at Bellows'-Falls, at times

from the New-England Palladium, Friday, June 22d, 1810:—

“Vermont, Montpelier, June 9th, 1810.

On the 6th inst. the large pond, in the north-east part of Greensborough, Vermont, formed the head of the river La Moille, burst its bounds, and poured itself into Lake Memphremagog, distant about twenty-five miles. This pond, which was about two and a half miles in length, one in breadth, and about one hundred feet in depth, was situated on the Green Mountain and was considerably higher than the surrounding country. At the distance of about forty rods was another smaller pond; on the outlet of the latter stood a number of mills. The perpendicular height of the former was about one hundred feet. It had long been contemplated to make a communication between them, in the expectation that it would greatly benefit the mills below the small pond. On the day above named a number of the inhabitants of Wheelock, Sheffield, Glover, and Ferrisburgh, met for the purpose of digging a channel, and commenced their operations on the brow of a descent, a few rods from the large pond. They finished a channel, five or six feet in depth. As this was filled, the earth, which was a kind of quicksand, began to sink, and the pressure produced a chasm of upwards of one hundred feet in depth, and about ten or twenty rods in breadth. The water issued from the pond with impetuosity, that it was completely drained in one hour. The ground gave suddenly that the workmen had scarcely time to save themselves; many of them sunk five or six feet, but was so fortunate as to escape by holding on to the root of a tree. The water rushed into the lower pond, and thence proceeded through a forest of heavy timber, six miles to Barton, carrying with it every thing in its way. It then took the course of the La Moille river, repeating the same devastation till it reached Lake Memphremagog. Farms, which lay on the banks of this river, were covered ten or twelve feet deep; and two saw-mills, a grist-mill, and a blacksmith's shop, five bridges, and a great number of sheep, were swept into the lake. The scene which it presented was awful. The vallies were filled up, and the hills were levelled. The earth trembled throughout a circuit of many miles.

The noise, which was heard throughout a great distance, was at first supposed to be thunder; but, as the sky was unclouded, was speedily ascertained to be that of an earthquake. Happily no lives were lost.”

not more than twenty-five feet in breadth, and, so far as I am able to judge, of not more than four or five feet in depth; and yet, at a small distance above and below, the river is forty rods in breadth, probably not less than six or eight in depth, and runs with a strong current. Not a man living would, I presume, believe it possible for such a mass of water to descend through this crevice, for it is little more, without being compelled by ocular demonstration.

All the supplies furnished by rivers to Lake Superior, except those derived from subjacent springs, amount to a quantity not very considerable. Not a small part of them must be drawn off by evaporation; for the remainder the St. Marie, must, I think, be an ample channel, when I consider the facts mentioned above.

In this opinion I am confirmed by observing the drains of other lakes; few if any of which bear any such proportion, as *a priori* we should expect, to the body of waters which they contain. The Sorelle would be thought a less river than would be formed by the union of Otter creek, Onion river, the La Moille, the Misciscoui, Pulteney river, and the outlet at Lake George. Yet Lake Champlain receives a multitude of streams of a smaller size, besides what is furnished by springs. The outlet of Lake George, also, is a little stream. The same may be said of many, perhaps of almost all others. The Caspian has no outlet; although it receives the waters of the Volga, the Ural, the Kur, the Tedjon, and several other considerable rivers.

It is said, that the surface of Lake Superior is evidently about six feet lower than it was at some former period. The proof alleged is the appearance of the rocks, and other parts of the shore, which to this height bear evident marks of having been once covered by water. Aside from this evidence the opinion may be received without difficulty. The St. Marie is undoubtedly continually lowering its bed, insensibly indeed, but certainly. That in a long progress of years it should have worn it down the depth specified can excite no surprise.

Just at the head of the St. Marie there is a remarkably rich prospect of the river, the lake, its islands, the points, and other parts of the neighbouring shores.

Lake Huron, into which the St. Marie enters, is the second

of this singular collection. It lies between 43° and 47° north latitude, and between 80° and 85° west longitude. Its circumference is eleven hundred miles, and its shape triangular. A remarkable island, named Manitaulin, rises near the north shore, one hundred miles in length, and eight only in breadth; and furnishes another object of religious reverence to the Indians. A large bay, on the south-western side, called Saganaw-Bay, about twenty miles in breadth, opens eighty miles into the interior. Half way between this and the straits of Michilimackinac, on the same side, is another, known by the name of Thunder-Bay. This is about nine miles in diameter, and, as its name indicates, is distinguished from all other temperate parts of North-America by an almost perpetual succession of thunder-storms. French river, on the north, the outlet of Lake Nepisingui, about seventy-five miles in length, is the only stream, except the St. Marie, received by this lake. Its shores are less uneven than those of Lake Superior, and are more sandy and barren.

Lake Huron receives the waters of Michigan, which is three hundred miles in length, and nine hundred and forty-five in circumference; lying between 41° and 46° north latitude, and 84° and 87° west longitude. Its greatest breadth is sixty miles. Its shores are extensively flat, and covered with an indifferent soil. In its north-western corner opens a large inlet, called Green-Bay, not far from one hundred miles in length, and from fifteen to twenty in breadth. Fox river, a considerable stream, which passes through the Winnebago, and empties its waters into Green-Bay, the St. Joseph, and the river Grand, are the only streams of importance, which terminate in this lake. It is wholly within the United States, and without any islands of consequence. One of the principal passages from the lakes to the Mississippi is up Green-Bay and the Fox river, and down the Ouisconsin, and another up to Michigan and down the Illinois.

Near the mouth of the straits, which unite the Michigan with the Huron, and within the latter, is the island of Michilimackinac, long distinguished as a military post of no small importance in the contest between France and Great Britain; and a place highly advantageous for commerce with the nations of the north and west. This island lies in the 46th

degree of north latitude, is of a circular form, and seven miles and a half in circumference. Its distance from the shore is somewhat more than three miles. It is considerably higher than the main; and is a mere rock of lime-stone, covered with a good soil, and originally with a rich growth of timber. Its form resembles the back of a turtle, and thence it is said to have derived its name. The air is here fine, and the water excellent. Few places are healthier. Fish abound in the neighbourhood; particularly the white-fish, esteemed a great delicacy; trout, weighing from fifteen to seventy-five pounds; and various others, particularly such as have been mentioned in the account of Lake Superior.

There is a small village* on this island, built around the harbour. The streets are narrow; the houses chiefly of one story; and the number of inhabitants about 300. A few of them are Americans, some of whom were heretofore wealthy; the rest are principally Canadian French, a miserable, unanimated race, without ambition or energy, without intelligence or taste, and, during the winter, almost without business or food. Their chief employment for six months is fishing and procuring fuel.

Michilimackinac is considered as the key of the north-western country; and is the great depot of the fur trade. Hither the merchants of Montreal, and others from the United States, resort in the spring to receive furs and peltries from their agents, and furnish them supplies for renewing the business through the succeeding season. The navigation opens in May, and closes in November.

From the fort, an indifferent edifice of little strength, commanded by high ground in the rear, there is a delightful prospect; unlimited in the east over Lake Huron, and in the west over Michigan. The fort itself is a very infirm structure as a place of defence; and its outworks are still worse. Like other public American possessions, it has been neglected, and as a military post, forgotten.

The water of these lakes, like that of Superior, is transparent.

The river Huron is the channel, through which this accumulated mass flows into Lake Erie. It is from half a mile

miles in breadth. The current is moderate, and the sufficient for ships of considerable burthen. On its stands the town of Detroit, nine miles below an ex- of the river, about thirty miles in diameter, named St. Clair. The situation of this town is unhealthy. fore it has contained about 260 houses, and 2,000 in- ts*. This was the principal settlement of the French western country. The river Huron is ninety miles in

Its banks have long been, in a great measure, l with plantations.

Erie lies between 41° and 43° north latitude, and l 80° west longitude. Its length is more than two d miles; according to Carver near three hundred; its forty. Its circumference is said to be seven hundred a miles. Its water is remarkably clear and beautiful, esteemed somewhat less so than those of the three ave been mentioned. It also furnishes, not only the inds of fish, but several others. Those which were ed to me at Buffalo, are the following:—

geon, weighing sixty or seventy pounds, and yielding a uantity of oil.

te-Bass, large and very good.

, three kinds, very good, and well-sized.

fish, large.

en-trout, very good, not so large as those caught in m.

so contains a great number of water-snakes, which hide litude of water-lilies, surrounding its islands.

navigation of Lake Erie, when agitated by a tempest, mely dangerous, on account of a number of points, roject into it a considerable distance. Near the Ca- river, which discharges itself on the south shore, a f rocks, forming a magnificent promontory, shoots out miles into the lake; and has often proved fatal to ora. Perhaps no piece of water, of the same extent, er safe harbours. On the southern side I know of but Black Rock, Presque Isle, and Sandusky-Bay.

shores of this lake are to a great extent unhealthy, not e waters of the lake, but from the marshes, which in the month of June, 1805, Detroit was totally destroyed by fire.

several places line its border. To the eye, surveying these shores at a distance, they are often beautiful.

Such are the fountains of that part of the St. Lawrence, which is termed the river Niagara; a stream inferior in splendour to none perhaps in the world.

It ought to be observed, that on the island of Michilimackinac there are the most decisive proofs, that the waters of Huron and Michigan are several feet lower than they once were. Proofs equally decisive are presented on its southern borders, of a similar subsidence in Lake Erie. Of these facts I am amply assured, by my friends, the Rev. Mr. Bacon, who resided at Michilimackinac as a missionary one season, Josiah Dunham, Esq., who commanded at that post six years, and John S. Edwards, Esq., who has personally examined the appearances on the southern borders of Lake Erie. From the testimony of these gentlemen the general fact cannot be doubted. Nor is the cause at all difficult to be discovered. The river Niagara, at and above the falls, shows unquestionable proofs, that its waters have worn their channel, particularly the rocky part of it, continually lower.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER V.

iver Niagara. Properly called the St. Lawrence. Islands in the River. General Appearance and Character of this Region. Cataract of Niagara.

DEAR SIR ;

Next morning, Saturday, October 6th, we commenced our journey to the falls. On the beach, upon which the road lies from Buffaloe to the ferry, we had a complete view of the lake. On the southern side the prospect was varied successively by three promontories ; the first about eight or ten miles distant, the second at twice, and the third three times that distance. Handsomer headlands can scarcely be imagined. They are all elegant declivities, descending with almost imperceptible gradation towards the water. The second and third are so lofty, that they may be styled mountainous, and blend with their beauty a considerable degree of grandeur. The succession in which they are presented to the eye, adds to their individual appearance a fine impression of symmetry.

After coasting the end of the lake two miles, we came to a great outlet of this world of waters, covering about 3,000,000 acres, or 150,000 square miles. The stream, which commences here, is improperly called the river Niagara ; that is, unless this name should be extended to every part of the current, from its fountains to the ocean. It has been the misfortune of this magnificent river to be called by so many names, as to leave on the mind the impression of numerous disjointed parts, and not of one vast, continued stream. Hence the geographical reader, finding it in different instances styled the river St. Marie, Detroit, St. Clair, Niagara, Iroquois, Onondaga, and St. Lawrence, becomes perplexed and lost

amidst this confusion of appellations. Hence also the proper character and real greatness of the river are concealed, and its extent, importance, and place in the list of streams, are unknown. The Rhone; with the strictest propriety, is called by this name equally before and after its entrance into the lake of Geneva, and the Rhine before and after its entrance into that of Constance. In each case the stream is but one, and is as truly continued through the lake, as between its own banks. For the same reason I pronounce the river St. Lawrence to be one, from its rise in the near neighbourhood of the Mississippi, to its junction with the ocean.

The St. Lawrence, considered in this, the only vindicable manner, is one of the noblest rivers in the world, and in several points of distinction superior to them all. Its length is about 3,000 miles, and its mass of waters greater than that of any other stream, except perhaps the Amazon and the La Plata. The vast lakes, or inland seas, by which it is attended, and to whose waters it is the great channel of discharge, are nowhere rivalled in importance and grandeur. Nor is the navigation of this river, or its capability of being useful to man, a capability which within less than a century may perhaps be realized to its full extent, even approached by those of any other stream. This navigation is, indeed, interrupted in three places, the river of St. Marie, at the falls of Niagara, and the rapids of the river Iroquois. The river St. Marie is navigable by boats, but not by larger vessels. A portage of ten miles conveys merchandise around the falls of Niagara. Concerning the rapids of the river Iroquois, or that part of the St. Lawrence which runs between Lake Ontario and Montreal, I am imperfectly informed. Whatever obstructions they present to transportation, they are of so little consequence, that a barrel is now brought from Montreal to Queenstown for a dollar. In the intervals between these interruptions the navigation is so convenient, and already so important, as to employ many of the smaller kinds of vessels used upon the ocean.

The St. Lawrence meets the tide four hundred miles from its mouth. To this distance fleets of men of war have ascended, and found ample room for a naval engagement. Merchant ships ascend to Montreal, near two hundred miles

In accordance with its interior grandeur, the mouth of the river is ninety miles wide. The cataract, which it forms at Niagara, is proverbially a wonder of the world. The sublime grandeur with which the river Outawais breaks up the ice of the St. Lawrence at Montreal in the spring, as described to me by a gentleman who was an eyewitness of this stupendous operation of nature, is at times more majestic than the cataract itself. Upon the whole, if these facts are considered, I shall hazard little in saying, that the St. Lawrence is the most magnificent stream on the globe.

The character it displays strongly at its passage out of Lake Erie. At the ferry, one mile below, it is seven furlongs in breadth, and from twenty-five to thirty feet in depth. Its current, at the lowest estimation, is five miles an hour, and its fall all probability six. Such a mass of fresh water rarely exists on this globe. Yet after passing Lake Ontario the current must be materially increased. The water is of a beautiful sea green, like that of Lake George, formerly described, although somewhat less pure.

As we had crossed the ferry without inconvenience, and without much fatigue to our boatmen, we pursued our way toward the cataract. Throughout this distance, eighteen miles, the road scarcely leaves the bank at all, the surface of the river is almost a perfect level. In all this part of its progress the river is entirely free from that dull, canal-like appearance, which frequently lessens the beauty of other streams. Its width at different places is one, two, three, and three and a half miles, and its current in the highest degree sprightly and rapid.

Throughout a considerable part of this distance it is, however, divided by several beautiful islands. Of these by far the largest is Grand Isle, being six miles long, and from one to four broad. Navy Isle, opposite to the northern end of Grand Isle, is next in size, being about one mile long. Three others lie against the mouths of Five-mile, Five-wants, and Unnekugua creeks, at twenty, twenty-six, and thirty-five miles, from the influx of the river into Lake Ontario. These three islands are, I presume, the effects of the action of the water. Goat islands lie immediately above the falls. There are two or three smaller ones. All which we saw were

covered with a rich growth of wood, and formed very pleasing parts of the picture.

Against Grand Isle the river is almost equally divided, and each division is a river of prodigious size. The eastern bank, like the western, is nearly level, and almost entirely forested. We saw but two or three settlements upon it, from the ferry to the falls.

On the western shore, houses, commencing at Fort Erie, are continued to the falls, and, I presume, to Lake Ontario. The houses, which it contains, are all, except three or four, built on the western side of the road, from ten rods to half a mile asunder. The ground behind them, a mere flat, is cleared, from a furlong to one half of a mile, and is laid out in fields, imperfectly enclosed.

The soil is alternately a stiff loam and clay, and is very fertile. Under the loose culture, which is now employed, it produces wheat, rye, grass, flax, maize, and oats, in abundance. Apples, peaches, plums, and several other fruits, loaded the trees; and all the fruits of southern New-England would flourish here with the utmost luxuriance.

The forests are beech, maple, bass, &c., but are shorter and less thrifty than in the preceding parts of our journey; the cause of this fact I cannot assign. The climate is certainly as mild, and the soil apparently not inferior. Of the mildness of the climate, during the present season, we had full proof. The tender plants, such as maize, potatoes, squashes, and pompions, were here generally uninjured by frost, and exhibited the freshest verdure. On the eastern side, from Sheffield to Buffaloe Creek, these plants were destroyed in most places by the frost of September 20th.

The houses in this settlement are chiefly built of logs, and generally appear, by the care bestowed on them, to be designed for permanent habitations. Some of them are of two stories, and are built of squared timber. Others, probably the residence of indigent proprietors, are extremely wretched. The barns are generally of the same materials. Several of the houses are, however, framed, some are decent, and a few are neat.

In New-England, a log house is universally intended to be a temporary habitation, a mere retreat from the weather, till

the proprietor shall be able to build a better. Considered in its light, a traveller will easily regard such a building as a comfortable shelter for the family at the present time, and as a step, and a short one, towards their future convenience and prosperity. Throughout the earliest stages of cultivation, in a country recently settled, such houses, built only with this design, will rather increase than diminish the cheerfulness of the aspect. But when, by peculiar pains employed in their construction, they seem designed for a lasting residence, the cheerfulness vanishes at once. In themselves, though capable of resisting the inclemency of seasons, and of sheltering their tenants from rain and frost, these houses are uncomfortable dwellings. They are of course the haunts and the nurseries of vermin in great numbers, subjected to speedy decay, noxious to the sight, offensive to the smell, and, unless continually repaired, are both cold and leaky. When the timber, of which they are built, is hewn, and the parts most easily soluble are removed, they will endure a greater length of time; but even then will barely last long enough for one generation. In the mean time these inconveniences must be suffered, and with continual augmentation.

The habitation has not a little influence on the mode of living, and the mode of living sensibly affects the taste, the manners, and even the morals, of the inhabitants. If a poor man builds a poor house, without any design or hope of possessing a better, he will either originally, or within a short time, conform his aims and expectations to the style of his house. His dress, his food, his manners, his taste, his sentiments, his education of his children, and their character, as well as his own, will all be seriously affected by this single circumstance. The thoughts and conduct of the family will be reduced to a humble level; and a general aspect of lowliness and littleness will be seen on whatever they contrive or do. The common remark concerning their conduct will be, nothing more could be expected from their character.

The aims of the inhabitants, planted along this river, seem to accord with these observations. Around both them and their exertions a barrier seems to be fixed by the state of their own minds, over which they have never thought of passing. A kind of peasant-like humbleness invests every thing with

which they are concerned. They appear not merely contented and unambitious, but unacquainted with the objects which excite ambition. Life to them does not glide; it is stagnant. Such at least was the impression forced on my mind, while I was passing by their habitations, and observing and conversing with such of the inhabitants as I saw. Their dress, their manners, their language, nay, their walk, exhibited, with a small number of exceptions, a single character.

Independently of these things, they are very pleasantly settled, if their situation is healthy. The soil is rich, the climate mild, and the local position beautiful. Were the country filled with the enterprise and cultivation, the churches and schools, the manners, intelligence, and morals of New-England, few places could boast a more numerous assemblage of delightful objects.

Eighteen miles from Buffalo is built, on a large mill-stream, bearing the same name, the little village of Chippeway, containing from twelve to twenty houses, a few of them decent. Here is a small fortress, and a garrison, destined, as I should imagine, to a life of stagnant indolence.

About four miles above the cataract we began to see the mist, raised by the agitation of the water, ascending in the form of a large white cloud, and continually varying its aspect, as it was blown by the wind into every fantastical shape. At times it almost entirely disappeared; at others, it burst suddenly upon the sight, and rising slowly, with great solemnity and grandeur, dispersed its magnificent volumes into the atmosphere. Nothing could afford us more noble anticipations of the splendour of the scene to which we were approaching —

After dining at Chippeway, we proceeded to the cataract. About a mile from our inn we were presented with one of the noblest prospects in the world; the more impressive, as none of us had ever heard it mentioned. Here the immense bed of limestone, which fills this country, begins rapidly to decline. A number of shelves, parallel to each other, cross the river obliquely, almost to the American shore. They are, however, irregular, broken, and wild; formed into long and short ranges, sudden prominences, and pointed rocks. Over this ragged and finely varied surface, the river rolls its amazing mass of waters with a force and grandeur, of which my

nd had never before formed a conception. The torrent is own up with immeasurable violence, as it rushes down the st declivity, between two and three miles in breadth, into a usand eminences of foam. All the magnificence of water nery shrunk in a moment into playthings of Lilliput.

When we came over against the cataract, we secured our reses, and descended the ancient bank of the river, a steep one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet. The foot-way, icheh conducted us, was of clay, and, having been wet by the eceding rain, was so slippery, that we could hardly keep our ating. At the bottom we found a swamp, encumbered with es, bushes, mire, and water. After stooping, struggling, d sliding, near a quarter of a mile, we came to the Table ock, a part of the stratum, over which the river descends, d the edge of the precipice, which at this place forms the itish bank of the river. This rock is at a small distance m the cataract, and presents the spectator with as perfect a w as can be imagined.

The falls of Niagara have been often described. Some or iber of these descriptions I may have read, but at so early a riod of my life, as not to remember even this fact. When eegan to explore and describe this country, it was my deter- nation to avoid reading any account of any part of it which is proposed as a scene of my own excursions. My reason s, the wish to make my own observations, and to keep my n views unmixed with those of others. This scheme, it ust be acknowledged, is not free from disadvantages, yet it certain that it has its advantages also. To me, at least, it eappeared very desirable to bring to every scene a mind, neither used nor perplexed by the views of others; and it seemed tter to correct my own views afterwards by theirs, than by e-occupying my judgment and fancy, to leave no room for iginal observation. I shall therefore exhibit to you this ne, as I have others, just as it struck my eye.

These falls are situated twenty-one miles, reckoned on the itish, and twenty-three, reckoned on the American arm of e river (where it is divided by Grand Isle) from Buffaloe, o miles less from the outlet of Lake Erie, and fourteen les from the entrance of the river into Lake Ontario, be- een Newark and Fort Niagara. The river bends on the

American side about twelve miles to the north-west, and on the British side about four, immediately below Navy-Island. It is here little less than four miles wide, and sufficiently deep for any navigation. It gradually becomes narrower, as it approaches the falls; but immediately above them its breadth is not far from three miles. From one mile and three quarters above, or opposite to the Stedman farm, it begins to descend with a rapid and powerful current. At the falls it turns instantly with a right angle to the north-east, and in a moment is contracted to three quarters of a mile.

Below the falls the river is not more, and in some places it is less than half a mile in breadth. Its depth here is great, being said to exceed three hundred feet; and its current is violent, proportionally to this contraction.

The cataract is formed by the brow of that vast bed of limestone, which is the base of all this country. Here its surface is perhaps one hundred and fifty feet beneath the common surface of the earth; elsewhere it approaches nearer. The brow extends, as I am informed, into the county of Ontario on the east, and on the west into Upper Canada, a distance which is unknown. The great falls of the Genesee are formed by the same brow. On the river Niagara it approaches near to Queenstown, at the distance of seven miles below the cataract. The whole height of the ledge above Lake Ontario, is estimated by Mr. Ellicott to be four hundred and ten feet. At Lake Erie the common level of the shore is about twenty feet above its waters. This level continues to the falls, and probably to the neighbourhood of Queenstown; the river gradually declining till it arrives at the rapids mentioned in the preceding Letter. Here, within the distance of one mile and three-fourths, it declines fifty-seven feet.

The precipice, over which the cataract descends, is, according to Major Prescott's survey, one hundred and fifty-one feet. This vast descent is perpendicular, except that the rocks are hollowed underneath the surface, particularly on the western side. The length of the precipice is three-fourths of a mile.

At the cataract the river is divided by an island, whose brow is perpendicular, and nearly coincident with the common line of the precipice. It occupies about one-fifth or one-sixth of

whole breadth. This island, it is reported, was visited by General Putnam during the last Canadian war, or that which ran in the year 1755. A wager, it is said, was laid, that man in that part of the army would dare to attempt a descent upon it. Putnam, with his customary resolution, undertook the enterprise. Having made fast a strong rope to the rock, he proceeded a considerable distance up the stream. Then taking some stout, skilful rowers, he put out into the river directly above the island. The rope in the mean time was held firmly by several muscular soldiers on the shore. The boat descended securely enough to the island; and, the enterprise being accomplished, was drawn again to the shore by attendants*.

The quantity of water descending at this place in a given time may, with considerable probability, be estimated from the following data:—

The river at the ferry is seven furlongs wide, and at an average twenty-five feet deep. The latter of these facts I received from an intelligent ferryman. The same man stated the current at four miles an hour. I am satisfied that it moves at five miles an hour. I allege the following reasons:—

1. Notwithstanding the great depth of the water, and the absolute freedom from any obstructions, the surface at the ferry is strongly rippled; resembling the water of a mill-race where it is shallow, and runs rapidly over a bed of stones.

2. The surface is here so oblique as to present a striking inequality to the eye.

3. The boats, as we crossed and re-crossed the river with our stout oarsmen, fell down the stream one half of a mile. The boats were light and convenient, and the wind was not favourable.

4. We travelled on the banks of the river four miles an hour by the watch; and the rapidity of the current evidently exceeded our progress.

5. Mr. Lamson, an intelligent and respectable inhabitant of the county of St. Lawrence, who has examined this subject with attention, informed me, that the current had been proved

* A bridge now connects the island with the American shore (1819).
Foot.

to be six miles an hour by a log, thrown into the river at the ferry, and floated down to the village of Chippeway. It is to be observed, that at the ferry the rapidity is greater than at any place between that and the village.

6. An ocular comparison with other streams, too tedious to be mentioned here, will establish this estimate.

For these reasons I am satisfied, that the current of this river is six miles an hour. If we calculate the quantity of water which passes the ferry, and of course descends at this cataract, on the supposition that the current is five miles, it will in an hour amount to 85,078,125 tons avoirdupois; if at six, to 102,093,750. At five miles the mass will in a day be 2,041,875,000; at six miles, it will be 2,450,250,000. It is not to be supposed, that all these data are precisely correct; yet they cannot be far from the truth.

You will easily believe, that by the falling of such a mass of water from such a height, the stream below must be intensely convulsed. The world, it is presumed, furnishes no example of similar agitation. The river does not, however, boil, in the common acceptation of that word, at all. The whole surface, and probably all beneath it, is a body of foam, differing essentially from what I have seen produced elsewhere, and much more strongly indicating the immense force of the current. The bubbles, of which it is universally composed, are extremely small; and appear continually ascending, and spreading on the surface in millions of irregular circular areas. These are all limited by lines, formed by chains of the larger bubbles, stretching between the several areas, so as to mark distinctly the extent of each. The lines themselves fluctuate unceasingly, and while they continually change their form, move along the surface, also, in every direction. Thus the whole river appears in one common convulsion, as if affected with a deep paralytic tremor, reaching from shore to shore, as far down the stream as the eye can trace it, and apparently from the surface to the bottom. To give you the impression, which it made on my mind, I think of no better method, than to say, that it seemed as if a vast volcanic struggle had commenced beneath this world of waters, whose incumbent weight hitherto prevented the approaching explosion.

The cause of this singular phenomenon may be thus under-

stood. Immediately below the precipice, the bed of the river, where it receives the falling sheet, is of immense depth. Into this receptacle the mass of descending water, plunging from such a height, forces its way to the bottom. Here, forming a curve, it begins to ascend. The current is, however, checked in every stage of its progress by the immeasurable weight of the superincumbent water. The motion upward must therefore become slow, divided, and irregular. In these circumstances, instead of a current, there must obviously be a general agitation, an universal heaving; such as might be expected from the throes of an earthquake. As the ascending current is thus broken, and enervated, before it reaches the surface, the surface is not billowy, but comparatively level. The wavy, tossed aspect of other streams, immediately below their cataracts, is the result of a force, applied at the surface; or of a current, descending only to a moderate depth. In the present case, as the ascending current comes from a depth so vast, it almost equally affects the whole mass, and cannot disturb the common level by the smallest fluctuations. The whole appearance, however, made an impression on the mind, of an agitation incalculably greater, and a force far more astonishing, than that, which produces the loftiest billows of the ocean. This was a scene, which I was unprepared to expect, and an exhibition of the force of water, which I had never before imagined.

Of the singular depth of the river at this place no spectator will ask for proof. To others it may be alleged, that a deep stream, from two to three and a half miles wide, is here contracted at once to somewhat less than half a mile; that logs, and other substances, after descending the precipice, continue buried a long time before they emerge; and that this immense mass of water, plunging from such a height, has been so long and so unceasingly excavating the bed below.

The noise of this cataract has often been the object of admiration, and the subject of loose and general description. We heard it distinctly when crossing the ferry at the distance of eighteen miles; the wind blowing from the north-west almost at right angles with the direction of the sound. Two gentlemen, who had lived some time at York, on the north side of Lake Ontario, and who were my companions in the

stage, informed me, that it was not unfrequently heard there. The distance is fifty miles.

The note, or tone, if I may call it such, is the same with the hoarse roar of the ocean; being much more grave, or less shrill, than that which proceeds from other objects of the same nature. It is not only louder, but seems as if it were expanded to a singular extent; as if it filled the atmosphere, and spread over all the surrounding country. The only variety, which attends it, is a continual undulation; resembling that of long musical chords, when struck with a forcible impulse. These undulations succeed each other with great rapidity. When two persons stand very near to each other, they can mutually hear their ordinary conversation. When removed to a small distance, they are obliged to halloo; and, when removed a little farther, cannot be heard at all. Every other sound is drowned in the tempest of noise, made by the water; and all else in the regions of nature appears to be dumb. This noise is a vast thunder, filling the heavens, shaking the earth, and leaving the mind, although perfectly conscious of safety, and affected with a sense of grandeur only, lost and astonished, swelling with emotions which engross all its faculties, and mock the power of utterance.

The strength of this sound may be illustrated in the following manner. The roar of the ocean on the beach, south of Long-Island, is sometimes heard in New-Haven, at the distance of forty miles. The cataract of Niagara is heard ten miles farther.

All cataracts produce greater or less quantities of mist, a proof to the common eye, that vapour may rise by mere agitation. The mist, raised here, is proportion to the greatness of the cause. A large majestic cloud, visible from an advantageous position for a great number of miles, rises without intermission from the whole breadth of the river below; and, ascending with a slow, solemn progress, partly spreads itself down the stream by an arching, and wonderfully magnificent motion; and partly mounts towards Heaven, blown into every wild and fantastical form; when, separating into smaller clouds, it successively floats away through the atmosphere.

Nearest to the shore a considerable quantity of this vapour impinges against the rock; and, continually accumulating, de-

ands in a constant shower of drops and little streams. A person, standing under the shelving part of these rocks, would a short time be wet to the skin.

In the mist, produced by all cataracts, rainbows are ordinarily seen in a proper position, when the sun shines; always, indeed, unless when the vapour is too rare. Twice, while we were here, the sun broke through the clouds, and lighted up a moment the most lucid rainbow which I ever beheld. In each instance the phenomenon continued a long time, and gave us in perfect leisure to enjoy its splendours. It commenced near the precipice, and extended, so far as I was able to judge, at least a mile down the river. In the latter instance, the sun was near the horizon; and the cusps of the rainbow were depressed as much beneath the horizontal level as the sun was above it. It was therefore a semicircle, and the vertex was half a mile above the base. In the former instance, the dimensions were somewhat smaller. Both were never interrupted. The southern part of that, here principally insisted on, or the division next to the precipice, was continued from the base to the vertex, and was therefore a semiquadrant. The northern part, commencing at the base, did not exceed one quarter of the other.

In one respect both these rainbows differed widely from all others, which I had seen; and, so far as I remember, from those of which I have read. The red, orange, and yellow, were so vivid, as to excite in our whole company strong emotions of surprise and pleasure; while the green blue, indigo, and violet, were certainly not more brilliant than in those, which are usually seen on the bosom of a shower. I thought them less bright, possibly because they were so faint, compared with the other colours. The cause of this peculiarity I have not attempted to investigate. The fact was certainly, and the phenomenon more glorious than any of the kind, which I had ever seen, or than I am able to describe*.

Exactly three years from this day, viz. October 6th, 1807, as I was going between Newburyport and Ipswich, in Massachusetts, with Messrs. — and G——, in returning from Maine, we saw a rainbow of the most remarkable appearance. The three glowing colours were eminently distinct, like those mentioned in the text. This also was formed in a body of vapour, or an uniformly diffused cloud. From these facts taken together

When the eye was fixed upon any spot, commencing a few rods above the precipice, that is, where the cataract begins to be formed, the descending water assumes everywhere a circular figure, from the place where it begins to descend to that where it falls perpendicularly. The motion here remarkably resembles that of a wheel, rolling towards the spectator. The section is about one-fifth or one-sixth part of a circle, perhaps twelve rods in diameter. The effect of this motion of so vast a body of water, equally novel and singular, was exquisitely delightful. It was an object of inexpressible grandeur, united with intense beauty of figure; a beauty, greatly heightened by the brilliant and most elegant sea-green of the waters, fading imperceptibly into a perfect white at the brow of the precipice.

The emotions, excited by the view of this stupendous scene, are unutterable. When the spectator casts his eye over the long ranges of ragged cliffs, which form the shores of this great river below the cataract; cliffs one hundred and fifty feet in height, bordering it with lonely gloom and grandeur, and shrouded everywhere by shaggy forests; when he surveys the precipice above, stretching with so great an amplitude, rising to so great a height, and presenting in a single view its awful brow, with an impression not a little enhanced by the division, which the island forms between the two great branches of the river; when he contemplates the enormous mass of water, pouring from this astonishing height in sheets so vast, and with a force so amazing; when, turning his eye to the flood beneath, he beholds the immense convulsion of the mighty mass; and listens to the majestic sound which fills the heavens; his mind is overwhelmed by thoughts too great, and by impressions too powerful, to permit the current of the intellect to flow with serenity. The disturbance of his mind resembles that of the waters beneath him. His bosom swells with emotions never felt; his thoughts labour in a manner never known before. The pleasure is exquisite but violent. The conceptions are clear and strong, but rapid and tumultuous. The struggle within is discovered by the fire

it seems evident, that vapour is more favourable than drops of rain to the exhibition of these three colours; or, in other words, refracts them with a perfection nearer to that of a prism.

f his position, the deep solemnity of his aspect, and the gaze of his eye. When he moves, his motions appear rived. When he is spoken to, he is silent; or, if he , his answers are short, wandering from the subject, and ing that absence of mind, which is the result of labour-ntemplation.

these impressions are heightened to a degree, which be conjectured, by the slowly ascending volumes of olled and tossed into a thousand forms by the varying and by the splendour of the rainbow, successively illu- g their bosom. At the same time the spectator cannot lect, that he is surveying the most remarkable object on obe. Nor will he fail to remember, that he stands a river, in most respects equal, and in several of high tion superior, to every other; or that the inland seas it empties, the mass of water which it conveys, the com- l advantages which it furnishes, and the grandeur of its ion in the spring, are all suitable accompaniments of so and glorious a scene.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VI.

A Passage behind the Sheet of Water of the Cataract practicable at some times, and not at others. Explanation of this Phenomenon. Retrogression of the Cataract considered.

DEAR SIR;

FROM Mr. B——, an English gentleman who was occasionally our companion during a part of this tour, I received the following information; that the day on which we left him at Chippeway, October 7th, he visited the falls; descended the ladder, which reaches from the summit of the bank to the river; and went up the stream so far, as to go behind the sheet of descending water. That three or four days afterward he visited the falls again, and found the river so much higher, as to render it impracticable for him to repeat this attempt with success.

The second night after we left Chippeway we lodged at Bemis's. While we were conversing upon this subject, Mr. Bemis declared, that he himself had visited them, and gone behind the sheet. My companions had all descended the ladder, and had made every effort to reach the cataract; but found it impossible, the water spreading quite to the bank, where it was too steep to permit any passing. They firmly denied, therefore, the practicability of succeeding in any attempt of this nature. Mr. Bemis, however, persisted in his declaration. Being questioned concerning the manner and circumstances of his procedure, he replied, that he went into the river to bathe; and that he went partly in the water, and partly on the shore. This explanation satisfied them.

I received this information from Mr. B—— on the evening of Monday, October 15th, at Staniford's in Manlius; and the next morning committed it to my note-book. The same contradictory accounts had been given by others, whose rep-

tation repelled every suspicion of disingenuousness. It became an object, in my view very desirable, to reconcile these accounts with truth; and to remove finally, if it could be done, every ground of mutual suspicion from those by whom they were given. I therefore determined to put together the several things, which I had declared relative to this subject; and to discover, if I could, the cause of the disagreement. In this design, if I mistake not, I was successful.

Lake Erie is regularly raised at the eastern end by every wind, blowing between the north-west and south-west. Of this we were eye-witnesses the morning when we left Buffalo for the falls, in the rapid rise of the waters upon the beach. A strong westerly wind elevates the surface six feet above its ordinary level. The river must of course be proportionally elevated; and at the outlet must, when such a wind blows, be six feet higher than the general water-mark. Of this, also, the proof is sufficient, if it can need proof, in the appearance of the banks; which bear evident marks of having been washed to a considerable height above the common surface of the stream. All parts of the river must of course partake of this elevation. At the cataract, and at the entrance into Lake Ontario, it must be higher than usual, as well as at its efflux from Lake Erie. Immediately below the cataract the elevation must, I think, be at least six feet; for the river, though more rapid, is scarcely half so wide as at the efflux.

On the contrary, whenever the wind blows from the north-east, the only easterly wind which in this region is of any importance, the waters of Lake Erie must recede of course, and fall considerably below their usual level. Whenever this is the fact, the river also will be necessarily lower than at any other time.

We visited the falls on the 6th of October. All that day, except very early in the morning, the wind had blown with considerable strength from the north-west; and, when we reached the falls, had continued six or seven hours. Lake Erie had begun to rise sensibly, when we commenced our journey. At the time of our arrival the river was full; for the lake was at its usual level in the morning. It is not

strange, therefore, that when my companions attempted to make their way to the sheet, they should have found it impracticable; because the water, being thus increased, covered the only possible passage.

On the evening of October 6th, a violent north-east storm began about nine o'clock, and continued till the next morning. A strong breeze, between the north-east and north, blew till one in the afternoon. At this time Mr. B—— went to the falls. The river was at its lowest ebb; and he had the best opportunity, which is ever afforded, of going up to the sheet; and found a practicable passage along the shore, where my companions found none, and where Mr. Bemis was obliged to betake himself to the water.

The St. Lawrence is probably the only great river in the world, which through two thousand miles of its course is subject to no other rise or fall of its waters, except that which is occasioned by wind. The greatest drought does not lower it; the greatest rain, and most abundant dissolution of snow, have not been observed to raise it a single inch. The balance, between the evaporation of the lakes and the supplies from streams and subjacent springs, is apparently exact. The surplus is conveyed off in a mass, which is uniformly the same at all seasons*.

* During the year 1815 the waters of Lake Erie rose several feet above their common level. Causes for this extraordinary, if not singular, phenomenon are various. Some persons have declared, that the rise has been gradual through the last seven years. These suppose the cause to have been a succession of wet seasons. They have however mistaken the fact. The rise, I am assured, has all taken place the present year. A gentleman, who made a journey along the southern shore of this lake in 1812, and another in 1815, informed me, that he found the waters in the former of those excursions at their usual level; and, in the latter, saw many places along the shore, where he had before rode on a dry, firm beach, covered several feet deep. The testimony of the inhabitants along the shore universally concurred with this statement.

Others have observed, that the waters of the Mississippi have this year (1815) been raised to an unprecedented height by extraordinary rains; and have concluded, that the rise of Lake Erie is derived from the same source. As no rain, and no dissolution of snow, have been ever known to raise this lake a single inch, it seems incredible, that from this source should be derived a rise of several feet. Besides, there is ordinarily no uniform state

When Mr. B—— arrived behind the sheet, he found a violent wind, blowing directly in his face with such strength, that respiration became difficult. The difficulty increased in every step of his progress, and soon obliged him to stop. At the same time a strong, offensive smell of sulphur, which continued without intermission, added to the difficulty of breathing, and obliged him to retreat. While he was here he observed, that the precipice everywhere exhibited the most evident proofs of mouldering, of having been worn away, and of having been long in a state of continual dissolution. The higher parts of the precipice, down to the Table Rock, and somewhat below, shelved considerably over the lower parts. The lower parts, as high as he could reach, had mouldered to such a degree as to be easily pulled to pieces by his hand; and were so loosened, that when he struck or pushed any part of the strata forcibly, a perceptible trembling followed the impact.

The wind perceived here by Mr. B—— undoubtedly resulted from the descent of the cataract and the configuration of the place, as it blew nearly at right-angles with the wind

of weather on this continent, within the northern temperate zone, spreading sufficiently far to affect in the same manner the great branches of the Mississippi and the head-waters of the St. Lawrence.

Others still suppose, that there is an internal and unknown cause of this remarkable event. Of this I shall only say, that it is alleged without any evidence.

Probably it will be found upon examination, that the bottom of the channel of the river St. Marie, where it is entered by the waters of Lake Superior, has been hollowed out several feet below its former level. In consequence of this fact, the waters of Lake Superior must descend into Huron, Michigan, and Erie, in a quantity prodigiously greater than at preceding periods; and in this manner must have raised the three lakes considerably above their common level. What renders this supposition the more probable is, that Lake Erie has again subsided eight or ten inches, and is continually lowering its surface. This must necessarily be the fact in the case supposed, unless the channel of St. Marie should continue to grow deeper and deeper.

Whether the facts here imagined have taken place I cannot determine. But should future intelligence prove, that the waters of Huron and Michigan have been raised above their customary level, the cause of the rise in Erie must undoubtedly be sought for in an extraordinary effusion of the waters of Lake Superior.

above. In the bed of the river, without the cataract, all was a perfect calm. The manner in which this phenomenon is produced, I am unable to explain.

It has been often declared, that the falls of Niagara were originally at the brow of the great precipice near Queenstown, seven miles further down the river. By the assertors of this opinion the fact has been confidently adduced as a proof, that the world existed before the date assigned to it by Moses. Others have denied the fact itself.

That these falls actually existed, at some former period, at the place specified, I have not a doubt. At the same time there is nothing strange or perplexing in this position. I have examined with attention three falls of the Saco, three of the Connecticut, two of the Hooestennuc, two of Otter creek, three of Onion river, two of the Hudson, two of the Mohawk, one of the Canajoharie, and one of the Passaic; beside several others, which need not here be mentioned. In every one of these the same process of nature has taken place. The mode, and the degree, in which the phenomenon exists, are different in them all. Where the stone is of a firmer texture, and therefore less liable to be worn, or from its nature is less exposed to decomposition by the weather, and wherever the stream is smaller and less rapid, this phenomenon is found in a less degree; and, wherever the contrary causes are combined, in a greater. The rocks over which the Connecticut falls are, in each of the instances above referred to, very hard; and, by the ordinary operations of nature, scarcely at all subject to decomposition. The falls, therefore, have receded very little. Glen's falls were originally in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, and have receded not far from five miles, in a bed of blue lime-stone, partly worn away by the current of the Hudson, and partly decomposed by the efficacy of the atmosphere. I visited these falls in 1798, 1799, 1802, and 1812. Between the second and third of these dates, a period of three years only, they were changed so much as to disappoint and surprise me. In 1799 I took a rough sketch of these falls, which, from a comparison made on the spot, I thought tolerably exact. In the year 1802 all the smaller resemblances had vanished. Several new and considerable chasms were formed, and others were sensibly enlarged,

tered in their figures. In 1812 the scene had become great measure new. The Cohoes have receded about a from their original position. The channel of the Mohawk ere been forced through a mass of black slate, easily and continually decomposed.

Canajoharie, a creek formerly described in these Let- and a tributary of the Mohawk, has in the same manner a passage through a bed of the same slate, between , in some places not less than one hundred and fifty feet ght. During the process, the falls in this stream have backward not less than a mile.

falls of Niagara are formed, as has before been ob- d, in an immense mass of lime-stone, horizontally stra- . On this mass lay originally a bed of earth, not far two hundred feet in thickness. After this had been d away, the river floated on the surface of the lime-stone, egan gradually to wear that also.

ppose, then, the brow of this vast stratum, near Queens- united, where it is now separated by the channel of the and the declivity continued across its breadth; what res would its current produce in its bed during the d, which has elapsed since the deluge? The very same, i the Hudson has produced at Glen's falls, and the rwk at the Cohoes, and differing only according to the ance of circumstances. The river here is probably not an one hundred times larger than the Hudson and the Mo- at the places specified. The lime-stone strongly resem- that at Glen's falls. The efficacy of the atmosphere is une. That this river, as well as others, must wear away ooks beneath it, and that the falls must in some degree e, cannot admit of a doubt. The only question which rise is, what has been the extent, and what the degree is operatoin? These questions it is, in many respects, id my power to answer. In some places the stone is ready to moulder, and easily worn away. In seasons ed by sudden and great changes of temperature, the sposition is rapid and extensive. In other seasons and s, the progress in both these respects will be compara- slow. Regularity, therefore, is in no sense attributable s process; nor will it, so far as I can see, admit of any probable calculation.

A gentleman, who has lived in this neighbourhood thirty years, informed Mr. B——, that since his residence here the cataract had receded one hundred rods. I will suppose, that Mr. B—— misunderstood this gentleman, and that he said yards instead of rods. If it be admitted, that an intelligent man, with ample opportunity to observe, supposed the cataract to have receded one hundred yards within this period, it must also be admitted, that the recession has at least been very perceptible. As an illustration of this truth it may be observed, that in the year, following the date of this journey, a large part of this precipice on the British side, and near the Table Rock, fell at once. This, probably, is one out of many hundreds of instances of the same nature; and is a part of that retrogression, by which the river is gradually forcing this deep channel round the Goat islands. If we suppose the progress diminished from one hundred rods to one hundred yards in thirty years, the degree of recession will be more than sufficient to have proceeded through the whole distance since the deluge, even if we should compute according to the commonly received chronology.

At the same time no regular calculation can be applied to the subject, as there are no principles which can be resorted to for a basis of such a calculation. The mouldering state of the stone, at the bottom of the precipice, is ample proof of its tendency to decay. The waste of the inferior parts is everywhere so much more rapid than that of the superior, as to occasion a wide shelf to project from the surface over all that is beneath. There is direct evidence, that the continual sprinkling has no small influence in effectuating this decay. The attrition of such an immense mass of water must be powerfully operative. Limestone, particularly of this quality, is easily and extensively broken by alternations of heat and cold. That these causes have operated extensively cannot be doubted; but how rapidly, and how differently at different seasons, it is impossible to determine.

An inquisitive man, considering the subject, will naturally ask, what will be the final result of this recession? The first answer to this question is, that by a regular progress it will ultimately reach the waters of Lake Erie; and, by depressing the outlet to the common level of the channel below the falls will empty the waters of this lake, perhaps suddenly, into

ario. Such, it is rationally concluded, must be the whenever the last, or southernmost, part of the great valley which the waters of Lake Erie are kept at their level, shall give way. The surface of Lake Erie is now four hundred and fifty feet perpendicular above the level of Lake Ontario. It is probable, that in most cases the bottom of Lake Erie is much above this level. If this mound, then, be broken down, its waters chiefly emptied into Lake Ontario; and all the flat country surrounding this lake, together with that which extends from the St. Lawrence to the ocean, would be buried in water. If we may credit the best remaining historical evidence, such an event took place, when, by the breaking through a similar mound in the Bosphorus, the Euxine immense mass of water into the Mediterranean; and, that sea above its usual height, forced a passage through the isthmus, which antecedently had connected Europe and Asia, between the pillars of Hercules.

On this subject, however, there is no reason for apprehending that the waters of Lake Erie can be sensibly affected by a recession, it must have passed through a distance at least one hundred, probably four times as great, as that between the falls and Niagara*. Should all the causes of decay, operate with equal efficacy as in times past, it would be more than 16,000 years before this event would take place.

It is remarked, that this stratum is horizontal. The level, at least two miles above, is at least sixty feet higher than at the falls. The river, also, is everywhere wider above and upon an average at least threefold. By both these circumstances the retrogressive progress of the falls will be retarded. The erosion will be less, the dissolution slower, and the quantity of stone to be destroyed will be greater. It is to be observed, however, that many uncertainties accompany this theory; and that the result of it must be dubious, for a variety of reasons.

Notwithstanding the interruption, which this mass of lime-

stone. Timothy Pickering informed me, that the captain of a vessel, when he crossed this lake, told him, that he had often cast anchor several miles westward of Buffalo, and had invariably found this stratum of limestone at the bottom.

stone presents to the navigation of the St. Lawrence, it is a source of immeasurable benefit to that inland world, which surrounds the great lakes lying westward in so magnificent a succession. The elevation of land above the ocean, and the distance of it from the shore, may, together, be assumed as a scale, by which the temperature of any spot within a given climate may be measured. The countries, which border these lakes, are in the heart of a great continent, and remote from every part of the ocean; and, like all other central regions, are considerably elevated above its surface. Were the lakes then to disappear, these countries would be subject to intense cold in the winter, and to intense heat in the summer. In all probability, also, they would suffer, like the central parts of Asia and Africa, the severest evils of drought. In all these important particulars their situation is now the reverse. The whole of this vast region is rather wet than dry, moderately heated, and very little if at all distressed by frost. Snow falls in the tract east of Lake Erie, and south of Lake Ontario, less than at Albany, and as little as in the south of New-England.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VII.

Storm. General Observations upon the western part of New-York. Excessive Value placed upon Lands covered with Vegetable Mould. Climate and prevalent Winds of this Region. Western district of New-York healthy. Diseases. Fever and Ague. Goitres. Pulmonary Affections rare.

DEAR SIR;

A LITTLE before it was dark, we mounted our horses, and rode to Chippeway. In the country where we were, there was no public worship, and in the inn every one seemed towards religion had apparently been long since forgotten. The sabbath here, and in the neighbourhood, was not distinguished, even as a day of relaxation. At Queensborough or Newark, our situation would have been the same. As far as we could learn, either by observation or inquiry, religion is as truly to be originated here as among the Six Nations.

About nine o'clock there came on a violent storm from the north-east, accompanied by a heavy rain, which continued but little intermission until ten o'clock the next day. We proceeded without any accident to Buffaloe, whence, having waited three hours for our dinner, we rode to Bemis's: thirty-two miles. Here our former misfortunes returned again. The house contained neither bread nor flour, so we were obliged to sup upon sipawn*. In the morning, however, we were furnished with biscuit for our breakfast, by the fortunate arrival of a boy from the mill at a late hour of the night.

The next day we rode to Bemis's: thirty-seven miles.

* Hasty pudding, made of maize.

Here we were arrested again by a storm from the north-east, accompanied with heavy rain, and a considerable flight of snow, which, however, dissolved as it fell. This tempest commenced at Bemis's about nine o'clock in the evening, and continued until one the next day. In the eastern parts of the United States it continued until the morning of the 10th. Throughout most of New-England it did more mischief than any other which is remembered. In Vermont the snow fell on the Green Mountains two feet deep; at Charlestown, in New-Hampshire, and at Goshen, in Connecticut, twelve inches; on Taghkannuc, and on the Kaatskill Mountains, eighteen inches. The quantity of timber blown down was probably never equalled.

Even in this vicinity, at the distance of more than four hundred miles from Boston, the wind was so violent, that it blew down eleven trees across the road, between Bemis's and Bloomfield.

We mounted our horses at two o'clock, made the best of our way to Genesee river, and fared very comfortably at Hosmer's, half a mile east of the bridge.

The next morning we returned to our hospitable friends at Bloomfield, and continued with them until the next day. Then we proceeded to Canandagua, and spent the afternoon and evening very pleasantly in an intelligent circle of gentlemen.

On the succeeding day, October 12th, we rode to Geneva before dinner in a heavy rain, and lodged the following night at Cayuga bridge.

Sunday we attended public worship at Manlius, with a considerable and very decent assembly.

Monday morning, my horse having been wounded by the saddle, I sent him forward with my companions, and set out in a waggon for Stanniford's, five miles ahead, intending to wait the arrival of the stage. The waggoner's horses were miserably poor, and were exhausted by the fatigue of a laborious journey. The driver was a young Dutchman, whose mind had hardly begun to think, and who was therefore not a very amusing companion. The waggon was heavily loaded, and it soon began to rain. Our progress resembled not a little that of my uncle Toby, for we could hardly be said to

nce at all. I therefore left my portmanteau with the owner, and made the rest of the journey, a little more than 3 miles, on foot. Soon after I reached Stanniford's, the journey began again for the day. Here, in the possession of a room, and the civilities of an obliging family, I devoted my time very pleasantly to the completion of my note book. B—— arrived in the evening, as did several other agreeable travellers. The next morning, until twelve o'clock, I attended the business of the preceding day.

As I am now about to quit the western country of New-York, I will endeavour to give you, in a collected view, the information which I have gained, and the observations which I have made concerning this interesting tract. It has been the object of great attention in many parts of the United States, and a subject of much conversation.

The soil is better than that of any other tract, of equal extent with which I am acquainted. It consists almost entirely of two sorts, loam and clay, both of them rich. The loam is generally of the same kind and colour with that heretofore described in the account given of Middletown, of a reddish brown mixed with clay, and therefore stiff. The clay is of a darker brown, tempered with other earth, and without any great difficulty pulverized.

In estimating the quality of new lands in America, serious errors are very commonly entertained, from the want of due attention to the following fact. Wherever the forests have remained undisturbed by fire, they have accumulated, by shedding their foliage through a long succession of ages, and by their decay, a covering of vegetable mould, from six to twelve inches deep, and sometimes from eighteen to twenty-four. This mould is the best of all soils, and eminently friendly to every species of vegetation. It is indeed no other than a mass of manure, and that of the very best kind, converted into mould; and, so long as it remains in considerable quantities, all grounds produce plentifully. Unless a proper allowance be made, therefore, when we are forming an estimate of the quality of soils, for the efficacy of this mould, which, so far as my observation has extended, is not often wanting, those on which it abounds will be of course over-rated. On the contrary, where it does not abound, the quality of the

soil will in a comparative view be underrated. Hence all maple lands, which from their moisture are incapable of being burnt, are considered as more fertile than they ultimately prove; while oak and even pine lands are almost of course regarded as being less fertile. The maple lands in Ballston are found to produce wheat in smaller quantities, and of a worse quality, than the inhabitants, misled by the exuberance of their first crops, expected. Their pine lands on the contrary yield more and better wheat than till very lately they could be induced to believe. The same things severally are true, as I have already observed, of the oak and maple lands in the county of Ontario.

From this source it has arisen, that all the unburnt, new lands in the northern, middle, southern, and western states, have been, and still are, uniformly valued beyond their real worth. When the tract on the Green Mountains in Massachusetts was first settled, the same luxuriant fertility was attributed to it, which has since characterized Kentucky. About the same time it was ascribed to the valley of Hooestennuc in the county of Berkshire. From these tracts it was transferred to the lands in New-Hampshire and Vermont, on the Connecticut, and thence to those in Vermont, on the western side of the Green Mountains. From these regions the paradise has travelled to the western parts of the state of New-York, to New-Connecticut, to Upper Canada, to the countries on the Ohio, to the south-western territory, and is now making its progress over the Mississippi, into the newly purchased regions of Louisiana. The accounts given of all these countries, successively, were extensively true, but the conclusions which were deduced from them were in a great measure erroneous. So long as this mould remains, the produce will regularly be great, and that with very imperfect cultivation, for the mould in its native state is so soft and light as scarcely to need the aid of the plough.

But this mould, after a length of time, will be dissipated. Where lands are continually ploughed, it is soon lost; on those which are covered with grass from the beginning, it is preserved through a considerable period. At length, however, every appearance of its efficacy, and even of its existence, vanishes.

the true object of inquiry, whenever the quality of a soil is estimated, is the nature of the earth immediately beneath vegetable mould; for this in every case will ultimately be soil. If this is capable of being rendered by skilful cultivation regularly productive, the soil is good; if not, it is

With this object in view, I have formed the opinion expressed above, concerning the country under discussion.

Throughout most of this tract, the earth beneath the mould is an excellent soil. The mould itself will speedily be

It is wisely and kindly provided by the Creator, to answer the immediate calls of the first settlers. These are of the few and poor, are embarrassed by many wants and necessities; and need their time and labour, to build their houses, barns, and enclosures, as well as to procure, with extraordinary inconvenience, many articles of necessity and comfort, which are obtained in older settlements without labour or

To them it is a complete and ample manure, on which whatever is sown springs with vigour, and produces, almost without toil or skill, a plentiful harvest. But it was not intended to be permanent. It is not even desirable, that it should be. To interrupt, or even to slacken, the regular exertion of man materially, is to do him an injury. One of the blessings of temperate climates is this; that they yield to skilful labour, and without it yield little or nothing. Where such is the fact, energy and effort will follow, and all the inestimable consequences. Where countries are radi-barren, man will despair. Where they are so fertile, as to demand little exertion, he will be idle and vicious. In the island of Otaheite, where subsistence is furnished almost without human exertion, the inhabitants, in proportion to their capacity, have been probably the most profligate on the

It is the soil of this tract will be rich after the mould has been peared; and will still yield, as I believe abundantly, all the productions of the climate. That, which it so strongly resembles, in Connecticut, has been proved by ample experience to be enduring, and to be capable of any improvement.

From its colour, and texture, this will probably endure in the same manner.

You will not understand, that the soil of this tract of country is uniform. Some parts, where all are good, are superior to others. Some are indifferent, and some are lean. Ordinary grounds, as I know partly from observation, and partly from information, abound much more in the southern than in the middle and northern divisions.

The climate of this region differs in several respects from that of New-England, and that of New-York along the Hudson; and in some parts of the region itself differs sensibly from that of others. What it will ultimately appear to be cannot be determined, until a longer time shall have elapsed after the date of its first settlement, and more and more accurate observations shall have been made concerning the subject.

There is, so far as my observation has extended, a circuit of seasons in this country, and perhaps in many others, accomplished in periods of from ten to perhaps fifteen years. The period, in which most of this tract has been settled, commencing in the year 1791, and terminating with the year 1804, has been distinguished by an almost regular succession of warm seasons. There were but three cold winters, *viz.* those of 1792, 1798, and 1799. The summers were all warm. What the state of the climate was here, during the preceding cold period, from the year 1780 to the year 1790 inclusive, it is impossible to decide. In the census of 1790, three townships only are mentioned, west of the German flats, Whitestown, Chemung, and Chenango; and these contained at that time but 3,427 inhabitants, although they included nearly every individual of European extraction. Half a century at least will be necessary to furnish the facts, on which such a decision can be directly founded.

Still I am of opinion, that the climate of this tract is milder than that of the eastern parts of New-York and New-England, which lie in the same latitude. The cause of this peculiar mildness I suppose to be the great lakes, which, commencing in its vicinity, extend along its whole northern boundary, and almost all its western, and thence in a western and north-western direction, almost to the middle of North America. That these lakes do not contribute to render this climate colder has,

been heretofore satisfactorily evinced. That they make
r, has never been supposed.

is been extensively agreed by modern philosophers,
e two great causes of a mild temperature are nearness
shore, and proximity to the level of the ocean. Those
s, which border on the ocean, are almost without an
on warmer than central countries in the same latitude ;
se, which are little raised above its surface, are regu-
rmer than such as have a considerable elevation. Mr.
, however, with that promptness of decision for which
long been remarkable, found, as he believed, satisfac-
idence, that this opinion is groundless in the climate of
ions bordering on the lakes Erie and Ontario. This
he asserts to be milder than that of the shore in the
titude, where it is scarcely raised above the ocean.
tract, which enjoys this mild temperature, is elevated
tant from the sea. The premises, here assumed, are
tedly true, but the consequence does not follow. The
ive the same influence here which the ocean has else-

The elevation above them is so small, and the dis-
om them so near, that the full influence of both ad-
s is completely felt. Among the proofs that this is a
planation of the subject, it is only necessary to ob-
that the south-eastern parts of the county of Ge-
the counties of Steuben, Tioga, Delaware, and Green,
sibly colder than those immediately south of Lake

ight, perhaps, to be observed here, that countries on
ern side of a continent are regularly colder in winter,
ter in summer, than those on the western. The rea-
vious. In the temperate zones, at least in the north-
prevailing winds are from the west. Eastern shores,
e, have their winds chiefly from the land, and western
njoy the soft breezes of the ocean.

is winters are mild in the tract under consideration, so
summers. It is not often the fact, that people are
to sleep here without a blanket.

ew-England, and in the eastern and southern parts of
ork, and I presume in the northern, most of their
cept thunder-showers, are brought by easterly winds.

A few come from the south-west, particularly near the coast. I know of no spot in these regions which furnishes a material exception to this remark, beside that mentioned in the account of Lancaster in New-Hampshire. At Buffaloe Creek, and for about twenty miles further east, north-east storms, though less frequent than on the coast, are not uncommon. The stream of air, passing up the valley of the St. Lawrence, crosses Lake Ontario, and thence proceeds over Lake Erie. Perhaps when the country is more generally cleared of its forests, its influence may be felt still more extensively.

From the limit mentioned above to Manlius, rains and snows are brought almost universally by north-west winds, and in a few instances come from the south-west. Some intelligent men at Vandevender's informed me, that two north-east storms, which had blown there in the year 1804, were extraordinary occurrences.

At Manlius the rains and snows come from the east and from the west, nearly equally; at Herkimer, more frequently from the east than from the west.

Both rains and snows are frequent in this region, sudden in their advent, and short in their duration. The weather is very variable, but varies very differently from that in New-England. In New-England, the variations, which are most disagreeable, are from heat to cold, and from cold to heat. In New-England storms sometimes last several days; and often, when the wind has ceased from its violence at the end of the first or second day, which indeed is almost always the fact, the cloudy and wet weather continues for some time. In this country the rain or the snow, together with the blast which produces it, is soon over, and some part of almost every day is fair. A general uncertainty concerning the weather, even of a single day, is here prevalent. The signs of fair and foul weather, which the inhabitants have learned in their native country, are of little use to them here; and those, with whom I conversed, had not made observations through a length of time sufficient to render them useful substitutes. A perfectly bright evening or morning, with a north-west wind, was regarded as one of the surest indications of rain during some part of the succeeding day. This in New-England is an almost certain prognostic of fair weather. To travellers these

sudden variations from dry to wet are disagreeable; but the inhabitants already begin to prefer their own climate, and speak of our long storms with disgust, and of our settled weather and serene sky with indifference, observing, that they like such weather as will permit them to go abroad every day. Of twenty days, beginning Thursday, September 27th, and ending October 16th, it rained, while we were making our progress through this country, thirteen, several of them the whole day.

In New-England rains and snows are produced, either by the opposition or the oblique percussion of different winds, blowing at the same time. Here, as at Lancaster in New-Hampshire, they are chiefly produced by the continual progress of the same wind. A more rapid blast, following one less rapid, brings with it a shower, condensed by means of the obstruction which is occasioned by the slower movement of the preceding blast. When the shower is past, a slower wind succeeds, and is followed by a swifter one, which brings a second shower. The same alternation is repeated until the vapour is spent, and the sky becomes clear by the still continued influence of the same wind. Thus the same wind brings fair weather, then rain, and then fair weather again, the same day. Of these facts I was several times a witness. In a few instances I have observed them in New-England, and have mentioned one instance of them in my account of the peculiar weather at Lancaster.

Hitherto the snow has never been inconveniently deep in this quarter, unless for a very short time, and that not more than once or twice since the country was settled. The only complaint which I heard was, that they rarely had sufficient snow to furnish them with convenient transportation. The winter half of the year seems, therefore, to be drier than the summer half. The summer of 1803, however, was a very dry season, but it was the only one of any importance which these people have known.

The snows, as well as the rains, usually fall in soft and moderate showers; yet there have been some exceptions. In November, 1803, the snow fell, in the country surrounding Vandevender's, three feet deep during a single storm, which came from the north-east. It lay, however, but a few days.

The Seneca Lake has hitherto furnished a strong proof of the mildness of this climate. Though nowhere more than four miles wide, it has never been frozen over.

The spring usually begins here about the 20th of March, and the winter about the 20th of December. Gardens are commonly begun the last week in April, and the first in May; from six to eight weeks later than at New-Haven.

Cows are usually put in pasture about the 10th of May; ten days earlier.

Green peas were gathered, in 1804, at Canandagua about the middle of June; a week later than at New-Haven, the same year. The season was cold and backward.

Maize is usually planted in the first half of May; a month later. The green ears were first gathered this year the 16th of August; a month later.

Oats are sown in the beginning of May.

Flax is sown at the full moon in May.

The first hay is cut in the middle of June.

Wheat is in mid-harvest the last week in July, and the first in August; three weeks and a month later. But the late-sown wheat is not cut till the last week in August.

These facts will give a tolerably just idea of the seasons in this country. Both agriculture and gardening are, however, governed in no small degree by the character of the proprietor, and the quality of the soil. Where both are favourable, the productions will be earlier. In the garden, especially, the difference will be considerable.

The tract of country, which I am now considering, has thus far been unhealthy. How far this fact is owing to the present stage in the progress of its settlement it is impossible to determine. Most regions on this side of the Atlantic have been subjected to some peculiarities of disease during the progress of population; of which many have vanished when they had reached the state of complete settlement. While the country is entirely forested, it is ordinarily healthy. While it is passing from this state into that of general cultivation, it is usually less healthy. This arises partly from the hardships, suffered by the planters, and partly from the situation of the lands. These hardships I have summarily recounted in a former part of this work; and you have undoubtedly observed, that they

were amply sufficient to try in a very serious manner the firmest constitution. The peculiar situation of the land you will be able to conjecture from the following observations.

In the forested state all grounds, except during a short time, comprising a part of the summer and a part of the autumn, are more or less moist. Maple grounds are almost literally always moist. The vegetable mould, with which they are thickly covered, imbibes and retains water like a sponge, while the earth below, which in this region is tenacious, prevents it from descending. Whenever the air is sufficiently warm, vapour in considerable quantities, and unfavourable to human health, must be exhaled from such a surface. The evenings and the mornings, particularly, will, through a great part of the summer half-year, be damp, chilly, and productive of colds, together with the diseases which spring from them. From such exhalations, continually repeated, must arise, also, a gradual diminution of bodily energy, imperceptibly increasing. A chill, if I mistake not, always lessens the vigour of the system, at least for the time; and a perpetual, or often repeated chilliness must induce a general and continual debility. These evils, however, appear to be in a considerable measure counteracted, while the forested state continues, by several known, and probably by some unknown causes. As the surface is less warmed, the vapour is less exhaled; the temperature is more uniform; and the changes are less sudden, as well as less frequent. The air also, expired by the leaves, is eminently pure and healthy. At the same time, wood being abundant, large culinary fires are generally burning; and the house, together with all which it contains, is chiefly kept dry.

All these, and probably all other causes of this nature, gradually vanish as cultivation advances. The ground is laid open to the sun. The heat of the day in the warm season becomes often intense; and the more so because the remaining forest precludes the free access of the wind. The moist grounds, particularly marshes, being exposed to the entire influence of the heat, become corrupt, offensive, and replenished with miasmata, loathsome to the senses, and noxious to health. Diseases at this period are apt to abound, and to continue until the country is completely cultivated,

and an artificial vegetation is substituted for that which is natural. As most tracts in the United States, which are now healthy, have passed through this succession of changes, there is reason to believe, that this, which is now extensively in the second of these stages, may escape from its disadvantages, and enjoy in a good degree the benefits of the third.

The diseases, which principally prevail here, are the fever and ague, intermittents without ague, and bilious remittents. Fever and ague may be considered as nearly universal; almost all the inhabitants being sooner or later seized by it within a few years after their immigration. This disease, from the violence of its affections, its long continuance, its return at the same season for several successive years, and the lasting impression, which it often leaves on the constitution, is regarded by the people of New-England with a kind of horror. The other two diseases, though common to most parts of the country, are yet much more predominant in particular places. Along the Genesee they all abound. They are frequent, also, as I was informed, on the southern shores of Lake Ontario, and in spots around the outlets of most of the smaller lakes, and in various others. A tract around the Onondaga salt springs is still more sickly and fatal.

To the evils, mentioned above, I ought to add the exposure of the recent settlers to walking and working a great part of their time in moist ground; the badness of their houses; the poorness of their fare; together with the difficulty of obtaining proper medicines, good nurses, and skilful physicians. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that the streams are frequently choked, rendered sluggish, and raised in many places above their usual height by the timber, which is cut down, or which, being girdled, is suffered to fall into their channels. In this manner they affect the atmosphere in as noxious a manner as mill-ponds, and other artificial accumulations of water.

There is another disease, which is unquestionably owing to the nature of this country, and not merely to the recency of its settlement. This is what is called in Switzerland the *goitres*, or the *hernia gutturis*. By the Honourable Uriah Tracy, late a senator of the United States from Connecticut, I am informed, that this disease is found to some extent

throughout a great part of the regions lying north of the east and west of the Alleghany mountains. Mr. Tracy was employed by the American government on a mission of intelligence, which required him to make a tour throughout an extent of this country. Accordingly he passed through Pennsylvania, by the way of Pittsburgh and Presque Isle, thence, crossing Lake Erie, proceeded to Detroit. From thence he went to Michilimackinac, and thence to Lake Superior. From Michilimackinac he returned to Buffalo, and took the great western road to Albany. In this region he found the goitres existing in the older settlements, and in the newer less frequently, but actually existing at great distances throughout the whole region. Several gentlemen have confirmed the account of Mr. Tracy. The disease exists from Utica to Buffalo is, I think, common; probably not in every township, but in such a manner as to indicate that it is incident to the country at large, and has a foundation in its nature and circumstances. When I was at Paris, in the year 1799, there were in the parish of St. Germain but two families affected with it. In these families, however, and most others where it has been for a number of years, it seized on several of the members. At the north end of the bridge, which crosses the Mohawk from Utica, there was in the year 1799, a family within the township of Deerfield, consisting of ten or eleven persons, every one of whom, when first informed, had the goitres. Persons afflicted with this disease have, as is well known, swellings of the neck, rising indifferently in front or at the side; and, when they become large, extending throughout the anterior half. These swellings are of all sizes, from the least protuberance to that of a quart bowl; and are attended with stiffness of the neck, a slight degree of continual cough, and frequently a depression of spirits. The sufferings of the patient are increased by a cold, and by almost every other infirmity. Women are more frequently and more severely afflicted with this disease than men, feeble than vigorous persons, and children than adults. In the higher degrees it becomes a painful deformity, not only as an unnatural protuberance, but by imparting a disagreeable cast to the face, particularly to the eyes. When the patient conti-

nues in the same place, and in the same habits of living by which it was produced, it generally increases; but if he removes to a part of the country where it is unknown, it not uncommonly decreases, and sometimes disappears.

The cause of this disease is by Mr. Coxe* supposed to be the calcareous matter, which in Switzerland is called tuff, and which he concludes is so completely dissolved as not to affect the transparency of the water. In this state of minuteness, he supposes that it may be introduced, by the circulation of the blood, or otherwise, into the glands of the throat; where, by accumulation and concretion, particularly in the thyroid gland, in its structure favourable to the deposition and detention of such particles, they produce an irritation, by means of which a viscid fluid, naturally contained in the cells of this gland, is secreted in unnatural quantities, and the gland itself unnaturally enlarged by the distention of these cells.

In support of this opinion Mr. Coxe alleges the following proofs:—

1st. He observes, that during his travels through Europe he always found, that tuff abounded wherever goitres were common. The places, which he specifies, are the Valais, the Valteline, Lucerne, Friburgh, Berne, the region near Aigle and Bex, several places of the Pays de Vaud, the region near Dresden, the valleys of Savoy and Piedmont, and tracts near Turin and Milan.

2dly. One of the principal springs, which supplies Friburgh with water, has deposited large quantities of tuff on the rock, from which it issues.

3dly. A gentleman of veracity informed Mr. Coxe, that he had a small swelling on his throat, which usually increased in the winter, when he chiefly resided at Berne, and diminished in summer, when he removed to other places.

4thly. The waters at Lucerne, except one spring, are all impregnated with tuff; and the natives, who live near that spring, are less subjected to goitres than the other inhabitants; and members of the same family, who drank only from that spring, were less subject to the goitres than others, who were not thus exact.

5thly. Places contiguous to those in which goitres and tuff

* See Coxe's Travels in Switzerland, Letter xxxv.

were frequent, and having precisely the same situation and climate, but destitute of tuff, were observed by Mr. Coxe to be free from goitres.

6thly. A surgeon, whom he met at the baths of Leuk, informed Mr. Coxe, that he had repeatedly extracted concretions of tuff from goitres; particularly from one which suppurated he took several flat pieces, each about half an inch long. The same substance he declared had been found in the stomachs of cows, and in the goitrous tumours to which the dogs of that country were subject. The same gentleman assured Mr. Coxe, that he had diminished and cured the goitres of many young persons, particularly one of his own children, who was born with a goitre as large as an egg, by emollient liquors and external applications. The principal method adopted by this gentleman to prevent them in future was to remove his patients from the places where the springs were impregnated with tuff; and if that could not be contrived, to forbid them the use of water altogether. His own family he prohibited from tasting the spring waters in his neighbourhood, unless they were distilled, or mixed with wine or vinegar; and thus reserved them from goitres, which were extremely common in the town where he lived.

This account of Mr. Coxe appears to me satisfactory. The whole country where this disease prevails, in the American States, is calcareous. The goitres, found here, exist in spots and particular families. It is incredible, that they should be derived from the mode of living; because they are found among those, who live in every mode between luxury and beggary. It is incredible, that they should be derived from climate; because there are no such differences of climate in the tracts where they abound, and where they are unknown, as to furnish any explanation of the subject; and because a great multitude of families have them not, who are interspersed among those who have them. They cannot be derived from lime stone in its common form, or the carbonate of lime; because this mineral abounds throughout most of New-England, west of the Green Mountains, as well as in the eastern parts of the state of New-York; and yet in both these regions goitres are unknown. It is unnecessary to observe, that they cannot be derived from snow-water.

The remark of M. de Saussure, that foreigners established

in Switzerland are never affected with these tumours, is inapplicable to this region. The inhabitants, here, are universally foreigners; and almost all of them came from New-England, or other countries, where this disease is absolutely unknown. Yet many of the original settlers, as well as their children, are afflicted with this evil.

From the account of Mr. Coxe, if there be no error in it, we are furnished with one very important truth, relative to this subject. It is this: that the surgeon, mentioned above, preserved his own family by invariably prohibiting them from drinking the spring waters, unless when they had been distilled, or mixed with wine or vinegar. To distil water for the drink of the inhabitants of a town or village, must certainly be an expensive and tedious process. Still it will be less tedious than a general diffusion of goitres. By many families it might be done for their own use, without any considerable difficulty. All families cannot afford to mix their water with wine; but most might procure vinegar sufficient for this purpose; and habit would easily reconcile them to the use of this liquid. Among many nations it has been a favourite beverage. Possibly the tuff may be precipitated by means hitherto undiscovered, and yet safe and pleasant. That tuff exists in this country is not known, probably because it has never been examined.

The existence of this disease, throughout so great an extent of country, is, I believe, unexampled in the world. Should it spread very generally among the inhabitants of this region, it must hereafter affect many millions of the human race. When we consider the magnitude of this fact, and remember, that the disease in its higher stages is hitherto incurable, it becomes a very serious evil. It is to be hoped, that the same good Providence, which has so lately and so wonderfully dissipated the terrors of the small-pox, by the discovery of the vaccine inoculation, will also disclose a remedy for the melancholy disease under consideration.

Distressing, however, as this disorder seems to a stranger, the inhabitants appear already to regard it with abated apprehensions, and to be approximating in their views of it toward indifference. An intelligent and respectable lady in Pittsburgh was asked by Mr. Tracy, whether it existed in her family: she said, she presumed it did not. The children were

ben called up and examined, and five of them were found to be affected with it.

Few of the other diseases, common to the climate, are rife in this country. From the pulmonary consumption, so frequent elsewhere, they are in a great measure exempted. Dr. W. of Canandagua, a physician in extensive practice, informed me, that during the ten years of his residence there, only three persons, within his knowledge, had died of the consumption in that township and its neighbourhood. He also observed, that most of the diseases, found on the coast, were unknown there, and that he believed the fever and ague to be not improbably the cause of this exemption. As I passed through Sheffield, I was informed, in a manner which could not be rationally questioned, that the consumption is also very rare in that town. Should there be no error in this account, it will deserve inquiry, whether the infrequency of this disease in the southern states is not owing more to the fever and ague than to the warmth of the climate; or perhaps, in better words, whether the tendencies to disease in the human frame do not in particular tracts flow chiefly in this single channel? Should the result of this inquiry be an affirmative answer, Canandagua may hereafter become a more convenient retreat for persons, subject to pulmonic affections, than the southern states.

The same gentleman mentioned to me a remarkable instance of the efficacy of the fever and ague. A woman, who had a little before removed from New-England into the neighbourhood of Canandagua, lost her reason. Some time afterward, she had the fever and ague. When it left her, she became immediately sane.

I have mentioned the climate of this country as unhealthy. I ought to add, that several of the respectable inhabitants, both physicians and others, insist, that the proportional number of deaths is not greater than in the healthy parts of New-England. Some of them also observed to me, that the bilious remittent of this region admits of a cure more easily, and more certainly, than in any other with which they were acquainted.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VIII.

General Observations upon the Western Part of New-York, continued. Want of Stone for Building and Fencing. Defective Supply and Quality of its Timber. Water impregnated with Lime. Commerce. Different Outlets for its Commodities.

DEAR SIR;

AMONG the disadvantages, to which this western country is subject, the want of good stone for building and fencing, must, I think, be a serious one. In considerable tracts this want is absolute; in others, stone is scarce, and obtained with difficulty. In almost all, so far as my information extends, it is either lime, slate, or gypsum; neither of them capable of enduring fire, nor of such a texture as to be conveniently wrought for the purposes of building. The specimens which I saw were coarse, rough, and destitute of beauty. In many places enclosures may be formed of stone; but in many, I believe in most, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to build cellar walls, the foundations of houses, or fire places, which will be either convenient or lasting.

This material defect the inhabitants have not hitherto been able to supply by the substitution of good bricks. The clay of this country is everywhere mixed with other earths, of such a quality as to render the bricks made of it easily dissoluble by weather and by fire. In some places they are indeed firmer than in others; and their texture is perhaps generally rendered unnecessarily loose, and therefore unnecessarily subject to decomposition, by the ignorance or by the unfaithfulness of workmen. In all, the bricks are bad. Whether there may be any remedy for this misfortune, time must discover.

The timber of this tract, also, is to a great extent of a consistence too frail and perishable to last for any great length of

ne, either in buildings or enclosures. In the county of Ontario, and some other parts of the country, there is a sufficient quantity of oak, and it is said of pine also, both for building and fencing. But there are large tracts, which are destitute of every species of timber, fitted to resist the encroachments of the weather. Future experiments may perhaps furnish a remedy. The oak and the chesnut, and perhaps the pine, may be planted with success. Hedges may possibly be formed, which will resist the influence of the climate; and better clay may be discovered for the erection of their houses. It seems incredible, that Providence should have made this region in most respects so desirable a residence for man; and that in this, apparently, and in several others, it should, to such an extent, disappoint a purpose so carefully pursued.

Another evil suffered by these inhabitants, of a similar nature, and even more discouraging, is this: When the forests are cut down, they either do not at all spring again, or they spring very thinly and insufficiently. This misfortune has been supposed to arise from the peculiar nature of the trees, or the peculiar nature of the soil. I strongly suspect, that it is owing to neither. Maple, beech, and bass, may not, indeed, as readily germinate from the roots after the trees are cut down, as oak, chesnut, and hickory. Whether this be true or not, I am unable to determine. But that they will not in the proper circumstances spring in sufficient quantities and vigour from the seeds, I cannot believe. That the soil is favourable both to the germination and flourishing growth of these trees is unanswerably evident from the multitude and the size of those, which are now on the ground. Besides, I have seen, in a variety of places, some of them in this very tract, a vigorous growth of these kinds of timber in spots, where the full-grown trees had been lately cut down.

Grass grows in this region easily and vigorously; and wherever it grows will extensively prevent the germination, and check the growth of trees of almost every kind. Were these inhabitants, instead of cutting down their forests in the manner, which is called cutting clean, to thin them only; and thus leave the ground so much shaded as would be sufficient to prevent the vegetation of grass; they would, I am satisfied,

find the seeds of future trees springing in abundance. Should they also effectually exclude cattle from their forests, so as to prevent them from cropping the young stems, they would probably find this evil done away.

Another disadvantage, under which this country labours, is a deficiency of water for some important purposes of life. In Manlius mill-streams are sufficiently numerous; but from that township westward to Buffalo Creek, they are thinly dispersed. Throughout this country generally, springs and small brooks are rare. A great part of the farms must be ill supplied with water for their pastures. The obvious substitute for these sources is wells; and these may be furnished in most places without any peculiar difficulty, and at no inconvenient depth. But as the water of all this tract is impregnated with lime, it is unfit for washing, and for several other domestic uses; and to water cattle from a well, when they are numerous, is a severe tax upon the time and labour of the farmer.

The commerce of this country has hitherto struggled, and for an indefinite period must continue to struggle with difficulties. The distance from Canandagua to Albany is two hundred and five miles; and from Buffalo three hundred. The transportation of goods over the whole distance, except seventy-nine miles, must be by land. From Utica they may be conveyed to Schenectady on the Mohawk; but the navigation is so imperfect, that merchants often choose to transport their commodities along its banks in waggons. Notwithstanding this inconvenience, Albany is the port, to which they must now, and probably for a long time hereafter, resort. Now their trade is wholly carried on in this channel. Many, however, stop at Utica; and, as the trade of that place enlarges, it may become more and more an emporium for the business of the western country. The only material difference made by stopping at Utica, or even at Albany, is, that they pay the expense and trouble of a longer journey, instead of incurring it personally. In either case, the trouble and expense of conveying the produce to New-York are always considerable; and, when the commodities are bulky, must ever amount to no small part of their price in the market. Thus grain of all kinds, their principal produce, can be carried to

market, only when it commands an extraordinary price. Thus also hemp, flax, and even wool, lose much of their value before they reach New-York. Beef, as it may be driven, will be less affected than most other articles.

The inhabitants situated near Lake Ontario can ascend the Oswego or Onondaga river, and, passing through the Oneida lake, go up Wood creek into the Mohawk. But the navigation of these streams is still more embarrassed than that of the Mohawk.

Another channel of transportation is opened to the southern parts of this country by the Susquehannah. I have already mentioned, that boards to a great amount are floated yearly down this river to Baltimore. Wheat, also, is carried to market the same way, in vessels of a peculiar structure, called arks. These, at times of such a size as to carry, it is said, no less than twelve hundred bushels of wheat, descend the Tioga, and the Susquehannah proper, to Tioga point; and hence pass down their common channel to Baltimore. The navigation, however, is both uncertain and dangerous. It is uncertain, because it can be pursued only during the time of freshet; and that often will not suffice for more than one-third or one-fourth of the voyage. During the interval the ark is obliged to wait for another freshet, when it proceeds new, and ultimately, if not wrecked, reaches Baltimore. The dangers of the navigation arise from the swiftness of its current, and the shoals and rapids in the river, which have sometimes proved fatal both to boats and rafts. In the spring the voyage is frequently made with success, and even without interruption. In the other seasons it is either precarious or impossible. When it succeeds best, the conveyance is cheap and expeditious. The arks are broken up, and sold at Baltimore, for as much or more than they cost.

When the cargo is disposed of, the boatmen are obliged to return by land. The inconvenience of such a journey needs no explanation.

Measures have been proposed by the legislatures of Maryland and Pennsylvania, which possibly may terminate in improving the navigation of the Susquehannah, and facilitating intercourse of this country with Baltimore, and perhaps the Schuylkill with Philadelphia.

Another great channel of commerce between the western country and the ocean is by Lake Ontario, down the St. Lawrence, to Montreal. This has ever appeared to me the cheapest, safest, and most unembarrassed passage for the produce of all the countries, which surround the great American lakes. The ordinary price for transporting a quarter-cask from Montreal to Queenstown is but a single dollar. Whenever a regular trade is established between these countries and Montreal, and a regular transportation round the Niagara falls, the freight of a quarter-cask from Queenstown to Chippeway will not be more, and probably less than one-fourth of a dollar. Thence merchandize of all kinds may be conveyed in ships of any convenient size to the south end of Lake Michigan; and, with the exception of a short land carriage, to the western limit of Lake Superior. A tract, consisting of from 400,000 to 500,000 square miles, will hereafter empty its produce upon the ocean through the river St. Lawrence*. Hitherto,

* Since these remarks were written, a canal, on a scale far surpassing any thing which has hitherto been attempted in this country, has been commenced in the state of New-York, by order of their legislature. By means of it, it is intended to connect the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Hudson, a distance of three hundred and fifty-three miles.

In the year 1810, persons, who had been appointed by the government of the state, explored the intervening country from the Hudson to Erie, and made a report; but though some acts were passed concerning the subject, yet nothing was effectually done until the spring of 1817, when commissioners were appointed by the legislature, "to cause a communication by means of a canal to be made between Lake Erie and the Hudson." Since that time, the canal has advanced with such rapidity as to surprise, not only the people living on its borders, but the inhabitants of the United States.

The whole expense of the canal, as estimated by the commissioners, is 4,571,813 dollars.

At the close of the year 1821, the western canal was so far finished, that Governor Clinton, to whom perhaps the country is as much indebted for the success of this great enterprise as to any one individual, in his speech before the legislature, January 2, 1822, says, "upon a full and comprehensive view of the whole operation, we may confidently pronounce, that, before the termination of the year 1823, there will be a complete and uninterrupted navigation for boats conveying one hundred tons, from the navigable waters of Hudson's river to Lake Erie."

When this immense work, which might with propriety have been a national one, shall be finished, it will open a communication with the ocean to the commerce of a great part of Ohio, and to the countries along the

the merchants of Montreal have been chiefly employed in a commerce, of which furs and peltry have been the principal materials. But the period is at no great distance when they will devote their attention to general commerce. The settlement of the countries, which border the lakes Ontario and Erie, is already far advanced; and in its progress outruns the most sanguine calculation. Adventurers have already begun to plant themselves on Huron and Michigan. Within a century, the shores of these waters will probably be filled with villages, towns, and cities. To the immense population of these vast regions the river St. Lawrence will be the common channel of trade, and a common bond of union. Some difficulties will always attend this commerce. The ice will obstruct it throughout a considerable part of the year, and the navigation of the Gulph of St. Lawrence will always be exposed to some degree of hazard. The effect of these inconveniences will be the necessity of employing a larger capital, the demand of interest on it for a longer period, and a somewhat higher price of insurance. The business, also, must all depend on two voyages across the Atlantic each year. But a moderate lapse of time will necessarily introduce into it such a degree of system as will reduce the inconveniences to trifles, and conform to the existing circumstances all the plans and measures of these people. Under greater inconveniences Russia has rapidly increased in commerce and wealth.

That the trade in question will flow into this channel, ultimately, is scarcely less than certain; because the inhabitants

shores of Lakes Ontario, Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior; and to the inhabitants living on the borders of the rivers which empty into these inland seas. Could we take a survey of these countries as they may appear fifty years hence, when the enterprise of the hardy sons of our country shall have converted the wilderness into fruitful fields; when this immense region shall be filled with towns and cities, and the people, amounting probably to twenty millions, are living in a state of competence; we should be able in some measure to appreciate the immense utility of this Herculean labour. There can be no doubt, that the people who will then reap the advantages of this great work will hold in respectful and affectionate remembrance those patriots, who have devised, carried on, and completed a task, which brings happiness to so mighty a mass of the human family.—*Pub.*

of these countries will find here more convenience, and more profit, than they can find elsewhere.

Gypsum abounds in the township of Camillus, in quantities sufficient, it is said, to supply an extensive tract with that valuable article.

The sulphur springs, in the township of Phelps, will, probably, furnish hereafter, not only the necessary supplies for the region around them, but a vast quantity also for commerce. The largest of these springs is the property of Sir William Pulteney; the other two, if I mistake not, of the Honourable Oliver Phelps. The water is perfectly clear; but both the taste and the smell are strong, and very offensive. The temperature is cold. The water is used as a bath for the rheumatism; and, it is said, with success. The mass of sulphur, deposited by them in the neighbourhood, was estimated to me at more than one hundred tons. No attempts have hitherto been made to purify it, and prepare it for commercial purposes.

There is a sulphur spring in the township of Litchfield, in the county of Herkimer, about ten miles from Utica. This, also, is resorted to for relief from the rheumatism, and from several other diseases.

Concerning the inhabitants of the western country I shall make some observations hereafter.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IX.

Return slowly along the Mohawk to Albany. Kinderhook. Hudson. Uncommon Phenomenon observed on Tagh-kannuc Mountain.

DEAR SIR;

I LEFT Stanniford's Tuesday, October 15th, and rode to Vernon, about twenty miles, in the stage waggon. We started at 12 o'clock. It had rained most of the preceding day, the whole night, and the whole forenoon of this day. The road had become a mass of deep mire, and the horses were obliged to walk, or rather to wade, at the rate of two miles an hour. In the afternoon it rained again, but with less violence. We were seven passengers in a vehicle, so small as to be crowded, and so crazy as to be threatened, even by a slight accident, with being broken down. We were, also, from very distant countries, and of different nations. The day was sufficiently gloomy; and the country presented little to our view beside thick forests, interspersed here and there with log-houses. In solitary instances some have a better appearance. In the township of Sullivan, a large tract lying immediately eastward of Manlius, we found, however, an exception. As we descended a hill of considerable height, we were presented with a delightful prospect of the Oneida lake, and a noble view of the circumjacent country. When the trees shall be sufficiently cut down, this hill will furnish one of the most interesting views between Albany and Buffalo.

Another variety in our journey was the Oneida village, built on the reservation belonging to that people, and lying immediately south of the lake. We saw this village by moonlight. The houses in it appeared to differ very little from the log-houses already described; except that they are smaller, worse built, and less carefully repaired. Schenando, their

chief, lives in a framed house, which is painted, and decent. He is said to be in easy circumstances. A small church stands in the centre of the village. On the character and situation of this people I propose to make some observations in another place; and shall only add here, that at Young's, an inn, at which we stopped in Vernon, several of them, who were half drunk, disturbed us not a little by their contention and outcries.

We took supper at Young's; and all the passengers, who were bound to Utica, except one, concluded to proceed, in order to take the Albany stage the next morning. Accordingly we set out in a dense mist, which deprived us of the moonlight, and effectually chilled us during the remainder of our journey. Our progress was snail-like, and sufficiently tedious; and our prospect scarcely extended to the horses. But our driver was careful and obliging, and we all determined to make the best of our circumstances, and to lessen with patience and good humour the disagreeableness of our situation. We stopped once at Laird's in Westmoreland, about one o'clock. The family rose without murmuring; and obligingly furnished us such refreshments as we wished, and, what was peculiarly agreeable to us all, a good fire. After we had passed through New-Hartford, we found a better road, and the coachman was able to drive his horses on a trot. Here, however, we met a light breeze from the north, which, with the aid of the fog, pierced us through; so that, when we arrived at Utica, just before five, we were almost frozen. In very few instances have I suffered more from the severities of winter. From Young's to Utica the distance is nineteen miles; from Manlius to Young's, twenty-two. In travelling the whole distance we had spent seventeen hours.

My companions had reached Utica the preceding evening.

The country, through which I had travelled from Manlius, consisted of the townships of Sullivan, Vernon, Westmoreland, and Whitestown. Sullivan and Vernon are new settlements, much more recent than most of those, which we had passed on the road. The land is good, and the number of inhabitants fast increasing. Westmoreland is much improved since my journey into this country in 1799. Dark as the night was, I saw several well-built houses.

The village of New-Hartford is also greatly improved. ere the mist had lost much of its density, and permitted us discern a considerable number of good buildings, surrounded neat appendages.

Sullivan was formerly in the county of Chenango. By the e division of that county it is become a part of Madison. e other three townships are in the county of Oneida.

Sullivan contained, in 1810, 1,974 inhabitants. Vernon ntained, in 1810, 1,519 inhabitants. Westmoreland con- ned, in 1800, 1,544; and, in 1810, 1,135 inhabitants.

Sullivan and Vernon are not mentioned in the census of 00. The latter I suppose to have been then included in e township of Westmoreland.

Utica is still more improved. In 1799, there were 50 uses in this village; many of them small and temporary ldings. In 1804, the number was 120. The number of res, also, and mechanics' shops, is very great in proportion hat of the houses. Utica now exhibits the appearance of andsome town. Its trade has increased much faster than buildings, and is greater than that of any other town in the te, New-York, Albany, and Troy excepted. Its advan- es for business are its situation on the Mohawk, the junction several great roads here, and the start which it has gained other places in the vicinity.

After breakfast I took a seat in the Albany stage, and rode ough Deerfield, Schyler, Herkimer, and Manheim, to Pa- me; thirty-seven miles. The road, as you may perhaps ember, lies along the north bank of the Mohawk, and is w very good. I found the country generally improved since former journey through it; the forests more extensively e; the number of houses increased; and those, which had m lately built, generally of a better appearance. Settle- mts were also numerously made on the sides of the hills, dering the intervals of the Mohawk; and in several places y had lost that disagreeable uniformity, of which I then plained.

We dined at the Little falls, near the eastern limit of rkimer. From a variety of observations, made in and ut the spot, I am entirely satisfied, that the mountains, ch here ascend immediately from the banks of the river,

were anciently united; and that the river above formed an extensive lake, gradually emptied by the wearing away of the earth and stones, which originally filled the gap. On the rocks, bordering the road, unequivocal marks of the efficacy of water are visible, at different heights, to forty feet above the level of the road, and to fifty above the river.

In the list of improvements on this road ought to be mentioned the increase of the number of churches, and of a disposition to settle ministers.

We lodged at a Dutch inn; and the next day, Thursday, October 18th, rode through the remainder of Palatine, Johnstown, and Amsterdam, to Schenectady; forty-seven miles.

There is nothing in Palatine particularly meriting attention. It is a Dutch settlement of some standing, and contained, in the year 1799, 3,404 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,517; and, in 1810 (divided, I presume), 3,111.

The remarks, which have been made concerning the country through which we passed the preceding day, are applicable to this tract also. In Amsterdam I found the Mohawk winding in a greater degree, and with more beauty, through wider and handsomer intervals, than in any other part of its progress. It rained both this day and the following.

Schenectady I found reluctantly improving.

We rode in the morning to Albany. This city is improving fast. Many of the old Dutch houses have been destroyed by fires; others have been pulled down; and new ones, built in the English manner, occupy their places. The number is also greatly increased. Several public buildings have been erected, and the whole appearance of the city is changed for the better.

After dinner we rode to the border of Kinderhook; the whole distance thirty-one miles. Between Greenbush and Kinderhook the country is chiefly a pine ground, and the soil indiffererent. It is divided between the towns of Greenbush, Schodac, and Kinderhook. The surface is dull, the houses are thinly scattered and ordinary, and the inhabitants, apparently, are not in very thrifty circumstances.

The next morning my companions left me, to proceed to Sheffield; while I pursued my route to the city of Hudson,

and with no small satisfaction found the day serene and very pleasant. The distance was sixteen miles. The first part of it consists of a yellow pine plain; and the remainder, of an uneven and unpleasant tract of clay. The soil of the plain is principally sand, and that of both indifferent. The houses, except in the town of Kinderhook, are thinly scattered, and ordinary in their appearance.

Kinderhook is an ancient Dutch settlement, built on a sprightly mill-stream, called Kinderhook creek. This stream presented to the original settlers three inducements to seat themselves in this place; the intervals, by which it is bordered; the mill-seats, which it furnishes; and the landing at its mouth, where there are about twenty or thirty houses and stores, built on the banks of the Hudson. With these advantages, particularly the trade to which the landing gave birth, some of the inhabitants have heretofore acquired considerable wealth. Since the rise of the city of Hudson this trade has declined, and will probably never regain its former importance. There are several good houses in this town. The streets are wider and more regular than those of most other towns in this country, and its whole aspect is pleasing. To the traveller it presents a strong image of silence and quiet. It is distant from Albany twenty-one miles, and from Hudson twelve. Between Kinderhook and Hudson there is nothing interesting.

The township of Kinderhook is large. In 1790, it contained 4,661 inhabitants, including, I suppose, a part or the whole of Chatham. In 1800, the number was 4,348; and, in 1810, 3,709.

I arrived at Hudson about eleven o'clock; and was not a little pleased to find it much improved since the year 1792. Then I suspected, that it had arisen to the utmost height of its prosperity, for it evidently appeared to be stationary, if not retrogressive. But in this interval many new and valuable houses have been built, together with a great number of stores and mechanics' shops. The still, settled aspect of the place had also been exchanged for animation and activity. Every thing which I saw had the air of sprightliness and vigour, and awakened that satisfaction, which is always

excited in a mind, not malevolent, by the appearance of enterprise and prosperity.

This spot, then a naked waste, was purchased, with an intention to make it the site of a future commercial town in the autumn of 1783 by Messrs. Seth and Thomas Jenkins, inhabitants of Providence in the state of Rhode-Island. These gentlemen united to themselves a considerable company of adventurers, with whom they liberally shared the advantages of the purchase. In the spring of 1784 they began to build, and within two years raised up in perfect solitude one hundred and fifty houses, beside stores, shops, wharfs, manufactories, and various other buildings. Fifteen hundred persons, it is said, were assembled within that short period. For a considerable time after this, both the building and the business advanced slowly, and at length appeared to be stationary. Within a few years past the inhabitants, with a commendable spirit of exertion, have opened several turnpike roads into the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut; and have thus created an easy intercourse between their city and a considerable tract of fertile and well-inhabited country. At the same time they have taken their share of the benefit, which has resulted from the wise commercial regulations, formed under the presidency of Washington.

The number of houses in Hudson, now, is between 500 and 600. They are generally built of brick, and make a handsome appearance.

The river Hudson is navigable some distance above this city for a sixty-four gun ship; that is to say, 130 miles from New-York, and 150 from Sandy-Hook.

The position of Hudson is pleasant. The principal street runs from north-east to south-west, nearly at right angles with the river. It is wide, straight, more than a mile in length, and declines easily to the shore. The surrounding scenery is interesting. The neighbouring hills are handsome. The river is a noble object, and not the less so for being bounded on the west by a rude shore. The Kaatskill mountains, here seen in the best view imaginable, at distances extending from twenty to forty miles, are eminently sublime.

The inhabitants exhibit a general and very commendable

spirit of industry, and are said to be justly distinguished for their temperance. They are composed of Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Quakers, and Methodists. The Quakers are the most, and the Methodists the least numerous.

Hudson is under the government of a mayor, aldermen, and a common council.

Literature has hitherto not engrossed any great share of attention.

Their commerce is considerable, but I have no means of ascertaining its extent*.

In 1790, the township of Hudson contained 2,584 inhabitants; in 1800, 3,604; in 1810, 4,048.

The rain detained me at Hudson until Tuesday morning, when it slackened so much that I left this city, having been joined here by Mr. D——, from Kaatskill, and proceeded to Sheffield. On my return through Claverack I thought it a prettier village than I had conceived it to be on my journey out. Indeed, the whole country between Hudson and Sheffield struck my eye with more pleasure. In one respect it was really improved. The streams, in consequence of the rains which had lately fallen, had become both more numerous and more sprightly; and by their cheerful windings and continual murmurs, added not a little to the pleasure of our progress. The township of Hillsdale, which occupies the space between Claverack and the Massachusetts line, contained, in 1790, 4,556 inhabitants; in 1800, 4,702; and, in 1810, 4,182; part of it, I suppose, being taken off to form another township.

* In the abstract of duties on imports and tonnage, which I have obtained since the text was written, there is the following list of duties paid at the custom-house at Hudson:—

Years.	Duties.	Years.	Duties.
In 1801	Dollars, 1,981	In 1806	Dollars, 6,577
1802	5,366	1807	5,315
1803	4,576	1808	1,857
1804	7,001	1809	2,034
1805	9,564	1810	1,641

But almost all the commerce of this city passes, I suppose, through the custom-house at New-York.

In the journey of this day I met with a phenomenon, which to me was a novelty. In the morning, the wind blew with moderate strength from the south-east, and continued to do so till we came to the neighbourhood of Taghkannuc. When we arrived within four or five miles of the ridge of that mountain, we heard a loud and most majestic sound, resembling the noise of the ocean, coming from the higher regions of the mountain. The noise seemed vast and expansive, as if caused at once throughout a wide tract of the atmosphere; and loud, as if produced by a violent agitation. Above a height, at five or six hundred feet from the common surface of the neighbouring country, the mountain was enveloped in a thick cloud. When we arrived at the foot of the lower acclivities, we found an uncomfortable and furious blast, which continued during the whole time of our ascent, the distance being about a mile and a half or two miles. After we had gone over this distance the violence of the blast ceased, and was perceived by us no more, either on the sides or on the ridge. Still the noise was undiminished, and seemed to fill the heavens with a stormy, tumultuous grandeur. This wind evidently was confined to a very narrow region, including only the summits and sides of the mountain. The direction of this range is from south to north; that of the wind was nearly coincident, but varied a little towards the north-west.

After we had crossed the ridge, and begun to descend the declivity, we saw, a little eastward of one of the loftiest summits, a bright spot, strongly resembling that which I had formerly observed in the neighbourhood of Aschutney. Like that, it continued fixed in its relative position to the summit mentioned for several hours, notwithstanding the violence of the wind and the rapid movement of the clouds; nor did it disappear till it was gradually lost in the twilight. Whether this phenomenon has been observed by others I am ignorant. These are the only instances in which it has been seen by me. The cloud was everywhere else of an uniform density. From the rapidity of its motion, fifty or sixty miles of its extent must have passed over this spot. The spot was apparently fixed, and certainly varied its position very little. It was continually bright, and at times so bright, that we thought the

shone for a few moments in each instance through the
ture. The position of the luminous area, in every in-
ce, with respect to the mountains, was the same. The
ity and aspect of the clouds were the same, the direction
strength of the wind were very nearly the same, and both
happened in the same season of the year.

He arrived at Sheffield in the afternoon, and continued
till one o'clock the following day, being confined by a
nt rain. From October 15th to October 24th it rained
or less every day except two, the 20th and 21st. On
24th we rode to Goshen, twenty-four miles; and on the
to New-Haven, forty-two.

I am, Sir, &c.

CHAPTER

THE first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the smell of fresh air. It was a relief after the stuffy interior of the vehicle. I looked around and saw a few people walking in the distance. The ground was uneven and rocky, typical of the area. I took a few steps forward, feeling the texture of the earth under my feet. The sun was shining brightly, casting long shadows on the ground. I felt a sense of adventure and curiosity as I explored the new surroundings.

As I walked further, I noticed a small stream flowing through the landscape. The water was clear and cool, providing a refreshing break from the heat. I stopped for a moment to drink some water and wash my face. The sound of the water flowing was soothing and calming. I continued on my way, taking in the beauty of the natural world around me. The trees were tall and thin, their leaves rustling in the breeze. The sky was a clear, vibrant blue, with a few wispy clouds scattered across it. I felt a sense of peace and tranquility as I walked through this beautiful landscape. The air was crisp and clean, and the overall atmosphere was one of serenity and harmony with nature.

FIRST JOURNEY

TO LAKE

NIPISEOGEE, OR WENTWORTH.

LETTER I.

Journey to Andover. Atkinson. Hampstead. Chester. Ambrose. Concord. Boscawen. Salisbury. Sanborn. Gilmantown. Meredith. Center Harbour. Nipiseogee Lake. Its extent. Fed by subjacent springs. Its numerous and beautiful Islands.

DEAR SIR;

ON Tuesday, September 15th, 1812, I left Newbury and rode to Hartford, to meet the American board of Commissioners for foreign missions. On the Thursday following rode to Stafford spring, the next morning to Worcester, and Saturday arrived at Charlestown. On Tuesday I rode to Andover, and the next day attended an examination of theological students, highly honourable both to themselves and the professors. September 29th, in company with two gentlemen, A. B. of Yale college, directing our journey through the central parts of New-Hampshire, we passed through the parish of North-Andover, Bradford, Haverhill, Sanborn, and Hampstead, and reached Chester at the commencement of the evening: twenty-six miles. The road, repaired only by statute labour, is generally good. The surface of the country from Haverhill to Chester is a succession of handsome hills and vallies, everywhere arched. The soil is a light brown loam, moderately good, and unimproved, except where handsome groves, interspersed

at very agreeable distances, form one fine feature in the landscape. Another still finer is made up of distant mountains, sometimes very noble, seen successively from the summits of the hills.

The houses and barns throughout this region are generally good; and together with the out-buildings, enclosures, and fields, sufficiently indicate, that the inhabitants are in comfortable circumstances.

Chester I have mentioned heretofore, and have nothing to add concerning it here. The town of Atkinson is less than that of Chester, and Hampstead than Atkinson.

There is in Atkinson an academy, established in 1789 by the Honourable N. Peabody, who gave to it a thousand acres of land. There is also a large meadow, in which, when overflowed by water, raised by a dam, a tract of six acres rises, and floats as an island.

Atkinson contained, in 1775, 575; in 1790, 479; in 1800, 474; and, in 1810, 556 inhabitants. Hampstead contained, in 1775, 768; in 1790, 724; in 1800, 790; and, in 1810, 788 inhabitants.

A part of Atkinson was annexed to Haverhill, when the line was finally run between New-Hampshire and Massachusetts.

Atkinson was incorporated in 1767, and Hampstead in 1749.

On Wednesday we proceeded to Concord. The road for fifteen miles, to Pembroke, is a turnpike, lately formed through a tract almost absolutely uninhabited, and alternately covered with forests of maple, pine, and oak. The first is principally marsh, the second an alternation of plains and rising grounds, the third a succession of hills. All of them are dull and dismal, and the whole region is one of the most uninviting which I have met with. The road is good and direct.

Pembroke is built principally on a hill, declining easily towards the south-west. The houses are not unlike those which have been mentioned. All these towns have decent churches. The prospect from the hill in Pembroke is fine, and the soil like that which has already been described.

In the year 1775, Pembroke contained 744 inhabitants; in 1790, 956; in 1800, 982; in 1810, 1,153.

From Pembroke to Concord the road, which is generally firm and good, lies almost wholly on a pine plain. We, however, wandered out of the direct road, and lost five miles by the error. A considerable part of this distance we found uninhabited.

Concord is pleasantly situated on both sides of the Merrimac. The town is built principally on the western side, upon a single street, near two miles in length, and running parallel with the river. Its site is a handsome plain, limited westward by hills at the distance of perhaps half a mile, and eastward by an interval, which is both pleasant and fertile. The prospect from this town up and down the river is extensive and interesting, and the scenery around it is cheerful. The intervals within the limits of the township amount to about one thousand acres, the current price of which, by the acre, is from sixty to one hundred and twenty dollars. The western part of the township, separated from the town by a pine ridge, is excellent land. The public buildings are the church, courthouse, a well-built school-house, and the state-prison. The church is a large and good building. The state-prison is a noble edifice of beautiful granite, which abounds in the vicinity. It is a copy of the state-prison at Charlestown, both in the materials and the structure. The centre and one wing only are finished.

Concord contains between three and four hundred families, all united in one congregation, the largest in the state. The township was incorporated in the year 1765; and, in 1775, contained 1,052 inhabitants; in 1790, 1,747; in 1800, 2,052; and, in 1810, 2,393.

Since the revolution, Concord, much more frequently than any other town in New-Hampshire, has been the place where the legislature has held its sessions, and will probably be the permanent seat of government.

The next morning, Thursday, October 2d, we rode to Meredith bridge, in the township of Guilford: thirty-two miles. The road for the first eighteen miles lay along the Merrimac, and was to a considerable extent sandy. The remaining four miles passed through a region of hills and vallies.

The first township, which we entered after leaving Concord, is Boscaawen. Like Concord it is built principally in a single

street, parallel with the river, on a plain, less pleasant and less productive. The space between the brow of this plain and the Merrimac is occupied by intervals of considerable value. The houses are much inferior to those of Concord.

Boscawen was incorporated in 1760. In 1775 it contained 585 inhabitants; in 1790, 1,108; in 1800, 1,414; in 1810, 1,829.

Salisbury lies immediately above Boscawen. Of this township we saw nothing but a skirt; the town being built in the interior. The part over which we travelled generally resembled Boscawen. The northern division of our road through it was, however, particularly agreeable; as it passed over a rich and pleasant interval, divided into fine farms, and ornamented with several good houses.

Salisbury was incorporated in 1768; and contained, in 1775, 498 inhabitants; in 1790, 1,372; in 1800, 1,767; in 1810, 1,913; included in one congregation.

From Salisbury we crossed on a bridge the Pemigewasset, the western head of the Merrimac; and, after a short distance, the Aquedochton, the eastern, on a bridge also, at a small distance above their junction. Both are considerable rivers, and run with a rapid and powerful stream.

From Salisbury we entered the township of Sanbornton; the best in this part of the state, and inhabited by the best body of farmers. It lies on elevated and handsome ground, bordered for several miles by a beautiful lake, called Sanbornton bay; about ten miles in length, and from two to perhaps four in breadth. This fine piece of water receives the Aquedochton, and discharges its own waters through the continuation of that river.

From Salisbury bridge, over which we passed the Pemigewasset at the distance of eighteen miles from Concord, to Union bridge over the Winipiseogee at the foot of Sanbornton lake, eight miles farther, the country on the road is rough; and the road, which runs along the southern skirt of Sanbornton, and near the Aquedochton, is in various places stony and disagreeable. It ought however to be observed to the honour of the inhabitants of this state, that, although the population is sparse, they are making their roads universally very good. In the parts, where they were originally the worst, they have

already made them to a great extent excellent, in the manner of turnpikes, and better than some roads which wear this name. These parts they are proceeding, as fast as may be, to unite by filling up the interstices according to the same plan. When the design is completed, New-Hampshire will, to say the least, be behind none of its sister states in this important particular; and will have the merit, which I believe is singular, of accomplishing so difficult an object by statute labour.

Sanbornton contains the ruins of an Indian fortification, which is remarkable for being formed of five enclosures. In the neighbouring fields the plough has turned up many specimens of Indian pottery.

Sanbornton was incorporated in 1770; and, in 1775, contained 450 inhabitants; in 1790, 1,587; in 1800, 2,695; and, in 1810, 2,884.

At Union bridge we entered Gilmantown, on the eastern side of the Aquedochton. This also is a valuable township. Our road passed along its western skirt, on the border of Sanbornton bay. The hills here are easy, elegant slopes; and the farms rich and beautiful. These two townships are in the county of Strafford, Concord in that of Rockingham, and Boscawen and Salisbury in that of Hillsborough. In Gilmantown the court of common pleas usually sits once in a year. It contains an academy, which has obtained a good degree of reputation.

It was incorporated in 1727; and, in 1775, contained 775 inhabitants; in 1790, 2,613; in 1800, 3,752; in 1810, 4,388; having a more numerous population than any in the county, and, except Portsmouth, than any other in the state.

We left Meredith bridge in the morning, and rode to Center Harbour to dinner: thirteen miles. The village, known by the former of these names, contains not far from forty houses several of them neatly built, surrounding a new church of a handsome structure. It is situated upon low, and generally level ground, on both sides of the Aquedochton. A number of mills are erected on this stream a little above the bridge; and, together with the mechanics' shops and several stores, give the spot a cheerful aspect of business.

The situation of this village is very pleasant. It lies in the

township of Guilford, taken partly from Gilmantown and partly from Meredith; and was incorporated since the last census.

At this bridge the Aquedochton is a fine sprightly stream, as indeed it is everywhere else, running with a vigorous current over a clean stony bed. It is about the size of the Lower Amonoosuc at Bath. To the eye it is scarcely less here than below Sanbornton lake. Its water is very pure.

Immediately west, or rather north-west, of the bridge, the township of Meredith is a continuation of easy and very elegant slopes, declining to the south-east. The soil is rich; the pastures, meadows, and orchards are luxuriant; and the groves thrifty and vigorous. The views are also fine, and very extensive. Sanbornton lake on the south is in the most perfect view; a noble sheet of water, festooned by elegant scoops, separated by handsome points and promontories. Smith lake also, on the east, a much smaller but beautiful piece of water, forms a luminous spot in the landscape. The distant prospect is rich and magnificent. The country along the remainder of the road, though not without its advantages, is less inviting. We saw nothing of the Winipiseogee, except a small inlet, until we arrived at the point where we were to take a view of its whole length.

After passing over several lofty hills we reached the house of Charles Little, Esq., at Center Harbour, between eleven and twelve, where we dined. From this house the lake is seen with more advantage than from any other place in this quarter of the same elevation.

I have elsewhere mentioned the want of curiosity of the New-England people concerning things, which are their own, particularly concerning the fine objects of their own country. The fact, that New-England abounds with elegant pieces of water, has not even made its appearance in the books either of geographers or travellers. At least, I know not where it has appeared. Yet there is probably no country, which is more frequently or more highly adorned with this exquisite beauty of landscape. Of this lake, which has been generally supposed to be the largest of all those, whose waters are wholly included within the limits of New-England, I have never heard nor seen a syllable, except a few slight geographical

facts concerning its length, breadth, position, and capacity being passed in the summer with boats; together with two three other trifling circumstances. Indeed, a few observations made to me concerning this subject, by my father, when was a child, were not improbably more than all that I have heard concerning it from that time to the present.

Winipiseogee lake lies between $71^{\circ} 5'$, and $71^{\circ} 25'$, west longitude from Greenwich, and between $43^{\circ} 29'$, and $43^{\circ} 44'$, north latitude; not far from the centre of the state of New Hampshire. Its form is very irregular. At the western end it is divided into three large bays. On the north side there are four. On the eastern end there are three others. The general course of the lake is from north-west to south-east. Its length, as estimated on the spot, is twenty-three miles; and its greatest breadth fourteen. This, however, must be understood only of an oblique direction. In a direction, right-angled to its length, it cannot, I believe, exceed ten. On the borders lie the townships of Moultonborough, Tuftonborough, and Wolfborough, on the north-east; Center Harbor, on the north-west; Meredith, Guilford, and Gilmanston, on the south-west; the township of Alton, and a tract called the Gore, on the south-east. Its waters are in some places unfathomable by any means in the possession of the inhabitants. They abound with fish.

The navigation of this lake is hitherto of no great importance, but will probably become, hereafter, of considerable use. Should the company, which has lately obtained a charter, for the purpose of rendering the waters of the Merrimack and Aquedochton navigable for boats, succeed in this project, the lake will become an interesting channel of communication, at least for the townships by which it is surrounded. A number of boats are now employed in conveying merchandise over it during the summer. In the winter months usually begin to cross it in the month of February. It is frozen in January; but is not often crossed, on account of the depth and lightness of the snow.

Several large promontories intrude into this lake. The most is called Moultonborough neck; and includes a considerable part of that township. The next in size is that of Center Harbour, including almost all the township of that

name. Another of considerable extent stretches out from the south part of Tuftonborough. There are also several others of inferior dimensions.

The waters of the Winipiseogee are remarkably pure; and, when taken from a sufficient depth to give them the proper temperature, are perfectly sweet and palatable. I am not sure that the water is equally fine with that of Lake George; but I was unable to discover any degree of inferiority in this respect. Like Lake George it is supplied chiefly by sub-jacent springs. One mill-stream only empties its waters into it; and the Aquedochton conveys from it probably ten times the quantity of water, derived from all its tributaries. This river, issuing from the south-western arm of the Winipiseogee, runs into a small lake, whose name I cannot find; touches the south-eastern extremity of Smith's lake; and thence, pouring in a rapid current about eight miles, unites with the Pemigewasset opposite Salisbury. It passes through the township of Guilford; and washes, on the north-west Meredith and Sanbornton, and on the south-east Gilmantown and Canterbury.

The boats, hitherto employed in navigating it, carry only twenty tons. These, however, are sufficiently large for the business of which it is the channel.

From Dover to Merry-meeting bay, the south-eastern extremity of the Winipiseogee, the distance is said to be twenty-three miles. It has been often proposed to turn the navigation of the lake in this direction. Both the Cocheco and Salmon-fall rivers approach with their western arms, within a few miles of its south-eastern skirt. Of the practicability of this proposed communication I have no knowledge.

The Winipiseogee contains a great multitude of islands. Like those in Lake George, and in Casco-bay, and like the ponds in the township of Plymouth, they are here declared to be three hundred and sixty-five. Without supposing the number of days in the year to have been consulted on this subject, and each day to have been provided with three islands and one pond, we may rationally conclude, that the number in each of the cases is considerable. Several of these islands are so large as to furnish farms of sufficient extent. One of them contains five hundred acres; and three or four

others somewhat less. That which has been longest cultivated, and which is near to the Gilmantown shore, is in the possession of a Mr. Davis. Having been once in danger from the ice, as he was attempting to pass in a boat from the shore to the island, he determined to build a bridge across the strait which separated them; and executed his design the following season. The soil of this island is said to be excellent. Thirteen others, as I was informed, are sufficiently large to become good farms; and two or three of these have already begun to be cultivated.

The prospect of this lake, and its environs, is enchanting; and is seen with great advantage from the house of Mr. Little, but with more from the hill in the rear of his house, on the road toward Plymouth. The day was remarkably fine. Not a breath disturbed the leaves, or ruffled the surface of the waters. The sky was serene and beautiful. The sun shone with a soft and elegant lustre; such as seems peculiar to that delightful weather, which, from the 20th of September to the 20th of October, so often elicits from the mouths of mankind the epithet of charming. Mildness tempered the heat, and serenity hushed the world into universal quiet. The Winnipegsee was an immense field of glass, silvered by the lustre which floated on its surface. Its borders, now in full view, now dimly retiring from the eye, were formed by those flowing lines, those masterly sweeps of nature, from which art has derived all its apprehensions of ease and grace; alternated at the same time by the intrusion of points, by turns rough and bold, or marked with the highest elegance of figure. In the centre a noble channel spread twenty-three miles before the eye, uninterrupted even by a bush or a rock. On both sides of this avenue a train of islands arranged themselves, as if to adorn it with the finish, which could be given only by their glowing verdure and graceful forms.

Nor is this lake less distinguished by its suite of hills and mountains. On the north-west ascends a remarkably beautiful eminence, called the Red Mountain; limited everywhere by circular lines, and in the proper sense elegant in its figure beyond any other mountain, among the multitude which I have examined. On the south ascends Mount Major, a ridge of a bolder aspect and loftier height. At a still greater dis-

tance in the south-east rises another mountain, whose name I could not learn, more obscure and misty; presenting its loftiest summit, of an exactly semicircular form, directly at the foot of the channel above mentioned, and terminating the watery vista between the islands, by which it is bordered, in a magnificent manner. On the north-east the Great Ossapee raises its long chain of summits with a bold sublimity, and proudly looks down on all the surrounding region.

As we did not cross the Winipiseogee, I am unable to determine in what manner an excursion on its waters might be compared with that which I made on Lake George. That the internal and successive beauties of the Winipiseogee strongly resemble and nearly approach those of Lake George, I cannot entertain a doubt. That they exceed them seems scarcely credible. But the prospect from the hill at the head of Center Harbour is much superior to that from Fort George; a fact of which hardly any thing could have convinced me, except the testimony of my own eyes. The Winipiseogee presents a field of at least twice the extent. The islands in view are more numerous; and, except one, of finer forms and more happily arranged. The shores are not inferior. The expansion is far more magnificent, and the grandeur of the mountains, particularly of the Great Ossapes, can scarcely be rivalled. It cannot be remarked without some surprise, that Lake George is annually visited by people from the coast of New-England; and that the Winipiseogee, notwithstanding all its accumulation of splendour and elegance, is almost as much unknown to the inhabitants of this country, as if it lay on the eastern side of the Caspian.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

*Holderness. Squam Lake. Plymouth. Baker's River.
Romney. Wentworth. Warren. Ryegate. Barnet.
St. Johnsbury. Lyndon. Sheffield. Premature Frosts.
Lebanon Falls. Boating on Connecticut River. Go-
vernor Griswold.*

DEAR SIR ;

AFTER dinner we left the house of Mr. Little, and rode to Plymouth, through a part of the townships of Meredith and Holderness: thirteen miles. The whole of this tract is a succession of hills and vallies. The hills in several instances are high and stony. The soil throughout a considerable part of the extent is good grazing ground; and the road, like that just described.

In this part of our journey we passed Squam Lake, of which we had several beautiful views; and one peculiarly so, from a high ground in Holderness. This lake, notwithstanding its uncouth name, is a splendid sheet of water, finely indented by points, arched with beautiful coves, and studded with a succession of romantic islands. At its head rose the Red Mountain in its grandest attitude, and formed an appropriate back ground of the picture.

This lake is ten miles in length, and, where widest, not less than six in breadth. Its water, like that of the Winipiseogee, is pure and cheerful. I counted ten islands, of elegant figures, in its bosom. We passed, also, several smaller lakes, each very handsome, and adding not a little to the gaiety of our journey. On the eminence just mentioned we had a spacious prospect of the surrounding region, composed of vallies, hills, and mountains. Some of the mountains were

lofty. One particularly, ascending in the north-east, was distinguished by the form and sublimity of its summit.

We crossed the Pemigewasset in a boat, and reached Plymouth a little after sunset. The next morning, Saturday, October 3d, we rode to the north-east corner of Piermont, to dinner; twenty-six miles; through Romney, Wentworth, and Warren. Our road was good.

Plymouth is a half-shire town of the county of Grafton. It is indifferently built, and many of the houses wear the appearance of negligence and decay. A few of them are, however, decent. The court-house is an ordinary, and the church a good, building.

After we left Plymouth we quitted the Pemigewasset, and ascended Baker's river; a large and beautiful mill-stream, which is one of its tributaries. The scenery in this part of our journey was formed by the valley, frequently ornamented by intervals at the bottom, and a succession of hills, by which it was bordered, rising at times to a mountainous height. The houses, with a few exceptions, indicated nothing more than that the inhabitants were in comfortable circumstances. Everywhere, at little distances, we saw school-houses neatly built. We also passed by several churches, which from their situation and appearance I concluded belonged to Baptists. This tract will hardly change its aspect for the better until the inhabitants shall have adopted a superior husbandry, or employed themselves in manufacturing.

After we left Baker's river we began gradually to ascend the Lyme range. The acclivities were very easy, but the country was less populous; and, as we approached the highest ground, the settlements became rare. The soil was evidently better than most of that which we had left.

We had continued our journey through a stage unusually long, from the appearance of an approaching rain. The rain began to fall just as we reached the door of our intended inn; and continued from two o'clock in the afternoon until Monday morning.

The number of inhabitants in Romney, was, in 1790, 411; in 1800, 624; and, in 1810, 765: in Wentworth, in 1790, 241; in 1800, 448; and, in 1810, 645: in Warren, in 1790, 206; in 1800, 336; and, in 1810, 506.

We were well entertained at this house, kept by a Mr. Eaton; and, having several religious books in our possession, were able to pass through the Sabbath with decency and comfort. The next morning we proceeded to Newbury, four miles, through Haverhill.

Tarleton's house is situated on a beautiful plain, at the highest elevation attained by this road. The hills on the north-east and south-west ascend perhaps two hundred feet above this ground, forming handsome limits in both directions. Between the north-west and the south-east a passage is opened into the country below. The house stands on the north side of the road, and this part of the farm declines gradually into a valley, at the bottom of which is a lake, about a mile and a half in length, and three quarters of a mile in breadth. The whole scene is an elegant solitude, not a house being in sight, except the neat building of Mr. Tarleton.

Here we saw the mountain ash, which grows abundantly in his neighbourhood. Here also the clouds, which had so long since shed their waters during the two preceding days, descending from the elevations on the north and west, and moving slowly along the surface of the plain, gave us experimental evidence, that they differed in nothing from a dense fog.

Soon after we started, the weather became clear, and the scenery, as we descended into the Connecticut valley, delightful. Finer scenery can scarcely be imagined than that which is spread throughout this region.

Haverhill has become a beautiful village. A number of good houses have been erected here since the year 1803, particularly around what is called the square, a neat ground, about forty rods in length and thirty in breadth.

We crossed the Connecticut on a toll bridge, about two miles below the church in Newbury. Another at the north end of this town was lately carried away by the river.

We left our vehicles at Newbury; and, having obtained a convenient waggon, and a discreet young man to drive it, made an excursion into the interior of Vermont, through the parishes of Ryegate, Barnet, St. Johnsbury, and Lyndon, to Sheffield. The first day, we rode twenty-three miles for dinner. The second, we laboured hard to finish twenty-

four. The third, we returned to Wells' river; forty-two. The first twelve or fifteen, our journey lay along Connecticut river, and then as much more along the Posoomsuck; the remainder was a continual ascent and descent of lofty hills. The first two-thirds of the road were pretty good; the last third, intolerably bad. The soil throughout this distance is generally productive. On the Posoomsuck, as well as on the Connecticut, are many rich and handsome intervals. In St. Johnsbury is a plain about half a mile in diameter, remarkable for being the only spot of this nature throughout the whole distance. Ryegate and Barnet are chiefly Scotch settlements; the former colonized by a collection of inhabitants, brought from Scotland by Dr. Witherspoon. We found a good character everywhere given of these people, for their industry, good order, and good morals; and, so far as we could judge, they were generally in comfortable circumstances. A reputable clergyman from Scotland is settled in each of these townships. The weather, although it was only so late as the 5th and 6th of October, we found intensely cold. It snowed and rained alternately on both days; and on the morning of Wednesday the ground was hard frozen. The maize had been chiefly destroyed by a succession of frosts during the preceding month; and, what I had never heard of at this season of the year before, the wheat had in several instances been killed by frost about the 20th of August.

The summer was the coldest, which I ever knew. In grounds, which were not warm, and particularly favourable, the maize scarcely attained half its proper growth; and of that which grew well, not more than two-thirds, or three-fourths, arrived at maturity. The best and ripest, which I saw during the season, was in Haverhill, on a fine interval, which I have elsewhere described.

Most of the summer and autumnal fruits were also shrivelled and insipid. The peaches, cherries, &c. were chiefly destroyed; and those which were left were generally of little value. The pears and apples were shrunk in many instances to half their proper size, and defective in their flavour. The late apples were, however, generally good.

From Wells' river, where we found a good hospitable inn, we returned on Thursday morning, October 8th, to New-

and thence proceeded to Dartmouth college: thirty-les.

next day we set out for Windsor, and arrived about o'clock. In Lebanon, the horse, belonging to my nions, was frightened by a waggon, and, running off ey, overturned their chaise, and left them at the bottom, if them and the horse, however, escaped without any injury.

Saturday my companions quitted Windsor for Wash-, and thence proceeded down the river. I had come Windsor by appointment, as a delegate from the General sation of Connecticut to a convention of clergymen, was to be held here on Wednesday the 21st; and was re necessitated to continue in this part of the country t time. The interval, except two days spent with some s at Charlestown, I passed very pleasantly in this town. ng, which politeness could dictate or hospitality furnish, mitted by a circle of very respectable families to make idence peculiarly agreeable, and to leave on my mind st impressions of their character.

convention met on the day appointed, and finished all portant parts of their business. On Thursday, there- I left my good friends at Windsor, and proceeded to stown to dinner, and in the evening arrived at Putney; miles. The next day I reached the southern part of ield, thirty-eight miles; and on Saturday arrived at ampton, thirteen. Hence on Monday I proceeded to ord, forty-three; and the following day arrived at New- n without an accident.

ound the whole country improved, and many of the not a little. Orford is become a beautiful town. The s of Dartmouth has assumed a much better aspect.

the account, which I formerly gave of Connecticut river, le the following observations:—

A little labour bestowed on the falls of Waterqueechy, ocks and a small dam at those of Lebanon, would d the navigation to the foot of the Fifteen-mile falls, two hundred and forty-five miles. Whenever the coun- ove shall have become universally settled, these ob- ions will undoubtedly be removed. At present the

quantity of business is insufficient to justify the expense, necessary for this purpose."

These observations were made in the year 1808. My expectations have been anticipated by a period of many years. In 1807, the legislature of New-Hampshire granted to Mills Olcott, Esq., under the style of "The White River Falls' Company," the privilege of completing a lock navigation over these falls, more generally known by the name of Lebanon falls, and of regulating the rate of toll, on the condition that he should not interfere with the passage round them by the old or customary road. Mr. Olcott, under this style, was empowered at his option to unite others with him, or not, in this design; but determined to undertake the accomplishment of it without any associates, and completed it in the year 1809. The falls are three in number. At the second a dam is thrown across the river, which renders the navigation safe and easy over the first. Another dam at the third extends the navigation back to the second. There are three locks at the upper, and two at the lower dam. Saw-mills of superior value and extent are erected at these works. Some of them are formed in such a manner as to saw planks sixty-five feet in length, intended for the decks of vessels. The whole expense of these works amounted to somewhat more than 30,000 dollars. The net revenue, which they yielded during the years 1810 and 1811, was 3,000 dollars a year, or ten per cent. The rate of toll hitherto has been one dollar per ton.

The falls at Waterqueechy were made passable about the same time.

Thus is the navigation of this river already opened, and rendered convenient for boats, carrying twenty or twenty-five tons, not to the foot of Fifteen-mile falls, as I formerly supposed might be done, but to about thirteen miles above Newbury, and two hundred and forty-seven from its mouth at Saybrook. Wells' river, five miles above Newbury, will, however, be for a considerable time the most northern station, of any importance, for this business. To this spot produce, particularly potash, has been brought from the settlements in Vermont, thirty miles higher up; and in the opinion of Major Hale, a respectable inhabitant of this place, will hereafter be

erally conveyed. Foreign goods have also been carried at this place to Lancaster in New-Hampshire, forty miles, in one instance to Colebrook, seventy-five miles, above. I, therefore, asserted, that the commerce of this country, from twenty-five miles above Newbury, would one day be limited to the city of Hartford, you will consider me as having limited the assertion by moderate bounds.

When I was at Wells' river, there were fourteen boats at landing, destined to this business. The voyage thence to Hartford, including the return, is made in twenty-five days. has been performed in twenty-two or twenty-three. Of these, nine voyages may be conveniently made in a season. Each boat is manned by two men. The stream carries it on at the rate of from three to four miles an hour. On its return the boatmen avail themselves of the eddies, or back currents, which are often found on the borders of the river. Each boat also carries a large square sail, which is used whenever the wind favours. Such boats are found at convenient distances throughout the whole length of the river, the point where the proximity of Hartford renders them necessary. This mode of transportation is continually increasing, and becoming more and more regular. The period is not distant when it will convey most, if not all, of the marketable produce and manufactures of this extensive region to the ocean.

Among the towns, through which I passed in my way from Windsor, those which had most improved in their appearance were Charlestown and Greenfield, Northampton and Hartford.

At Hartford I received the melancholy news of the death of his Excellency Roger Griswold, Esq., governor of Connecticut.

To the memory of this gentleman I would willingly pay a tribute of respect as his distinguished worth, the important services which he rendered to his country, and, may I be permitted to add, the numerous testimonies of his friendship to me, so justly demand.

He was born at Lyme, May 21st, 1762. His father was the late Governor Griswold, heretofore respectfully mentioned in my Letters; and his mother, the daughter of the first Go-

vernor Wolcot, and sister of the second. He was educated at Yale college, where he took his first degree in 1780. In 1783 he was admitted to the bar; in 1794, he was chosen a representative of this state in congress; in 1801, he was appointed, by President Adams, secretary of war, but declined the office. In 1807, having resigned his seat in congress, he was appointed, by President Adams, secretary of war, but declined the office. In 1807, having resigned his seat in congress, he was appointed a judge of the superior court in this state. In 1809, he was chosen lieutenant-governor; and, in 1811, was raised to the chief seat of magistracy. In this station he died, October, 1812.

Governor Griswold possessed an uncommonly good person; was tall, well made, and vigorous. His complexion, countenance, and eye, were remarkably fine; presenting to a spectator an almost singular combination of amiableness and dignity.

His mind was perfectly suited to such a form. It was a mind of the first class; combining an imagination, an understanding, and a memory, rarely united. With these powers were joined sweetness of temper, unwarping probity, great candour, firmness, which nothing could shake, and patriotism, unquestioned even by the malignant spirit of party. To these high attributes he added a delicacy, scarcely rivalled by our sex, and not often excelled by the other.

It will not appear surprising, that with such qualities Governor Griswold should acquire high distinction in every employment which he assumed. At the bar, and on the bench, he was considered as standing in the first rank of his peers. In congress, for several years, he was regarded by those of both political parties as the first man in the house of representatives. His knowledge of the public affairs and true interests of this country, for some years before he left congress, was probably not excelled by that of any individual member in that body. It was at once comprehensive and minute; embracing the great and general principles of sound American policy, and entering, in a sense intuitively, into those details of business, which ultimately regulate all the practical concerns of a community, and without which those concerns can never be directed either with success or safety.

Whenever he spoke, men of all parties listened with profound attention; for they all knew, that he never spoke unless to propose new subjects of consideration, or to place those, which were under discussion, in a new and important light. At the same time the exact decorum which he observed, the politeness and delicacy with which he treated his opponents, and the candour which he manifested on every subject, although they could not subdue the stubbornness of party, compelled the respect even of its champions for himself.

In the year 1807, while he was deeply engaged in arguing a cause of great moment before the superior court of Connecticut, he was arrested by a disease, which ultimately terminated his life.

It is hardly necessary to say, that such a man excelled in every private station, relation, and duty of life.

There are many reasons to hope that he died a Christian.

I am, Sir, &c.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.

SECOND JOURNEY

TO LAKE

WINIPISEOGEE, OR WENTWORTH.

LETTER I.

Journey to Andover through Providence. To Portsmouth through Newburyport. Rochester. Norway Plain. Middleton. Wolfborough. Governor Wentworth. Tuf-tonborough. Moultonborough. Prospect of the Lake Winipiseogee or Wentworth from the Red Mountain. Squam, or Sullivan's Lake. Return.

DEAR SIR;

IN the year 1813 I left New-Haven, September 6th, the public commencement having been holden the preceding week, on account of a national fast; and, proceeding through Hartford and Providence, arrived at Charlestown on the 10th. On the 21st I rode to Andover. The 23d I proceeded to Salem; the 24th to Newburyport. The 25th I made an excursion along the banks of the Merrimac to Bradford, and from thence proceeded to Essex bridge, newly built upon strong iron chains, probably the best mode of building bridges hitherto adopted in this country, when the water is deep and the channel not very wide. On the 27th I reached Portsmouth. My companions in the journey to Charlestown were two young gentlemen, to whom were added at Charlestown two others; all of them A. B. in Yale college.

From Providence to Andover our road was the same which has been heretofore mentioned. Of this part of my journey I shall only observe, that the American board of commissioners,

with whom I met at this time, found their affairs prosperous; and were amply assured by the liberality, with which their funds were increased, that the disposition in their countrymen to diffuse the blessings of the Gospel was very honourably extending itself, and becoming more vigorous in places, where it had been before manifested.

The theological seminary at Andover I found prospering. The number of students was fifty.

The country between Andover and Salem, except the township of Danvers, is dull and spiritless. Its surface is undulating, but without beauty. The soil, the enclosures, and the buildings are indifferent. Danvers is, generally, a rich and beautiful township, containing a succession of fine enclosures and good houses, throughout every part of its limits on this road.

The country between Newburyport and Bradford, lying twelve miles along the Merrimac, is a succession of hills and vallies; both almost universally and elegantly arched; the concave of the latter being little else than a counterpart to the convex of the former. The soil, also, is excellent; and the prospects are beautiful.

It deserves to be mentioned, as a fact not a little interesting, that Mr. Bartlett, on a farm which he possesses at Methuen, and Capt. Stannard, on the plantation formerly belonging to Tristram Dalton, Esq., in Newbury, have renewed the culture of wheat in this region, and with very good success. Capt. Stannard raised, on three acres, one hundred bushels. I ate some of the bread, made of the wheat from Mr. Bartlett's farm, and found it excellent. For more than one hundred years, if I mistake not, it has been proverbially and universally asserted, that wheat could not come to perfection throughout most of the eastern half of Massachusetts. The charm is now broken, and the authority of this grey-haired prejudice destroyed. To Mr. Bartlett the credit is, I believe, due of having first furnished decisive proof, that it was without foundation.

On Tuesday, the 28th, we left Portsmouth, and rode to Middleton, crossing Piscataqua bridge, and passing through Dover and Rochester; thirty-four miles. The road lies on the north side of Cocheco, and is tolerably good, except the

ast six or eight miles, which are very bad. The part which was good was made under the direction of his Excellency John Wentworth, Esq., then governor of the province of New-Hampshire.

I found Dover considerably improved and beautified since my last visit, and, what was not a little gratifying to me, furnished with a good minister of the Gospel. The lands immediately west of Dover, and within the limits of that township, generally appeared well on this road, and were ornamented with a number of good farmers' houses. After passing three or four miles, the country assumed a lean and unpromising appearance. The surface was composed of hills, rising with easy and long acclivities to a very considerable height, and open vallies between them. The soil was evidently poor, though probably of a worse appearance on account of a severe drought, under which the country at this time laboured. A few of the buildings looked well. The prospects were in several instances extensive, and in one magnificent.

Norway plain, so called from the multitude of Norway firs growing upon it, contains a decent village of the same name. It is within the township of Rochester, and the only one between Dover and Wolfborough.

Four miles farther, or twenty-eight from Portsmouth, the road continued to be good. The remainder ascended and descended, a succession of gradual acclivities, covered with rocks and stones to such a degree, as to make travelling not only excessively inconvenient, but at times dangerous. The inhabitants, who are few, and thinly dispersed, seem to have done every thing in their power to lessen the evil; but, unless they are assisted from some other quarter, they must labour many years before excursions to Wolfborough will be invited by the road. The forests, throughout the whole of this tract, are oak.

We arrived at Middleton a little after sun-set. The soil of this township is pretty good grazing land.

The next morning we rode to Wolfborough bridge, where there is a decent village, consisting of about twenty houses. The situation of this village is very pleasant. It stands on both sides of the outlet, by which the waters of Smith's lake, and another of a small size, the name of which I did not learn, are discharged into the Winipiseogee. Just below the bridge

commences a beautiful bay, six miles in length and two in breadth, strongly resembling that part of Lake George which is visible from the fort, but of less than half the extent, and not terminated to the eye, as that is, by a boundary of mountains. The view here is only beautiful. The winding of the shores is superior to what is seen there. The water is of the purest transparency; and the islands, and points of land, and the distant mountains are all very interesting objects.

The shore in this region is handsome, sufficiently varied, and sloping gracefully towards the water's edge. The soil also is rich, and, wherever it is tolerably cultivated, is covered with a fine verdure. The outlet is a large and sprightly mill-stream.

All the productions of the climate, the grains, the grass, the flax, the hortulane vegetables, and the fruits, flourish in this spot. Peach trees grow well, and resist the severity of the winter. Yet they die within a few years, from some cause unknown to the inhabitants, but not improbably the ravages of the peach worm. Fruits of every other kind are very prosperous. Early frosts in the autumn are rarely known, but the spring is often cold and backward, the atmosphere being chilled by the waters of the lake, which are kept cold for a considerable season by the ice.

Various kinds of fine fish are caught at the bridge, and elsewhere, in great abundance. Among them are the following:—

Trout, weighing from one to twenty pounds: pike, one to four: perch, one to three: roach, one to two: cush, one to four: pout, eels, &c.

Wolfborough, Middleton, Tuftonborough, and various other parts of the neighbouring country, are principally inhabited by Baptists, of the class vulgarly called *Free Willers*, who are generally extremely ignorant.

It is a very great evil to these settlements, and many others in New-Hampshire, that they are, and for a considerable length of time have been, destitute of well-educated ministers of the Gospel. The last minister of Wolfborough died about fourteen years since; and the reluctance to be at the necessary expense has prevented the inhabitants from settling another. This is an extensive calamity in New-Hampshire.

Five miles east of the bridge is the seat formerly belonging

his Excellency John Wentworth, Esq. This gentleman was the greatest benefactor to the province of New-Hampshire mentioned in its history. He was a man of sound understanding, refined taste, enlarged views, and a dignified spirit. His manners, also, were elegant, and his disposition enterprising. Agriculture in this province owed more to him than to any other man. He also originated the formation of new roads, and the improvement of old ones. All these circumstances rendered him very popular; and he would probably have continued to increase his reputation, had he not been prevented by the controversy between Great Britain and the colonies. As the case was, he retired from the chair with an unimpeachable character, and with higher reputation than any other man who at that time held the same office in this country.

A specimen of his good taste, and a very striking one, was exhibited in the fact, that he chose the border of this lake for his summer residence. It was not then, and even to the present time has not been, customary for the wealthy inhabitants of New-England to fix their country seats upon the fine pieces of water, with which at little distances it is everywhere adorned. When Governor Wentworth came to this country, the region, surrounding the Winipiseogee, was almost absolutely a forest. Few men have those preconceptions of taste, I may call them such, especially with respect to subjects, to the contemplation of which the mind is led by conversation, or practice, which anticipates beauty and elegance in a wilderness, and finds them hidden beneath the rude covering of nature. Governor Wentworth, however, found them here; and, by building on this ground, set an example, which will one day be followed by multitudes of his countrymen. The time will come, when it will not be thought necessary to place a country residence in the purlieus of a great city, or desirable to look for the pleasures of rural life in the neighbourhood of the dwellings of market people and the stalls of butchers.

The house of Governor Wentworth fell, after he left the country, into the hands of persons who were unworthy to succeed him; and, as might be expected, has advanced far in decay and ruin. The ground, on which it stands, will probably invite, at some future period, a man of a similar dispo-

sition to revive what it has lost, and add to it new ornaments supplied by wealth, and fashioned by genius and taste.

Wednesday night it blew a storm from the north-east, and rained violently. The rain continued by turns during the following day. We set out, however, at two o'clock, and rode through Tuftonborough and Moultonborough to Center Harbour: twenty miles. The road was such, that we were able to travel without inconvenience five miles an hour, and throughout most of the distance very good. The forests are oak, &c.

The soil of Tuftonborough is alternately good and indifferent, and the surface an interchange of rough and pleasant grounds. We saw nothing like a village. Most of the settlements appear to have been recently made.

There are several arms of the lake stretching far into this township, of which we had a succession of beautiful views.

Moultonborough is a softer, pleasanter township than Tuftonborough. The settlements have been longer made, the cultivation is better, and the inhabitants appear to be more prosperous than their neighbours.

Moultonborough includes a single congregation, at the head of which is a worthy minister. This fact, to an observer of human affairs, will easily explain the superiority of their character and their circumstances.

Rochester contained, in 1790, 2,857; in 1800, 2,646; in 1810, 2,118 inhabitants. Middleton contained, in 1790, 617; in 1800, 431; in 1810, 439 inhabitants. Wolfborough contained, in 1790, 447; in 1800, 941; in 1810, 1,376 inhabitants. Tuftonborough contained, in 1790, 109; in 1800, 357; in 1810, 709 inhabitants. Moultonborough contained, in 1790, 565; in 1800, 857; in 1810, 994 inhabitants.

We reached Center Harbour in the evening, and lodged at the house of Mrs. Little. Mr. Little died the preceding spring, universally lamented as a benefactor to this part of the country.

The next morning we determined on an excursion to the summit of the Red Mountain, for the purpose of taking a complete view of the Winipiseogee, or, as I shall henceforth call it, the *Wentworth*. Accordingly we set out on horseback

early hour, and rode quite to the highest point. The was often steep and difficult, but nowhere impracticable. we had reached the summit, we found a prospect worth y the trouble of the ascent, but that of our whole jour- We stood on the south-eastern point of these moun- which was posited with extreme felicity for our purpose, commanded, without obstruction, a view of all the sub- and surrounding country.

th-westward, at the distance of seventy miles, appeared ical summit of Monadnoc, like a blue cloud in the skirt horizon, and looked down on every object in that part hemisphere. A succession of other mountains, of di- id forms and elevations, extended on either hand from inence, till they reached and passed our parallel. Di- north of us rose the Sandwich mountains, a magnificent proceeding in a north-eastern direction, and termi- at the distance of thirty miles. Here a succession of varied summits, of the boldest figures, and wrapped in tle of misty azure, ascended far above all parts of the earth. Singly, they were in an eminent degree sub- in their union, they broke upon the view with grandeur ssible.

ive already mentioned the appearance of the Great Os- Mount Major, Moose Mountain, and the mountain of

I shall only add, that they were seen from this point n advantage so superior to what had appeared in the ct taken by us in the preceding year, as to be in a sense new.

mediately at the foot of the height on which we stood, the bottom of the immense valley below, spread south- urd the waters of the Wentworth in complete view, ex- hat one or two of its arms were partially concealed by ming peninsulas. A finer object of the same nature was s never seen. The lakes, which I had visited in my rn and western excursions, were all of them undivided s, bordered by shores comparatively straight. This entrally, a vast column, if I may be allowed the term, r-three miles in length, and from six to eight in breadth, ag out with inimitable beauty a succession of arms, some n not inferior in length to the whole breadth of the lake.

These were fashioned with every elegance of figure, bordered with the most beautiful winding shores, and studded with a multitude of islands. Their relative positions, also, could scarcely be more happy.

Many of the islands in the lake are large, exquisitely fashioned, and arranged in a manner not less singular than pleasing. As they met the eye, when surveyed from this summit, they were set in groupes on both sides of the great channel, and left this vast field of water unoccupied between them. Their length was, universally, at right angles to that of the lake, and they appeared as if several chains of hills, originally crossing the country in that direction, had by some convulsion been merged in the water so low, that no part of them was left visible except the oblong segments of their summits. Of those, which, by their size and situation, were most conspicuous, I counted forty-five, without attempting to enumerate the smaller ones, or such as were obscured.

The points, which intrude into this lake, were widely different from those which were mentioned in the description of Lake George, bold, masculine bluffs, impinging directly upon the water. These in several instances were spacious peninsulas, fitted to become rich and delightful residences of man, often elevated into handsome hills, and sloping gracefully into the lake.

On the west, also, immediately beneath our feet, lay Squam Lake, which I shall take the liberty to call by the name of *Sullivan*, from Major General Sullivan, formerly president of this state. This sheet of water is inferior in beauty to no other, and is richly furnished with its suite of islands, points, and promontories, among the least of which was the mountain, whence we gained our prospect. The separation between these lakes is formed by a narrow isthmus, capable, in the judgment of Mr. Little, of admitting a navigable communication between them, at the expense of five hundred dollars. To us they appeared but one, a narrow part of which was naturally supposed to be hidden by the intervening forest.

Nothing could be more cheerful than the appearance of these fields of water, extending on both sides of the promontory where we stood, between thirty and forty miles. The whole scene was made up of the most beautiful parts, and

were so arranged, as to compose a finished whole. But the impression was immeasurably enhanced by the objects which these waters were surrounded. The expansion of the prospect was vast and noble. Several smaller and very beautiful lakes were scattered, in spots, the dark ground of forest by which they were encircled. Subordinate hills, and intervening vallies, meadows, enclosures, and other proofs of cultivation, distributed throughout the neighbouring region, added, though in a degree than we could have wished, a pleasing variety to the general scenery. As these objects receded and vanished, distant mountains began to ascend in misty and awful grandeur, and raised an insurmountable barrier between us and the rest of the world; while to the eye of imagination this vast and magnificent prospect was designed only to be the entrance to the field of waters beneath our feet.

As we had feasted ourselves upon the prospect as long as the circumstances would permit, we descended the mountain, and returned to Mrs. Little's. At three o'clock, bidding adieu to the worthy family, we resumed our journey. Passing through Holderness and Plymouth, we reached Romney that evening. The next morning we rode to Tarleton's to dinner. In the afternoon my companions proceeded to Newbury, and then to Bradford. My horse having become suddenly lame, I directed my course the shortest way to Orford in a rain, which rendered the journey sufficiently disagreeable. The following morning my companions rejoined me. On Monday we rode to Windsor, and on Tuesday to Walpole. Here they parted again for Keene, whilst I, passing through Westmoreland, crossed the Connecticut to Putney, and again from Putney to Northampton, and proceeded thence to Northampton. The next day we reached Northampton; and, having parted with our Charlestown companions at Springfield, arrived at New-Haven on Wednesday the 13th of October.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

General Remarks upon New-Hampshire. Its Population, Soil, and Agriculture. Form of Government. Support of Religion.

DEAR SIR;

PERMIT me now to make a few general observations on New-Hampshire.

This state lies between 42° and $45^{\circ} 11'$ north latitude, and between $72^{\circ} 40'$ and $70^{\circ} 28'$ west longitude. I am, however, of opinion, that, if the words of the treaty of peace, which terminated the revolutionary war, were to be exactly followed, its northern point would be found not far from $45^{\circ} 30'$. This state is of a triangular figure, about 170 miles in length from north to south, perhaps more truly 190. At the southern extremity it is 90 miles in breadth; at the northern it comes almost to a point. Its area is 9,491 square miles, or 6,074,240 acres: On the north it abuts upon Lower Canada. On the west it is bounded by the western bank of the Connecticut; on the east by Massachusetts'-Bay; on the north-east by the district of Maine; and on the south by Massachusetts.

New-Hampshire contains six counties.

	Inhabitants in 1790.	Inhabitants in 1800.	Inhabitants in 1810.
Rockingham	43,169	45,427	50,175
Strafford	23,601	32,614	41,595
Hillsborough	32,871	43,899	49,149
Cheshire	28,772	38,825	40,988
Grafton	12,590	20,199	28,462
Coos	882	2,692	3,991
Total,	141,885	183,858	214,414*
Increase, during the first ten years			41,973
Increase, during the second ten years			30,556

* By the census of 1820, New-Hampshire contained 244,161 inhabitants.—*Pub.*

It is difficult to distribute this state into obvious, and yet accurate divisions. The country along the Connecticut, until we ascend the mountains of Littleton, resembles that in Massachusetts. The valley, however, is generally narrower. The next division is formed by the range of Mount Washington; the only collection of mountains in this state, which, so far as I have observed, is of any great extent. The northern half, as will appear from observations heretofore made, is in the proper sense a mountainous country.

New-Hampshire abounds in lakes. Umbagog, from such information as I have been able to obtain, is larger than the Wentworth, and there are several smaller ones, not mentioned in these Letters.

The soil is inferior to that of the other New-England states, Rhode-Island excepted. In many places it is rich; and under a superior husbandry would easily become rich in many others. Much of it is better fitted for grazing than for agriculture. The light and warm lands might easily be rendered productive by the use of gypsum. Those, which border the Merrimac, are extensively of this nature. The improvement of its navigation will easily and cheaply furnish the inhabitants on its borders as far up as Concord, or Boscawen, with this valuable manure; while, on the Connecticut, it may be conveyed to Bath. When the reluctance to alter their modes of husbandry, so often and so unhappily prevalent in farmers, shall have been overcome, and the efficacy of gypsum shall be realized, such lands will possess a new value, and their produce be increased beyond what the proprietors could now be induced to believe.

A great multitude of neat cattle, fed in the pastures of New-Hampshire, are annually driven to the markets on the eastern shore. To sheep, a great part of the country is very well suited; and their numbers are fast increasing.

Few countries in the world are better furnished with mill-streams and mill-seats than New-Hampshire. Manufactures are begun in various places; and ere long will be an object of primary attention to the inhabitants. Iron is already made on a large scale at Franconia.

The trade of New-Hampshire is principally carried on with Boston; and to some extent with Hartford, Newburyport,

Portsmouth, and Portland. Connecticut river furnishes almost one hundred miles of water conveyance to the inhabitants on the western border. The central parts are beginning to derive similar advantages from the Merrimac, aided by the Middlesex canal. The people in the north have begun to send cattle to Quebec. In 1810 and 1811, a road from the St. Lawrence, opposite to that city, was opened to the United States, near the place where the Connecticut crosses the 45th degree of north latitude. From Montreal to the same place the distance is less; but no road has hitherto been opened through the intervening wilderness. The trade of Portsmouth with the interior has, hitherto, fallen in a great measure into the hands of its rivals. Newburyport and Portland have engrossed a part, and Boston much more. Numerous turnpike roads have been cut from that capital in every direction, and particularly through a great part of the interior of New-Hampshire. The trade from the country along the Connecticut, below Bath, has within a few years been turned towards Hartford; and the business, done in this channel, is increasing.

The agriculture of this state, particularly that in the central and eastern parts, is visibly inferior to that of their southern neighbours. The fruits, requiring a warm climate, either do not grow at all, or at least do not flourish. It is, however, doubtful whether sufficient efforts have been made to obtain them.

The manners of the inhabitants differ little from those of Massachusetts. The proper New-England character is, I think, more evident than in Vermont. The political constitution is altogether better. The government is obviously more stable. The inhabitants discover less propensity to disorder; and men, who are eagerly employed in seeking offices, seem less willing to countenance it.

The government of New-Hampshire is founded upon the constitution of that state, established at Concord, September 5th, 1792. To this constitution is prefixed a bill of rights, consisting of thirty-eight articles, and containing in substance the declarations, which are found in most other American instruments of the same nature. To these are added, as you would conclude from their number, several others. In the

sixth article morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles, are declared to give the best and greatest security to government; and the legislature is accordingly empowered to authorise congregations to make adequate provision, at their own expense, for the maintenance of Protestant teachers of morality and religion. At the same time it is declared, that no person of any particular religious denomination shall be compelled to pay towards the support of a teacher, who is of a different one. It is also declared, that every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves as good subjects of the state, shall be equally under its protection, and entitled to equal privileges; and that no sect shall ever be legally subordinated to another.

By the thirteenth article, persons, conscientiously scrupulous about the lawfulness of bearing arms, are exempted, on condition of paying an equivalent.

In the twenty-sixth it is declared, that in all cases, and at all times, the military ought to be under strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power.

In the twenty-seventh it is declared, that in time of peace no soldier shall be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in the time of war, but by the civil magistrate, in a manner ordained by the legislature.

In the thirty-third the magistracy is forbidden to demand excessive bail or sureties, impose excessive fines, or inflict cruel or unusual punishments.

In the nineteenth, general warrants are forbidden; and the right of the subject to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizure of his person, houses, papers, and possessions.

In the thirty-fifth, the independence of the judges of the supreme judicial court, "*quam diu bene se gesserint*," and honourable salaries, established by standing laws, are required.

In the thirty-sixth, pensions are forbidden, except in consideration of actual services; and grants for any pensions, except for more than one year at a time.

The legislature consists of a senate and house of representatives, chosen annually by ballot.

A representative must have been two years at least, next preceding his election, an inhabitant of the state, must have an estate within the district, which he represents, of the value of one hundred pounds, half of it freehold; must at the time of his election be an inhabitant of the place, which he represents; must be of the Protestant religion; and with the ceasing of these qualifications ceases to be a representative.

Every senator and representative has a right to have his protest or dissent entered on the journal.

The senate consists of twelve members.

Every senator must be of the Protestant religion; must possess a freehold estate of the value of two hundred pounds, lying within the state; must be thirty years of age; must have been an inhabitant of the state seven years, next preceding his election; and at the time an inhabitant of the district for which he is chosen.

The senate tries impeachments made by the house of representatives.

The governor, in addition to the qualifications of a senator, must have an estate of the value of five hundred pounds; the one half of it a freehold, lying in the state.

The power of pardoning offences, except in cases of impeachment by the house of representatives, is in the governor and council.

The council is chosen in the same manner as the senators. Its duty is to advise the governor in the executive part of the government. The number of members is five.

All judicial officers hold their offices during good behaviour; but may be removed by the governor and council upon address of both houses of the legislature. Justices of the peace, however, hold their commissions but five years, Judges and sheriffs hold their offices only to the age of seventy. The legislators and magistrates are required to cherish the interests of learning and science, seminaries and public schools; and to give rewards and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and the natural history of the country. At the same time they are required to countenance and inculcate all the social virtues.

It is unnecessary to make any particular remarks on this institution. It has its defects; but they are perhaps as few can be found in most instruments of this nature. If it should be watchfully preserved, and faithfully administered, it seems to be no reason, why the inhabitants of New-Hampshire may not for a long time enjoy their full share of freedom and happiness.

Had the constitution empowered the legislature to require, not merely to authorise, all the inhabitants to contribute, proportionally, towards the maintenance of public worship, retaining at the same time the rights of conscience, it would have been happier. This truth is sufficiently illustrated by the present state of religion in New-Hampshire. The existing laws on this subject are such, upon the whole, as to leave them extensively at loose ends.

If all religious sects, those which owe their existence to reluctance, felt by every avaricious man, to support the idolatrous worship of God, are the worst in their character, and most hopeless of reformation. Arguments to enforce the duty of opening the purse are addressed to a heart of stone, and an intellect of lead. The very fact, that a man has been seduced on this ground a religion, which he approved, for which he disapproved, will make him an enemy to the former, and a zealot for the latter. Conviction and principle are here out of the question. The only inquiry, the only thought, is concerning a sum of money, so pitiful, that the proprietor is ashamed of being even suspected of his real design. In itself it is a base fraud; and all the measures, employed to carry it into execution, partake of the same baseness. To preserve his pelf, the man belies his conscience and insults his Maker. To appease the one, and soothe the other, and at the same time preserve some appearance of respectability among his neighbours, he endeavours to make up by the show of zeal what he so evidently lacks of common sense. Hence he becomes enthusiastic, bigoted, censorious, impervious to conviction, a wanderer after every straggling exhorter, and every bewildered tenet; and thus veers from one folly and falsehood to another, and another, throughout his life. This conduct is often challenged as a

more exercise of the rights of conscience; but conscience is equally a stranger to the conduct and the man.

The real consequence of this state of things is that disregard to moral obligation, that indifference to the Creator and his laws, to the soul and its future destiny, which is emphatically called Nihilism. Men may be irreligious under a settled system of doctrines and duties; but, while life lasts, there is always a hope remaining, that they may return to a better character; because there are means within their reach, by which their return may possibly be accomplished. In the present case, duty to the soul, and its salvation, are bartered for a sum of money; that is, for the purpose of saving a sum of money, which cannot be grudged without meanness, nor mentioned without a blush.

One of the chief evils, under which New-Hampshire labours, is the want of union and concert in the management of public affairs. The sense of a common interest appears to be loosely felt by the inhabitants. Those in the eastern countries are apparently little connected with those in the western; and those in the middle of the state still less perhaps with either. Boston commands a great part of their trade. The efficacy of a commercial metropolis of the state, so often useful as a bond of union, is in New-Hampshire almost absolutely unknown. Nor have any other means been hitherto found sufficient to unite men of influence, in the different parts of the community, in such a frequency of intercourse, and in such a sympathy of interest, as seem indispensable to the promotion of a common good. Twenty-three years have elapsed since this constitution was established; and they have not yet been able to fix upon a permanent seat of government.

In some states, and at times in those which are small, what may be called a state pride has produced that sense of a common interest, which ought to be derived from an enlarged understanding, and from higher motives. New-Hampshire seems to be destitute even of this auxiliary. In other communities, birth and education on the same ground have produced this effect. But a large part of the people of New-Hampshire are, or lately were, immigrants from other states.

, however, will remove the evils flowing from this source. public functionaries, and other men of influence, could be induced to unite in promoting with zeal and expansive views the public and private education of their countrymen, to improve agriculture, and such arts and manufactures as are suited to the circumstances of the country; could they unite in a wise and public-spirited system of government in defiance of party; could they with a single voice be the promoters of the progress of religion; New-Hampshire would ere long realize a higher reputation, and more ample prospects than the most sanguine of its citizens have hitherto expected.

I am, Sir, &c.



JOURNEY TO UTICA.

description of the Kaatskill Mountains. Extensive Prospect from the Summit. Journey to Utica. Hamilton College. Cavities worn by the Mohawk in the Rocks at Little Falls. Return.

DEAR SIR;

On the 20th September, 1815, in company with D., I set out upon an excursion to the western parts of state of New-York. At Litchfield I was detained until 26th, by the violent equinoctial storm, which ravaged in unprecedented manner a considerable part of the eastern southern coast of New-England. On the 26th I proceeded to Sheffield, and on the next day to Kaatskill, and found it not a little improved in the number and value of its dwellings, and in the good order, morals, and religion of its inhabitants.

On the 28th, in company with several gentlemen of that village, I ascended the Kaatskill mountains. The turnpike road, made some years since over these heights from Kaatskill to Windham, enabled us to gain the summit without any great difficulty, except what arises from their great elevation. We employed mules, and at times even chaises, though it must be confessed with many a hard struggle, climb this ascent. We ascended it partly on horseback, and partly on foot. On a height, more than two thousand feet above the common surface, we found two lakes; the northern dull and dreary, bordered by a variety of gloomy aquatic plants, and encircled by a dismal border of swamp shrubbery; the southern clean, pleasant, and surrounded by a neat shore. Both together amount about a mile in length. A brook, issuing from the former, discharges its waters into the latter. Across this stream lay

our road. Soon after, we entered the forest on the south; and, after penetrating it about a mile, came to a scene which amply repaid us for our toil. On the rear of the great ridge stretched out before us two spurs of a vast height. Between them sunk a ravine, extending several miles in length, and in different places from a thousand to fifteen hundred feet in depth. The mountains on either side were steep, wild and shaggy, covered almost everywhere with a dark forest, the lofty trees of which approached nearer and nearer to each other as the eye wandered towards the bottom. In some places their branches became united; in others, separated by a small distance, they left a line of absolute darkness, resembling in its dimensions a winding rivulet, here somewhat wider, there narrower, and appearing as if it were a solitary bye-path to the nether world. All beneath seemed to be midnight, although the day was uncommonly bright and beautiful; and all above a dreary solitude, secluded from the world, and destined never to be wandered over by the feet of man. At the head of this valley stood a precipice; here descending perpendicularly, there overhanging with a stupendous and awful grandeur. Over a bed of stone beside our feet ran a mill-stream; which discharged the waters of the lakes, and from the brow of the precipice rushed in a perpendicular torrent, perfectly white and glittering, nearly three hundred feet in length. This magnificent current, after dashing upon a shelf, falls over a second precipice of one hundred feet; when it vanishes in the midnight beneath, and rolls over a succession of precipices until it finally escapes from the mountains, and empties its waters into the river Kaaterskill. A cloud of vapour, raised by the dashing of this stream on the successive shelves in its bed, rises above the forests which shroud the bottom of the valley, and winds beautifully away from the sight until it finally vanishes in the bewildered course of this immense chasm. On the bosom of this elegant volume of mist appears to the eye, placed in a proper position, a succession of rain-bows, floating slowly and gracefully down the valley, and reluctantly yielding their place to others by which they are continually followed. No contrast can be more perfect than that of these circles of light to the rude scenery by which they are environed; and no object of this nature which

have seen awakens emotions of such grandeur, as are here excited, except the Falls of Niagara.

On the brow of this precipice we regaled ourselves with an excellent dinner, and then proceeded to the eastern front of the mountains. From a height of three thousand feet we beheld a part of the counties of Albany, Greene, Ulster, and Orange, on the west side of the Hudson, a part of the county of Putnam, and the whole of Dutchess, Columbia, and Rensselaer, on the east; together with a part of Berkshire in Massachusetts, and Litchfield in Connecticut, lying full view beneath us. The whole area was more than one hundred miles in length, and not far from fifty in breadth. This vast field was chiefly formed by the great valley of the Hudson lying north of the highlands. A more distinct and perfect view of a landscape cannot be imagined. On the western side, it is forested to a much greater extent than I had been prepared to expect; a fact owing, as I was told, to a reluctance with which the Dutch farmers consent to any alienation in the state of their possessions. On the eastern side, the counties of Dutchess, Columbia, and Rensselaer, everywhere settled and cultivated, were beautifully spotted with an alternation of farms and groves, diffused over the whole surface in such a manner, that there seemed to be scarcely room left for a single additional farmer. At the bottom of this valley, the Hudson stretched in clear view over a length of fifty miles; and even here maintained the appearance of a magnificent river. On its waters were moving in various directions a multitude of vessels, in the form of white spots. One of these with a telescope we discovered to be the steam-boat, making a rapid progress under the shore of Rhinebeck. In this great field a series of towns and villages met the eye; among which the town of Kaatskill, and the city of Hudson, almost under us, were particularly conspicuous.

The eastern prospect was chiefly limited by the Taghkannuc range, in which the Taghkannuc and Saddle Mountains ascended with great magnificence. In various places, summits of the range of the Green Mountains were visible.

On the west, nothing was seen but the heights and forests of the neighbourhood.

The base of these mountains, so far as we had opportunity to observe it, is formed of brown argillaceous slate resting upon sand stone. This, at high elevations, is surmounted by a vast body of sand stone. The structure of these mountains, as far westward as Meredith, and not improbably much farther, is the same; all the spurs, so far as I was able to obtain information, having the same character.

On the height, whence we took our prospect, we found whortle-berries in abundance and in perfection. Some of them were green; and very few which we saw indicated any decay. We ate of them freely, and found them very fine. The date of this excursion was about two months later than the time of their perfection at New-Haven. On Friday, 1st of October, 1813, I found them in perfection on the Red Mountains at the head of Lake Wentworth in New-Hampshire. This fact, in both instances, is a proof of the coolness of the atmosphere in the places where the fruit was found. Allowance is however to be made for the superior latitude of the Red mountains in the one case, and for the superior elevation of the Kaatskill mountains in the other.

We descended from these heights a little before sunset; and, after a disagreeable delay, occasioned by breaking through a bridge, where we had well nigh lost our horses, we reached Kaatskill a little after ten in the evening.

On Friday I proceeded along the Susquehannah turnpike, through the townships formerly mentioned, and reached Meredith. On Monday I left Meredith, and proceeded to Easton, a township lately incorporated from the eastern side of Oxford. On Tuesday, October 3d, I passed through Oxford and Norwich to Sherburn; and on Wednesday through Madison and Sangerfield to Clinton, where I lodged with the Rev. Dr. Backus, president of Hamilton college.

On Thursday, in company with Dr. Backus, I visited Jesse Dean, Esq., an inhabitant of Westmoreland; who, in the most obliging manner, communicated to me much valuable information concerning the Iroquois. On Friday I proceeded to Utica, where I continued till Monday morning.

The road from Kaatskill to Oxford I found generally bad, as having been long neglected. The first twenty miles were tolerable, the last twenty absolutely intolerable.

skill has become a considerable town, containing many le houses and stores, a court-house and Presbyterian , both new and handsome. Its moral aspect is also ally changed. Religion has spread, and is still spread-xtensively over this settlement. A Bible society for unty of Greene was formed here on the day of my ar-with a zeal and liberality very honourable to the gen-concerned.

o, formerly Canton, which was little more than a wil-s in 1804, is now become a promising settlement, d with a neat village, surrounding a Presbyterian church same character.

v-Durham is completely settled; all the farms being ed and cultivated. Of this fine tract I had a del-view from the ridge of the Kaatskill mountains, lying west, and formerly mentioned in these Letters. It he aspect of a country long inhabited; and with its fine s, rich farms, and high groves, exhibited a very beautiful ape.

valley beyond this ridge, which in 1804 was an almost te solitude, was now parcelled out into farms, and set uman habitations. A handsome bridge of one arch has rected over the Schoharie.

lenheim, Jefferson, and Stamford, the alterations, though erable, were not very striking. Stamford, however, as a thriving village, named Waterville, lying south of ad at the distance of five or six miles.

persfield is completely occupied, and wears the appear-f an old settlement.

tright has increased its population, but has an un-ing aspect, and struck my eye as less pleasant than for-

edith is settled to a considerable extent, and shows the of its surface with increased advantage.

population of both Franklin and Sydney has consider-creased; and, in the former place, religion has exten-prevailed.

idilla is becoming a very pretty village. It is built on ptful ground along the Susquehannah; and the number ses, particularly of good ones, has much increased. A

part of the country between this and Oxford is cultivated: a considerable part is still a wilderness. The country is rough, and of a high elevation.

Oxford is a beautiful town, charmingly situated in the valley of the Chenango.

Norwich, the shire town of this county, is still more pleasantly posited. This village, which has chiefly come into existence since the year 1804, is built near the foot of a fine range of hills on the west, upon a slope declining to the river near a mile, with an uniform descent, and with an ease and elegance nowhere excelled. The village itself is handsome, and the scenery beautiful.

Sherburn and Hamilton are also handsome villages on the eastern branch of the Chenango, situated on a fine soil, and in a region where every thing appears to flourish. Indeed the valley of this river appeared to me even more desirable than when I passed through it in 1804.

Madison is on rougher ground, but has a rich soil, as has Sangerfield, also, with a smoother and pleasanter surface. In the three last of these towns there are neat churches.

The surface of Clinton is beautiful, and the soil of the highest fertility. The inhabitants are industrious, sober, orderly, and prosperous. This parish, and indeed the whole township of Paris, is completely settled.

Hamilton college, although its charter is in several respects imperfect, is in a flourishing condition. The number of students the present year will not be far from one hundred. Two professorships are filled in it, and at least two others will soon be established. The system of government and instruction pursued in it is, in substance, the same with that of Yale college. Two collegiate buildings are already erected, on a healthy eminence, commanding a noble prospect. The new one is handsome, and built of stone covered with cement. A third will soon be erected, of the same form and structure. The kitchen and dining room are better contrived than any which I have seen.

Utica is become a considerable town, containing more than three thousand inhabitants, engaged in an extensive and profitable commerce, and not far from four hundred houses, many of them valuable, and several of them elegant structures.

iderable number of the stores in this town are inferior and beauty to few in the state.

igion has of late prevailed extensivly in Utica, es- in families of the first consideration, and has had a influence on the manners of the inhabitants at large.

day, October 7th, I left Utica, and rode to the Little on the eastern limit of Herkimer. On this and the four ng days it rained copiously. The path was liquid mud; often deep, and not without danger. In 1804, most ountry, throughout this distance, was a forest. It was iversally settled, and the inhabitants appear to be in ous circumstances.

cimer is become a handsome town. There is a con- le village at the Little Falls. At this spot commences, language of the inhabitants, the western country of ork.

a Kaatskill round to Utica I found the stones exten- on- sisting of marine shells, some of them mere masses i shells cemented together, most of them mineralized. are limestone; and others, still, slate, with greater or llections of shells imbedded in them. Such are the

Claverack, Hudson, Kaatskill, in several branches of atskill mountains, at Meredith, Norwich, Sherburn, on, Madison, Sangerfield, and Clinton. Such also are is at Cherry Valley, and in a spot about eight miles be- e Genesee river on the great road. These shells were escallops and periwinkles. Oyster shells were rare, so had opportunity to observe them in this excursion.

ite I observed in the western parts of the township of er; and it continued to appear as far as Schenectady. se of the lower Anthony's Nose is granite, while the regions are compact limestone. There are two moun- f this name in the neighbourhood of each other.

rocks at the Little Falls are gneiss, extremely hard. y morning I went out to examine them, and was asto- to see the cavities formerly worn by the Mohawk. Se- if them were more than one hundred feet above the its present surface. The largest, which I saw, was at een feet in diameter, and about eight in depth. From mensions they diminished by imperceptible gradations

down to two feet. One of them, about a mile from the centre of the settlement, as we were informed by our host, is fifteen feet in depth, but not more than five or six in diameter.

The number of these cavities is very great, and very difficult to be ascertained; for they are spread over an extended surface, by the variation of which they are concealed from the eye of an observer, who does not examine them with very minute inspection. To such an observer it scarcely seems credible, that the only known causes should have been sufficiently efficacious to produce the extraordinary phenomena, which he sees to have been produced. The rock is one of the hardest which is known. The river is not more than one-third of the size of the Connecticut at Bellows' Falls. Yet the largest of these cavities is five or six times more capacious than any at that place. Almost all the latter, also, are small, while many of the former are very large.

I have observed, that the most elevated of these cavities is more than one hundred feet above the present level of the Mohawk. Here we are furnished with decisive proof, that the river, at some former period, ran on this elevation. An inspection of this place will satisfy any attentive observer, that the water once ran many feet still higher; since the rocks exhibit the fullest evidence of having been long washed by the current. Of course the waters of the Mohawk found a barrier at the Little Falls, more than one hundred feet in height, and were therefore certainly a lake extending far back into the interior. In one case, then, we are furnished with demonstration, so far as reasoning from facts may be called such, that the waters of a river, which has now washed away its barrier, were anciently confined by the jutting of mountains so as to constitute a large lake, agreeably to the scheme mentioned in the account given of my second journey to Lake George. Fair analogy will convince an observing traveller, that there were once lakes of the same class in all the places which I have specified, and in many others.

Here I had an opportunity of seeing again the mongrel-cedar, and found, by a more thorough examination than I was able formerly to make, that this tree loses its leaves every autumn, in the manner formerly suggested in these Letters.

The process is this:—At little distances over the whole tree small twigs, the product of the existing, or perhaps the preceding year, die, together with their leaves. These, though differing somewhat in their size, may be considered generally as exhibiting a surface equal to that of a man's hand; and, being everywhere alternated with living twigs, and of a reddish brown, approaching near to a pink, seem at a small distance not unlike roses. To botanists the plant may be familiar, to me it is new.

This is a very interesting and romantic spot. The scenery is wild and magnificent, and forms a fine contrast to the elegant intervals which border the Mohawk both above and below.

Tuesday I proceeded to Palatine; the road less wet, but at least as deep and dangerous as on the preceding day. The next day I reached Albany, with a road generally bad, but materially better than I had seen since I left Utica.

The intervals on both sides of the Mohawk are, with scarcely an exception, universally cleared, and have the appearance of complete cultivation. They are remarkably handsome grounds. The hills on both sides, also, are in many places in the same state; in many others they are partially cleared, and to a considerable extent are still covered with forests. Several of them are handsomer grounds than I supposed in my former journeys.

The village of Caghawaga is considerably increased and improved in its appearance. Several hamlets are begun at different places, and several churches are erected. Many of the houses, all along the road, are good buildings.

Two new colleges are built at Schenectady, on the ground mentioned in the former part of these Letters. I saw them at a distance only, and thought them handsome buildings.

Albany is rapidly improving. Its population, and the number of its buildings, have greatly increased during the last four years. The new buildings are generally handsome. Among them is a large and elegant church of stone, with a handsome steeple, built in Chapel Street by a new Presbyterian congregation. This is one out of many instances of enterprise and public spirit manifested by the inhabitants. Another is the establishment of an academy, on a broad foundation, with the

design of furnishing every degree of education short of that which is obtained at colleges. The corporation of the city, which is rich, liberally lend their aid to every useful public object, in a manner which is highly honourable to the character of its members. Both the morals and the manners of its inhabitants are also not a little improved.

On Monday I left Albany, and on the following Thursday reached New-Haven.

Four miles west of Albany I was thrown out of my sulkey by the fall of my horse; but, although in imminent danger, escaped with very little injury. I mention this, I hope, with some degree of gratitude to that good Providence, which, through excursions amounting to but little less than eighteen thousand miles, has permitted no other accident to befall me or my companions.

I am, Sir, &c.

THE IROQUOIS.

LETTER I.

Authorities consulted in the following Account of the Iroquois. Their form of Government. Their Story relative to the Creation of Man. Their Mythology, as related by the Oneidas.

DEAR SIR;

IT would be a gross departure from the plan, which I formerly pursued in giving an account of New-England, should I neglect to make some observations concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of the state of New-York. All these, except the Iroquois, were in my view unquestionably the same as the Iroquois, and were called by the early Dutch colonists the Six Nations. From the rest of the tribes of that great nation, which they belonged, they differed as little in their language, customs, and character, as those tribes from each other. The Iroquois were an entirely different people, speaking a radically different language, and having in many other respects a totally different character.

A complete account of these people has never been given to the public; and probably was never within the reach of civilized men. Now, at least, it is beyond their power. Still, there are several valuable sketches, both of their character and history, which have been written by men of industry and intelligence. The late Dr. Colden, lieutenant-governor of the province of New-York, published a work, which he entitled a "History of the Five Indian Nations of Canada, which are dependent on the Province of New-York in America." The principal design of it was to awaken the attention of the British nation on both sides of the Atlan-

tic to the situation and character of this people; and to the importance of cultivating their friendship, securing their trade, and engaging their efforts in favour of the British colonies. With a degree of wisdom, and let me add of integrity also, not very often found in political philosophers, he has founded all his opinions on facts; and, after giving us a short sketch of their customs and character, has recited such parts of their history as could be well authenticated. The important parts of their character and policy he has exhibited to us, also, in a numerous succession of speeches made on various occasions. In these, beside the accounts which they give of various parts of their history, we have their own views concerning a variety of their customs, rights, character, interests, and policy. Nothing can be more characteristic than these speeches; and, so far as they go, nothing can explain to us so well what these nations were. I say, *were*, for their character has undergone a very important change: their heroism, their greatness, and their independence exist only in the tales of other times. To Dr. Colden, more than to all other men, are we indebted for our knowledge of what these nations *have been*.

The Honourable Wm. Smith, an eminent lawyer in New-York, and afterwards chief justice of the province of Canada, published a valuable history of his native province. In this work he has given a detailed account of the character and actions of these tribes; derived however, in its most material parts, from the work of Dr. Colden.

The Honourable Dewitt Clinton, in a discourse delivered before the New-York Historical Society, at their anniversary meeting, December 6th, 1811, has given the public a very able and comprehensive account of these nations. In this account, the most complete which is extant, the author has probably assembled all the facts, which have been heretofore published concerning the Iroquois; and has added to them a considerable number which he has collected from living testimony. To these writers permit me to refer you for more minute information than it would be proper for me to detail in these Letters. At your pleasure you can add those of Charlevoix, La Hontan, Father Hennipin, and others.

I have for many years taken pains to become acquainted

the history, character, and manners of the Iroquois. For purpose I early applied to the late Rev. Dr. Edwards, lent of Union college, to his brother the Honourable thy Edwards of Stockbridge, and to the Rev. Mr. Kirk- then a missionary to the Oneidas. In September and ær, 1815, I made a journey to Westmoreland in the y of Oneida, in order to obtain information on this sub- rom Jesse Deane, Esq., a respectable magistrate living at township. This gentleman was sent by his parents he country of these persons, for the purpose of learning language. Probably no white man is now, or ever was, ly versed in it, or acquainted with the character of the e by whom it is spoken, so far as that character has ex- since the period when he undertook this mission. Mr. e very cheerfully gave me the information which I re- ed; and also furnished me with a manuscript account he had written of their mythology, as reported to him emselves. In the following observations, I shall in- ave such information, received from these gentlemen, my own opinion may contribute to illustrate their cha-

æ Iroquois were a confederated republic, consisting ri- y of five nations; the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the dagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. To these were l, in the year 1712, the Tuscaroras. This tribe origi- inhabited part of North-Carolina; and, from simi- of language, were justly pronounced by the other five a branch of the same original stem. At their request, ore, they were adopted into the confederacy. Before vent they were called, by the English, the Five Na- and after it the Six Nations; and not unfrequently ohawks, from the principal tribe; that most probably ich the confederation was proposed and established. By rench they were styled the Iroquois; by themselves the æs, the Aganuschione, or united people, and Onque- re, or "men surpassing all others*." Iroquois were not among the original inhabitants of art of North America. Dr. Edwards informed me, that

* Colden.

the Mohekanewes universally considered themselves as the original inhabitants, and styled the Iroquois interlopers. He also added, that the Iroquois themselves admitted this fact, and gloried in it; asserting, that they had fought their way to their present possessions, and acquired their country by conquering all who had resisted them.

That this united declaration is just, is amply supported by facts. The Mohekanewes were spread from the neighbourhood of the Pacific ocean to the eastern shore of New-England; and remains of this nation are now to be found, in small tribes, dispersed over a great part of North America. This is proved unanswerably by their language. The Iroquois were planted in the midst of this widely-extended nation; and appear to have had no other connection with them than what is involved in wars, conquests, and treaties; and nothing in common with them, beside the savage character, and its universal appendages. At the same time, they were almost invariably at war with some or other of the Mohekanew tribes. With this spirit, and its necessary consequences, it is impossible that they should have made their way through the western branches of the Mohekanewes, or in other words of enemies dispersed over a territory of near three thousand miles in extent, in any other manner than by conquest.

This, however, is far from being their own account of their origin.

From Mr. Kirkland I received the following story, formally delivered to him, as he told me, in a solemn assembly of the Oneida sachems, and some others of their principal people.

Before Man existed, there were three great and good Spirits; of whom one was superior to the other two, and is emphatically called the Great Spirit and the Good Spirit. At a certain time this exalted Being said to one of the others, "Make a man." He obeyed, and taking chalk formed a paste of it, and, moulding it into the human shape, infused into it the animating principle, and brought it to the Great Spirit. He, after surveying it, said, "This is too white."

He then directed the other to make a trial of his skill. Accordingly, taking charcoal, he pursued the same process, and brought the result to the Great Spirit; who, after surveying it, said, "It is too black."

Then said the Great Spirit, "I will now try myself;" and taking red earth he formed a human being in the same manner, surveyed it, and said, "This is a proper (or perfect) man." These three, as you will naturally anticipate, were the original ancestors of all the white, black, and red men of our race.

It is hardly necessary to observe, that the Iroquois, who had no knowledge of white men until the arrival of the European colonists, nor of a black man until many years afterward, made this story in order to explain the origin of these different classes of men; and that it is of rather a philosophical than an historical nature. Nor can it be denied, that the philosophy is as rational as that of most other theorists. Still it is possible, that it may be partially made up of traditional history, and may in the same manner exhibit to us what were the original apprehensions of these people concerning the creation of man. The word "Adam" seems originally to have signified red earth.

The Iroquois, like the Hindoos, made the earth ultimately rest upon the back of the turtle.

The account given by the Oneidas to Mr. Deane, of their mythology, is widely different from that which has been related. It is truly Indian in all its parts. I will give you the substance of it; taking the liberty to abridge it in several places, where the facts recorded are of minor importance, and would contribute little or nothing towards the elucidation of the scheme.

"An unlimited expanse of water once filled the space now occupied by the world which we inhabit. Here was the abode of total darkness, which no ray of light had ever penetrated. At this time the human family dwelt in a country, situated in the upper regions of the air; abounding in every thing conducive to the comfort and convenience of life. The forests were full of game, the lakes and streams swarmed with fish and fowl, while the ground and fields spontaneously produced constant profusion of vegetables for the use of man. An intemperate sun enlivened their days, and storms and tempests were unknown in that happy region. The inhabitants were strangers to death, and its harbingers pain and disease; while their minds were free from the corroding passions of jealousy,

hatred, malice, and revenge; so that their state was made perfectly happy.

“ At length, however, an event occurred, which interrupted their tranquillity, and introduced care and anxiety, until then unknown. A certain youth was noticed to withdraw himself from the circle of their social amusements. The solitary recesses of the grove became his favourite walks. Care and chagrin were depicted in his countenance; and his body, from long abstinence, presented to the view of his friends the mere skeleton of a man. Anxious solicitude in vain explored the cause of his grief; until at length, debilitated both in body and mind, he yielded to the importunity of his associates, and promised to disclose the cause of his trouble, on condition that they would dig up by the roots a certain white-pine tree, lay him on his blanket by the margin of the hole, and seat his wife by his side. In a moment all hands were ready. The fatal tree was taken up by the roots; in doing which the earth was perforated, and a passage opened into the abyss below. The blanket was spread by the hole, the youth laid thereon, and his wife, then in a state of pregnancy, took her seat by his side. The multitude, eager to learn the cause of such strange and unusual conduct, pressed around; when, on a sudden, to their horror and astonishment, he seized upon the woman, and precipitated her headlong into the regions of darkness below; then, rising from the ground, he informed the assembly, that he had for some time suspected the chastity of his wife, and that, having now disposed of the cause of his trouble, he should soon recover his usual health and vivacity.

“ All those amphibious animals, which now inhabit this world, then roamed through the watery waste, to which this woman in her fall was hastening. The loon first discovered her coming, and called a council in haste to prepare for her reception; observing, that the animal which approached was a human being, and that earth was indispensably necessary for its accommodation. The first subject of deliberation was, who should support the burthen. The sea-bear first presented himself for a trial of his strength. Instantly the other animals gathered round, and scrambled up upon his back; while the bear, unable to support the weight, sunk beneath the surface of the water, and was by the whole assembly judged unequal

to the task of supporting the earth. Several others in succession presented themselves as candidates for the honour, with similar success. Last of all, the turtle modestly advanced, tendering his broad shell as the basis of the earth, now about to be formed. The beasts then made trial of his strength to bear, heaping themselves upon his back; and, finding their united pressure unable to sink him below the surface, adjudged to him the honour of supporting the world.

“ A foundation being thus provided, the next subject of deliberation was how to procure earth. It was concluded, that it must be obtained from the bottom of the sea. Several of the most expert divers went in quest of it, and uniformly floated up dead to the surface of the water. The mink at length undertook the dangerous plunge; and, after a long absence, arose dead. On a critical examination a small quantity of earth was discovered in one of his claws, which he had scratched from the bottom. This, being carefully preserved, was placed on the back of the turtle.

“ In the mean time the woman continued falling, and at length alighted on the turtle. The earth had already grown to the size of a man's foot, where she stood with one foot covering the other. Shortly she had room for both feet, and was soon able to sit down. The earth continued to expand, and soon formed a small island, skirted with willow and other aquatic shrubbery; and at length stretched out into a widely-extended plain, interspersed with rivers and smaller streams, which with gentle currents moved forward their tributary waters to the ocean. She repaired to the sea-shore, erected a habitation, and settled in her new abode.

“ Not long after, she was delivered of a daughter, and was supported by the spontaneous productions of the earth, until the child arrived to adult years. She was then solicited in marriage by several animals changed into the forms of young men; but they were rejected successively by the mother, until the turtle offered himself as a suitor, and was received. After she had laid herself down to sleep, the turtle placed two arrows on her body in the form of a cross; one headed with flint; the other with the rough bark of a tree. In due time she was delivered of two sons, but died in child-birth.

“ The grandmother, enraged at her daughter's death, re-

solved to destroy them ; and, taking them both in her arms, threw them both into the sea. Scarcely had she reached her weekwam, when the children overtook her at the door. The experiment was several times repeated, but in vain. Discouraged by this ill success, she concluded to let them live. Then dividing the corpse of her daughter into two parts, she threw them up towards the heavens ; where one became the moon, and the other the sun. Then began the succession of day and night in our world.

“ The children speedily became men, and expert archers. The elder, whose name was Thauwiskalau, had the arrow of the turtle which was pointed with the flint, and killed with it the largest beasts of the forest. The younger, whose name was Taulonghyauwaugoon, had the arrow headed with bark. The former was, by his malignant disposition and his skill and success in hunting, a favourite with his grandmother. They lived in the midst of plenty ; but would not permit the younger brother, whose arrow was insufficient to destroy any thing larger than birds, to share in their abundance.

“ As this young man was wandering one day along the shore, he saw a bird perched upon a bough, projecting over the water. He attempted to kill it ; but his arrow, till that time unerring, flew wide of the mark, and sunk in the sea. He determined to recover it ; and, swimming to the spot where it fell, plunged to the bottom. Here, to his astonishment, he found himself in a small cottage. A venerable old man, who was sitting in it, received him with a smile of paternal complacency, and thus addressed him :—‘ My son, I welcome you to the habitation of your father. To obtain this interview, I directed all the circumstances which have conspired to bring you hither. Here is your arrow, and here is an ear of corn, which you will find pleasant and wholesome food. I have watched the unkindness of both your grandmother and your brother. His disposition is malignant and cruel. While he lives, the world can never be peopled. You must therefore take his life. When you return home, you must traverse the whole earth, collect all the flints, which you find, into heaps, and hang up all the buckshorns. These are the only things of which your brother is afraid, or which can make any impression on his body, which is made of flint. They will

keep you with weapons always at hand, wherever he may go in his course.'

Having received these and other instructions from his father, the young man took his leave; and, returning again to the world, began immediately to obey his father's directions.

After a series of adventures, which it is unnecessary here to repeat, the two brothers began a quarrel, in which the elder endeavoured to destroy the younger, but, failing of his purpose, was attacked in his turn. As he fled the earth trembled, and the verdant plain, bounded by the distant ocean, lay before him.

Behind him the ground sunk in deep vallies and frightful chasms, or rose into lofty mountains and stupendous precipices. The streams ceased to roll in silence, and, bursting through their barriers, poured down the cliffs in cataracts, or foamed through their rocky channels towards the ocean.

The younger brother followed the fugitive with a vigorous pursuit, and wounded him continually with his weapons. At length, in a far distant region, beyond the savannahs in the far west, he breathed his last, and loaded the earth with his body in human form*.

The great enemy to the race of the turtle being destroyed, they came up out of the ground in the human form, and for some time multiplied in peace, and spread extensively over its surface.

The grandmother, roused to furious resentment for the loss of her darling son, resolved to be avenged. For many years successively she caused the rain to descend from the clouds in torrents, until the whole surface of the earth, and even the highest mountains were covered. The inhabitants fled to their canoes, and escaped the impending destruction. The disappointed grandmother then caused the rains to cease, and the waters to subside. The inhabitants returned to their former dwellings. She then determined to effect her purpose in another manner, and covered the earth with a deluge of snow. To escape this new evil, they betook themselves to snow-shoes, and thus eluded her vengeance. Chagrined to the length by these disappointments, she gave up the hope of destroying the whole human race at once; and determined to take her revenge upon them in a manner, which, though less violent, should be more efficacious. Accordingly she has ever since been supposed to intend the lofty range, now called the Rocky mountains.

since been employed in gratifying her malignant disposition; by inflicting upon mankind all the various evils, which are suffered in the present world. Taulonghyauwaugoon*, on the other hand, displays the infinite benevolence of his nature by bestowing on the human race the blessings which they enjoy, all of which flow from his bountiful providence."

This wonderful story, also, you will perceive, is chiefly philosophical, and certainly approaches much nearer to the extravagance of the Hindoo philosophy than to the more chastened spirit of the Greeks. It is, however, far behind the excessive excursions of the Hindoo tales.

The Iroquois, and probably all the other Indians, attributed, in their superstition, not only intelligence, but sanctity, to at least many kinds of animals; probably to all. This also was the general apprehension of the Hindoos, and, if I mistake not, of many other Asiatic nations; as it was also of the Egyptians. The sanctity of serpents, a doctrine remarkably prevalent among the North-American Indians, was, as you know, a favourite scheme of the whole polytheistical world; and images of these animals were formed in great numbers, both within and without the temples dedicated to idol worship.

The Iroquois professed to be descended from the turtle, the bear, and the wolf. This descent, however, was not reckoned from these beings as mere animals, but as intelligences endued with a portion of the divine, or at least a superior nature. The divinity ascribed by the Hindoos to the cow, they attributed to the turtle pre-eminently, to the bear, the wolf, the snake, and many other animals†. Nor is there any thing more absurd in this than in the story of Jupiter's adventure with Europa; the birth of Alexander the Great, as announced by himself; or a multitude of other recitals presented to us in the Greek and Roman fable.

The Iroquois, as I have just observed, claimed their descent from the turtle, the bear, and the wolf. Possibly, in a less rude state of society, they bore images of these animals on their standards; and the memory of this fact may have

* Taulonghyauwaugoon, literally translated, is the Holder or Supporter of the Heavens. This is the being, who, in Indian speeches, by a corrupt translation, is called the Great Spirit, or Good Spirit.

† See a very curious account of the reverence and affection entertained for the bear by the Chippewas in Henry's Travels in Upper Canada.

descended to us in this distorted fable. Of these ancestors, the turtle was deemed the most honourable. A method, therefore, must be devised for deriving their genealogy from this dignified source. With this scheme were obviously connected the dogmas of their religion; just as other nations have united their own with the origin of nations. The task in this place was certainly a difficult one; but the performance of it was indispensable. Some man among them, distinguished for wisdom and authority, was probably induced to undertake it, and made up the mass out of the creed and traditionary tales of the nation. What these would not supply, he furnished from his own fancy.

It is not a mere effort of the imagination to find, even in this monstrous mixture, some remains of real history. The story of the Chaos, and the darkness by which it was covered; of Paradise, and the happiness with which it was replenished; is not ill told, at the beginning of this narrative, if we suppose an Indian to be the narrator. The existence of the Deluge is distinctly marked, and the deliverance of the human race from its devastation. A few other facts may also be distantly discerned by a critical examiner.

I will only add, that the Oneidas pretend, even now, to point out the place where their ancestors emerged from the ground; and that they themselves at the present time assign a very different reason why they denominate different bodies of their tribe the clans of the turtle, bear, and wolf; viz. that when they first emerged from the ground, they were a collection of savage beast-like beings, and assumed these appellations, therefore, to exhibit their own views of their original character. You cannot but perceive, however, that this explanation is a complete contradiction to the whole spirit of this story, and to all that pride, which is the predominant attribute of our nature in general, especially as it exists in savages. It is, therefore, only an attempt of Indian philosophy to explain what to them seemed otherwise inexplicable.

Mr. Deane informed me, that the mythology of the Oneidas, that which has been here recited, is, with some variation of circumstances, the mythology of all the Six Nations.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Government of the Iroquois. Sachems. Customs and Laws of the Nation.

DEAR SIR;

THE government of each tribe of the Iroquois is lodged in the council of that tribe, consisting especially of the men whose years, exploits, wisdom, and eloquence, have given them peculiar weight in the eyes of their brethren. Ordinarily this council regulated by their decisions the internal affairs of the tribe. But if the warriors refused to be governed by their determinations, the council had no coercive power to constrain obedience, and the matter in question took its own course.

In difficult cases, however, although the warriors refused to be governed by the decisions of their councillors, yet there was a remedy. The sachems requested the women of principal reputation to assemble in a council by themselves, and to advise the warriors to desist from such enterprises as they were preparing to undertake against the advice of the men. If the women opposed the enterprise, the warriors always gave it up, because the opposition of such a female council to any public undertaking was regarded as a bad omen*.

* "Our ancestors considered it as a great offence to reject the counsels of their women, particularly of the female governesses. They were esteemed mistresses of the soil. Who, said our forefathers, bring us into being; who cultivate our lands, kindle our fires, and boil our pots, but the women?"

"They intreat, that the veneration of their ancestors in favour of women be not disregarded, and that they may not be despised. The Great Spirit is their Maker.

"The female governesses beg leave to speak with that freedom allowed to women, and agreeably to the spirit of our ancestors. They intreat the great chief to put forth his strength, and preserve them in peace, for they are the life of the nation."

Discourse of the Hon. Mr. Clinton. App. No. iii, p. 80, 81.

The sachems had no coercive power.

The sachemdom was hereditary, but the descent was always on the female side only. The son of a daughter, whenever there was one, succeeded to the title.

Influence in the tribe was always that of merit; the man of the greatest talents and efficiency being the most powerful man, whatever might be the family from which he derived his origin.

Hunting, fighting, eloquence, and prudence in council, were the only means of personal consequence; and a descendant of the sachem blood has rarely been a man of much importance. In these respects the customs of the Iroquois differed entirely from those of the Mohekanews, among whom the descent was reckoned on both sides, and the sachem, as such, had commonly more influence than any other man.

The daughters of sachems married plebeians without any hindrance or disgrace; and a young hunter of reputation was always regarded as a proper match for any woman.

Women in various instances have been no less distinguished for eloquence than men.

Witches and wizards were condemned by a public council, and were then publicly knocked on the head. After their execution, they were sometimes burnt, and at other times buried. These were the only criminals who were publicly punished; nor were any other persons publicly tried.

Murderers were put to death by the avenger of blood; usually a near relation of the deceased.

Incontinence and theft were never punished, yet they were not characteristically lewd.

Marriages were often contracted for children by their parents; but the intended husband might refuse to take the intended wife, without any disgrace.

The age at which young men usually married was about twenty-eight.

Ordinarily they do not appear to have been much affected by the passion of love.

The husband usually built the weekwam, and provided meat for the family. The wife furnished the vegetable food. The wife made baskets, and the husband the other domestic utensils. The men made, also, their canoes and weapons.

The men oppressed the women by forcing them to labour, and to carry burthens.

Labour was despised by the men.

The separation of a married pair was not esteemed disgraceful, either to themselves or their children, if they had before openly lived together. If the woman had been before married, and had had children by her former husband, these children, in case of a separation, went with her.

The women discovered no fear of the men.

The Iroquois regularly professed friendship to each other; and every one had those whom he called his friends.

They never quarrelled with each other, unless when they were intoxicated; and at times became intoxicated, that they might quarrel without any disgrace, it being considered as a scandalous thing for a man to quarrel when he was sober.

A drunken man was not regarded as responsible for his actions, or as being a moral agent.

They treated their old people, that is, such as had become incapable of doing the business of life, with very little respect, and neglected even their parents, in their old age, to an extreme degree. The daughters of Skenando, the present sachem of the Oneidas, are very dutiful to him. This is an uncommon, perhaps a singular fact. His son is very undutiful.

They live at times to a great age. Skenando is supposed to be not far from one hundred and twenty years old*.

* The following account of the death of this chief, published in the *Union Patriot* of March 19th, 1816, cannot fail of being acceptable to my readers. In a few particulars it is abridged.

“Died, at his residence near Oneida castle, on Monday, the 11th inst, Skenando, the celebrated Oneida chief, aged 110 years, well known in the wars which occurred while we were British colonies, and in the contest which issued in our independence, as the undeviating friend of the people of the United States. He was very savage, and addicted to drunkenness in his youth*, but by his own reflections, and the benevolent instructions of

* “In the year 1755, Skenando was present at a treaty made in Albany. At night he was excessively drunk, and in the morning found himself in the street, stripped of all his ornaments, and every article of clothing. His pride revolted at his self-degradation, and he resolved that he would never again deliver himself over to the power of *strong water*.

Suicide is often committed by both sexes, particularly when they have been severely reprov'd by their parents. The same

the late Rev. Mr. Kirkland, missionary to his tribe, he lived a reformed man for more than sixty years, and died in Christian hope.

“From attachment to Mr. Kirkland, he had always expressed a strong desire to be buried near his minister and father, that he might (to use his own expression) “go up with him at the great resurrection.” At the approach of death, after listening to the prayers which were read at his bed-side by his great-grand-daughter, he again repeated the request. Accordingly, the family of Mr. Kirkland having received information by a runner that Skenando was dead, in compliance with a previous promise, sent assistance to the Indians, that the corpse might be conveyed to the village of Clinton for burial. Divine service was attended at the meeting-house in Clinton, on Wednesday, at two o'clock, P.M. An address was made to the Indians by the Rev. Dr. Backus, president of Hamilton college, which was interpreted by Judge Deane of Westmoreland. Prayer was then offered, and appropriate psalms sung. After service, the concourse, which had assembled from respect to the deceased chief, or from the singularity of the occasion, moved to the grave in the following order:—

Students of Hamilton college,
CORPSE,
Indians,
Mr. Kirkland and family,
Judge Deane, Rev. Dr. Norton, Rev. Mr. Ayre,
Officers of Hamilton college,
Citizens.

“After interment, the only surviving son of the deceased, self-moved, returned thanks through Judge Deane, as interpreter to the people, for the respect shown to his father on the occasion, and to Mrs. Kirkland and family for their kind and friendly attention.

“Skenando's person was tall, well-made, and robust. His countenance was intelligent, and displayed all the peculiar dignity of an Indian chief. In his youth he was a brave and intrepid warrior, and in his riper years one of the ablest counsellors among the North American tribes, possessed a vigorous mind, and was alike sagacious, active, and persevering. As an enemy he was terrible: as a friend and ally he was mild and gentle in his disposition, and faithful to his engagements. His vigilance once preserved from massacre the inhabitants of the little settlement at German Flats. In the revolutionary war, his influence induced the Oneidas to take up arms in favour of the Americans. Among the Indians he was distinguished by the appellation of the “White man's friend.”

“Although he could speak but little English, and in his extreme old age was blind, yet his company was sought. In conversation he was highly decorous, evincing that he had profited by seeing civilized and polished society, and by mingling with good company in his better days.

“To a friend, who called on him a short time since, he thus expressed

violence is done to themselves, also, in consequence of domestic broils, and by women when forsaken by their husbands. The means of destruction are the root of the hemlock.

The Iroquois were anciently very hospitable to strangers. The house of the principal man of each village was distinguished by a long pole set up at the door. To this house all strangers resorted as a matter of right, and were entertained as long as they chose to stay. If they were numerous, the inhabitants of the village brought in provisions for their support: if not, they were furnished by the family. When the strangers withdrew, they never thanked their host for his kindness, the hospitality being considered by both parties as their due.

The women were peculiarly kind to strangers, and in their treatment of them discovered a great degree of cordiality and good-will.

Family government consisted almost wholly in advice and persuasion. Some parents took much pains in advising their children, and inculcated on them useful lessons of morality.

They have had no other worship, within the knowledge of Mr. Deane, except the annual sacrifice of a dog to Tau-

himself by an interpreter: "I am an aged hemlock: the winds of an hundred winters have whistled through my branches; I am dead at the top. The generation, to which I belonged, have run away and left me; why I live the great Good Spirit only knows. Pray to my Jesus that I may have patience to wait for my appointed time to die."

"Honoured chief! His prayer was answered; he was cheerful and resigned to the last. For several years he kept his dress for the grave prepared. Once, and again, and again, he came to Clinton to die, longing that his soul might be with Christ, and his body in the narrow house, near his beloved Christian teacher.

"While the ambitious, but vulgar great, look principally to sculptured monuments, and to riches in the temple of earthly fame, Skenando, in the spirit of the only real nobility, stood with his loins girded, waiting the coming of the Lord. His Lord has come; and the day approaches, when the green hillock that covers his dust will be more respected than the pyramids, the mausolea, and the pantheons of the proud and imperious. His simple turf and stone will be viewed with veneration, when their tawdry ornaments shall awaken only pity and disgust.

'Indulge, my native land, indulge the tear
That steals impassion'd o'er a nation's doom;
To me each twig from Adam's stock is near,
And sorrows fall upon an Indian's tomb.'

"Clinton, March 14th, 1816."

longhyauwaugoon, the "Supporter of the Heavens." At this sacrifice they eat the dog.

The dog is their most precious property.

Their mythology is regularly communicated by the old sachems to the young.

There is no trace among the Iroquois, within the knowledge of Mr. Deane, of any tradition of their advent from the western regions. When asked concerning their origin, they regularly answer, that they came up out of the ground in the regions where they now live.

Such is the account which was given me of this extraordinary people by Mr. Deane.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Origin of the Iroquois. Their warlike Character. Their Faithfulness in keeping Treaties. Their Eloquence and Language. Mischiefs produced by Ardent Spirits. The Effects of General Sullivan's March through their Country. Feast, or Thanksgiving of the Senecas.

DEAR SIR;

THE Iroquois, in my apprehension, were, like all the other aborigines found by the Europeans in this part of North-America, of Tartar origin; and, at some period of time, unknown to themselves as well as to us, came to this continent across the Straits of Behring. By their language, which was radically different from those of most, if not of all other tribes, they were completely separated from the other Indians of this continent, and firmly united together. Their union must have been strengthened by the smallness of their numbers; for, if we should admit with Salmon, that at the arrival of the European colonists they were able to raise ten thousand fighting men, a number not improbably double to the real one, they were still a mere handful compared with the Mohikaneews. In all probability they fought their way to the place of their final settlement. This was the tradition of the Mohikaneews; and, as Dr. Edwards many years since informed me, was anciently declared by some of the Iroquois themselves. That it was true, cannot I think be rationally doubted by any one who considers their local position, and looks for a moment into their own history.

But whatever was their origin, they certainly were a very extraordinary people. So far as their history is distinctly known to us, they have, like the Romans and Arabians, done little beside extending their conquests over the nations within their reach. It is perhaps a singular phenomenon, that this

andful of people should have been able to extend their dominion over a territory comprising little less than a million of square miles. It may be said, that the Romans were originally few, and yet subdued a much larger territory. It will be remembered, however, that the Romans themselves became speedily numerous, and at an early period employed the surrounding, and ultimately distant nations in their armies; whereas the numbers of the Iroquois were probably never materially greater than when the Europeans landed in this country; nor can it be said, that they possessed any important incidental advantages over those whom they subdued. All their advantages seem to have been personal. It was because they were, or made themselves, superior to their neighbours in wisdom and courage, that they ultimately so far excelled them as a warlike nation. It was in this manner that they became a great terror to all the Mohckaneew tribes. It does not appear from their language, that any other nations are of the Iroquois stock, except the Tuscaroras and the Hurons, both of them few in number; whereas the Mohekaneews filled a great part of the continent.

According to the accounts of the French writers, the Five Nations, appropriately called Iroquois, lived originally in the northern parts of the state of New-York, and in the neighbouring parts of the province of Canada. Possibly this story may be correct. To me it seems more probable, however, that they occasionally wandered thither; and that their principal settlements were where they now are, and where they say they came up out of the ground. The Mohekaneews of New-England believed, that they fought their way to this region from the west; and that, having driven out the original inhabitants, they planted themselves in their stead*. However it may be, they are said by the French writers to have made the planting of corn their business. The Algonquins or Adirondacks, a hunting and warlike nation in the northern parts of Canada, who despised the Iroquois, quarrelled with them, and drove them from all their settlements between the St. Lawrence and Lake Champlain.

This event roused both the fears and the vengeance of the Iroquois. With new spirit they betook themselves to the use

* Dr. Edwards.

of arms, and, after a series of adventures, drove the Algonquins out of their country.

From this period they became terrible, not only to the Algonquins, whom they chiefly destroyed, but to all the nations by whom they were encircled. Some of these they exterminated; some they drove into distant regions; some they made their tributaries; and to the rest, they were a source of continual terror*. The Indian women on the eastern coast of New-England used, it is said, to hush their crying children by telling them "the Mohawks are coming."

At subsequent periods they were a severe and dreadful scourge to the French in the province of Canada, and at times brought them to the borders of extermination. A large body of them, led by Sir William Johnson to co-operate with

* "When the Dutch began the settlement of this country, all the Indians on Long-Island, and the northern shore of the Sound, on the banks of Connecticut, Hudson, Delaware, and Susquehannah rivers, were in subjection to the Five Nations; and, within the memory of persons now living, acknowledged it by the payment of an annual tribute."—*Smith*, p. 134.

The Connecticut legislature, in their answer to "Heads of Enquiry," give a different account of this subject. They say "the original title to the lands, on which the colony (of Connecticut) was first settled, was, at the time the English came hither, in the Pequod nation of Indians, who were numerous and warlike. Their country extended from Narrhaganset to Hudson's river, and over all Long-Island. Sassacus, their great sagamore, had under him twenty-six sachems, and exercised despotic dominion over his subjects."

At this time it is impossible to determine with precision which of these accounts is correct; or whether they are not both equally true. In the deed by which Momauquin, sachem of Quinipiac, and his people, conveyed the lands bordering upon that river to the first colonists of New-Haven, they mention the heavy taxes levied upon them by the Pequods and Mohawks as a principal inducement to this transaction. From this fact it is evident, that these formidable nations extended their ravages, and at times their dominion, to this spot. It is not improbable, that the Pequods claimed the whole territory, mentioned by the legislature, and, occasionally at least, kept the inhabitants in a species of subjection by the terror of their arms; while there is sufficient evidence that the Iroquois intruded upon them in various instances.

It does not appear that the Pequods acknowledged themselves inferior, in any respect, to the Iroquois, or to any other people. On the contrary, they seem evidently to have thought themselves also "Ongue-Honwe," and to have had all the pride of the Iroquois, and perhaps even more insolence.

General Amherst in the reduction of Canada, had the satisfaction of seeing the ancient enemies of that province, whom they mortally hated, surrender to the British Crown.

Feeble and nerveless as was the internal government of these nations; all their great external concerns seem to have been absolutely governed by their national councils. These seem definitely to have made war and to have made peace; nor does any tribe appear to have felt itself authorized to withdraw from a measure agreed upon in the national senate.

Between themselves their league was perpetual; nor is there a trace of defection on the part of either of their tribes, their whole remaining history. This league, apparently without any alteration, has lasted more, it is impossible to say how much more, than two hundred years. I recollect no instance of the same stability in any political union of nations entirely independent.

To their treaties with the English they adhered with a similar firmness; and it must be owned, that their integrity in this respect frequently cast a shade upon the existing governments several of the British colonies.

Their councils were conducted with the utmost decorum. The successive speakers were listened to in profound silence. An interruption was unknown, and would have been regarded with indignation. They have observed, with too much truth, that, when Indians are together, only one talks at a time; but when white men are together, they all talk at once.

Their eloquence was certainly dignified and powerful. The speeches recorded by Dr. Colden contain strong sense, bold conceptions, and striking specimens of character. At times, too, they are specimens of keen ridicule. For satisfaction I refer you to the book itself, since the speeches are too long to be quoted here.

While Mr. Kirkland was a missionary to the Oneidas, being unwell, he was unable to preach on the afternoon of a certain sabbath, and told Good Peter, one of the head men of the Oneidas, that he must address the congregation. Peter readily and reluctantly consented. After a few words of introduction he began a discourse on the character of the

Saviour. "What, my brethren," said he, "are the views which you form of the character of Jesus? You will answer, perhaps, that he was a man of singular benevolence. You will tell me, that he proved this to be his character by the nature of the miracles which he wrought. All these, you will say, were kind in the extreme. He created bread to feed thousands who were ready to perish. He raised to life the son of a poor woman who was a widow, and to whom his labours were necessary for her support in old age. Are these then your only views of the Saviour? I tell you they are lame. When Jesus came into our world he threw his blanket around him, but the God was within." This I had from Mr. Kirkland himself.

The object, to which these people sacrificed all others, was the maintenance of their superiority over surrounding nations. Glory and dominion with them, as with the Romans, constituted their only aim. Hence their favourite title, *Ongue-Honwe*, "men superior to all others." Perhaps no example more strongly illustrates the efficacy of the human faculties, employed for the accomplishment of a single end, than the success of the Iroquois in accomplishing this lofty purpose.

The language of these people was melodious, as well as energetic. Of this, the names of persons and places which are known to us are no bad proof. The names of some of their sachems were *Garangula*, *Cheyva*, *Decanesora*, *Tahajedoris*. The governor of Canada they called *Onondio*. A mountain they called *Shenandoa*. Among their rivers were *Alleghany*, *Monongahela*, *Miami*, *Susquehannah*, *Tioga*, *Chenango*, and *Unadilla*.

They valued themselves not a little on their pronunciation. The *Oneidas* are considered by them as speaking their language in a manner more graceful and mellifluous than the rest of the tribes. All of them use the guttural aspirate. The *Tuscaroras* terminate a great part of their words with this aspirate, and are laughed at by the rest of their countrymen for the harshness, which this circumstance introduces into their pronunciation. The *Oneidas* say, that the pronunciation of a *Tuscarora* is like the noise of the white man's waggon running down a stony hill.

You will naturally suppose, that among such a people elo-

quence was cultivated with great care, and holden in the highest estimation. To be eloquent was, among the Iroquois, the next glory to that of a renowned warrior. By his tongue only, Red-Jacket rose to the rank of a chief among the Senecas, without the aid either of birth or exploits. I have seen this man, whose proper name is Saguoaha, and conversed with him. There was nothing dignified in his appearance, nor in his character. He intoxicated himself, whenever he could get ardent spirits, and was on this account regarded with contempt by his nation. This they freely confessed to the white people; yet they said, "he is necessary to us on account of his eloquence." Red-Jacket, in the year 1804, was accused by the Seneca prophet, brother of Cornplanter, of witchcraft. Red-Jacket defended himself before the council of the nation, in a speech of near three hours, and prevailed against his enemies. "Perhaps," says Mr. Clinton, "the annals of history cannot furnish a more conspicuous instance of the triumph and power of oratory in a barbarous nation, devoted to superstition, and looking up to the accuser as a delegated minister of the Almighty."

The language of the Iroquois has no labials. They observe, with not a little significance, "When white men speak, they shut their mouths; red men, when they speak, open their mouths."

In a variety of particulars, their manners resembled those of the Mohekaneews already mentioned. The women labour in the same exclusive manner. Their amusements are running, wrestling, throwing the hatchet, shooting at a mark, and gambling. An Indian will gamble till he has lost all his property, his blanket, and sometimes even his gun*. When they are not employed in these or more serious pursuits, they lie down in any place which suits them, and doze away half, or even the whole of the day. The Iroquois are tall and straight, have at times good features, and some of them a very dignified appearance. A Seneca chief, named the "Great Tree," came with eleven men of distinction, chiefly Tuscaroras, to West-Point while I resided there during the revolutionary war. This man, in his shape, stature, features, and deportment,

* Mr. Kirkland.

was one of the most dignified and well-appearing men whom I have ever seen. He had a fine eye, a lofty demeanour, and an aspect marked with strong lines of intelligence. Indians, even those who are shrewd, have generally smooth, vacant faces. His was distinguished by that conformation of features, which indicates intense and laborious thought. Another, whose name I do not now recollect, had eyes more strongly resembling those of a rattlesnake than I should have believed to be possible, but for the testimony of my own. This band of chiefs exhibited to us a war dance, such as has been often described, a war-song, and the war-whoop.

“ Nil admirare ” is much more strongly and universally a rule of action to the Iroquois than it could have been of Horace; a rule to which they conformed in the most absolute manner*. It was strongly exemplified on the occasion mentioned above. They permitted themselves in no instance to indicate, that they thought any other persons equal to the “ Ongue-Honwe,” or any thing, done or possessed by other nations, to be equally excellent with what is done or possessed by themselves. Accordingly, whenever they were among the English, they appeared to take no notice of any thing which they saw or heard as extraordinary or meriting commendation, or especially as exciting their surprise. One of them, in the year 1776, came to Hartford as a spy, to discover whatever he could concerning the strength of the Americans. While he was present at the election, at which there are usually collected from six to ten thousand people, and such scenes of parade and splendour as were very remote from any thing which he had ever seen or imagined, he apparently took little more notice of what he saw and heard than if he had been asleep; yet when he returned he told his countrymen, that the people of Connecticut alone were as numerous as the leaves on the forest trees, and that it would be unsafe for the Six Nations, therefore, to enter into a war with the British colonists. At the same time, if I remember right, he described minutely, and in strong language, every thing which had passed while he was present. Their inattention and apparent stupidity are therefore chiefly affected.

* Mr. Kirkland.

In one thing, however, they acknowledge the white men to be superior to them: this, as they express it, is "making the paper talk." Among the proofs of inferiority on the part of the whites, they never fail to enumerate labouring, and sleeping on beds.

The introduction of ardent spirits among this people, and indeed among all the Indian tribes, has done more mischief to them than both their diseases and their wars. Indeed a more profligate and pernicious class of men than a great part of those, who are called Indian traders, has perhaps never existed. They have been most abominable corruptors of the Indians, plundered them by the grossest frauds, and have been the chief means of preventing them from becoming Christians.

The most fatal disasters, which they ever experienced, were effected by General Sullivan, during his march through their country in the year 1779. After defeating them in a general engagement, at a place now called Newtown, in the county of Tioga, he marched through a considerable part of their country, and destroyed the villages, fields, and orchards, which were in his course. From this blow they never recovered. The sachem, whom I have before mentioned under the name of the Great-Tree, stood on a mountain, and saw his own possessions destroyed. As this chief was a friend to the Americans, and had strenuously urged his countrymen to observe a strict neutrality between them and the British, and had himself observed it with great exactness, his countrymen said to him, "You see how the Americans treat our friends." Great-Tree calmly replied, with much good sense, "What I see is only the common fortune of war. It cannot be supposed that the Americans could distinguish my possessions from yours, who are their enemies." This man was never known to violate his word; and did not, on account of this disaster, lessen at all his attachment to the Americans.

After this event the Iroquois never recovered their former sturdy spirit. A part of the character of those, whom I have heretofore called tame Indians, is strongly visible in these people, at least in many of them, as I had a painful opportunity of seeing at Buffalo, in the year 1804. Most of their

lands they have surrendered to the state of New-York. Were they farmers, they have reserved enough to furnish them ample means of subsistence. The Senecas indeed might, in this case, be said to be rich; having reserved almost one hundred acres for each individual of their nation, man, woman, and child; and having owned more than one hundred thousand dollars in the stock of the late bank of the United States. Cornplanter, the principal chief among the Senecas, has, within the last twenty years, laboured earnestly to induce his nation to form their possessions into private property, and betake themselves industriously to farming. He has also endeavoured to put a stop to their drinking. It was probably at his instance that the Prophet, who was his brother, made all those exertions for this purpose, which some years past occupied a considerable part of our newspapers. The impressions made by this man, on the superstitious feelings of the Six Nations, were considerable, and a part of them directed to valuable purposes; but among other things he undertook to purge the nation from witchcraft, and in this way became the cause of violent death to one or more women belonging to these tribes. This probably was one source of his final unpopularity. Whatever was the cause, he actually became unpopular. Cornplanter therefore failed of accomplishing his benevolent design. This chief is a respectable man, possesses a large estate, and seems well to understand the superiority of civilized to savage society. Of late he has discovered serious and favourable sentiments concerning the Christian religion. Mr. Deane informed me, that the Six Nations entertain many thoughts of removing into the western wilderness. He observes, that they cherish no good-will towards the Americans. Individuals they regard with affection; but the people of the United States, as a body, they consider as their enemies. The mischiefs brought upon their country by General Sullivan, they undoubtedly remember with the deepest chagrin and resentment. But the evil, which is most keenly felt by them, is their own degradation, and the vast superiority which the Americans have acquired over all the savage tribes. One of their countrymen was, in the year 1804, arrested for the crime of murdering a white man, and confined in gaol at Canandagua. The Senecas very

renewously remonstrated against his imprisonment. They seemed to have no serious objection to his being put to death; but they insisted, that imprisonment was proper only for a slave.

Upon the whole, the Iroquois have certainly been a very extraordinary people. Had they enjoyed the advantages possessed by the Greeks and Romans, there is no reason to believe that they would have been at all inferior to these celebrated nations. Their minds appear to have been equal to any efforts within the reach of man. Their conquests, if we consider their numbers and their circumstances, were little inferior to those of Rome itself. In their harmony, the unity of their operations, the energy of their character, the vastness, vigour, and success of their enterprises, and the strength and ability of their eloquence, they may be fairly contrasted with the Greeks. Both the Greeks and the Romans, before they began to rise into distinction, had already reached that state of society in which men are able to improve: the Iroquois had not. The Greeks and Romans had ample means for improvement: the Iroquois had none.

In the preceding Letter I mentioned, from Mr. Deane, the sacrifice of a dog, annually performed by the Six Nations. The following account of this subject, as it exists among the Senecas, was given me, in August 1812, by the Rev. Thaddeus Osgood, who has spent several years as a missionary, partly in the United States, and partly in Canada. Mr. Osgood was present at one of these solemn festivals, and acquired additional information, such as he wished, from the national interpreter.

At the time when the Senecas return from hunting, in January or February, they annually keep a feast seven days; the professed object of which is to render thanks to the Great Spirit for the benefits which they have received from him during the preceding year, and to solicit the continuance of them through the year to come. On the evening before the feast commences they kill two dogs, and after painting them with various colours and dressing them with ornaments, suspend them in the centre of the camp, or in some conspicuous place in the village.

The whole of this solemn season is spent in feasting and

dancing. Two select bands, one of men and another of women, ornamented with a variety of trinkets, and furnished each with an ear of corn, which is held in the right hand, begin the dance at the council-house. Both choirs, the men leading the way, dance in a circle around the council-fire, which is kindled for the occasion, and regulate their steps by music. Hence they proceed to every house in the village, and in the same manner dance in a circle around each fire.

On one of the festival days they perform a peculiar religious ceremony, for the purposes of driving away evil spirits from their habitations. Three men clothe themselves in the skins of wild beasts, and cover their faces with masks of a hideous appearance, and their hands with the shell of the tortoise. In this garb they go from house to house, making a horrid noise, and in every house take the fuel from the fire, and scatter the embers and ashes about the floor with their hands.

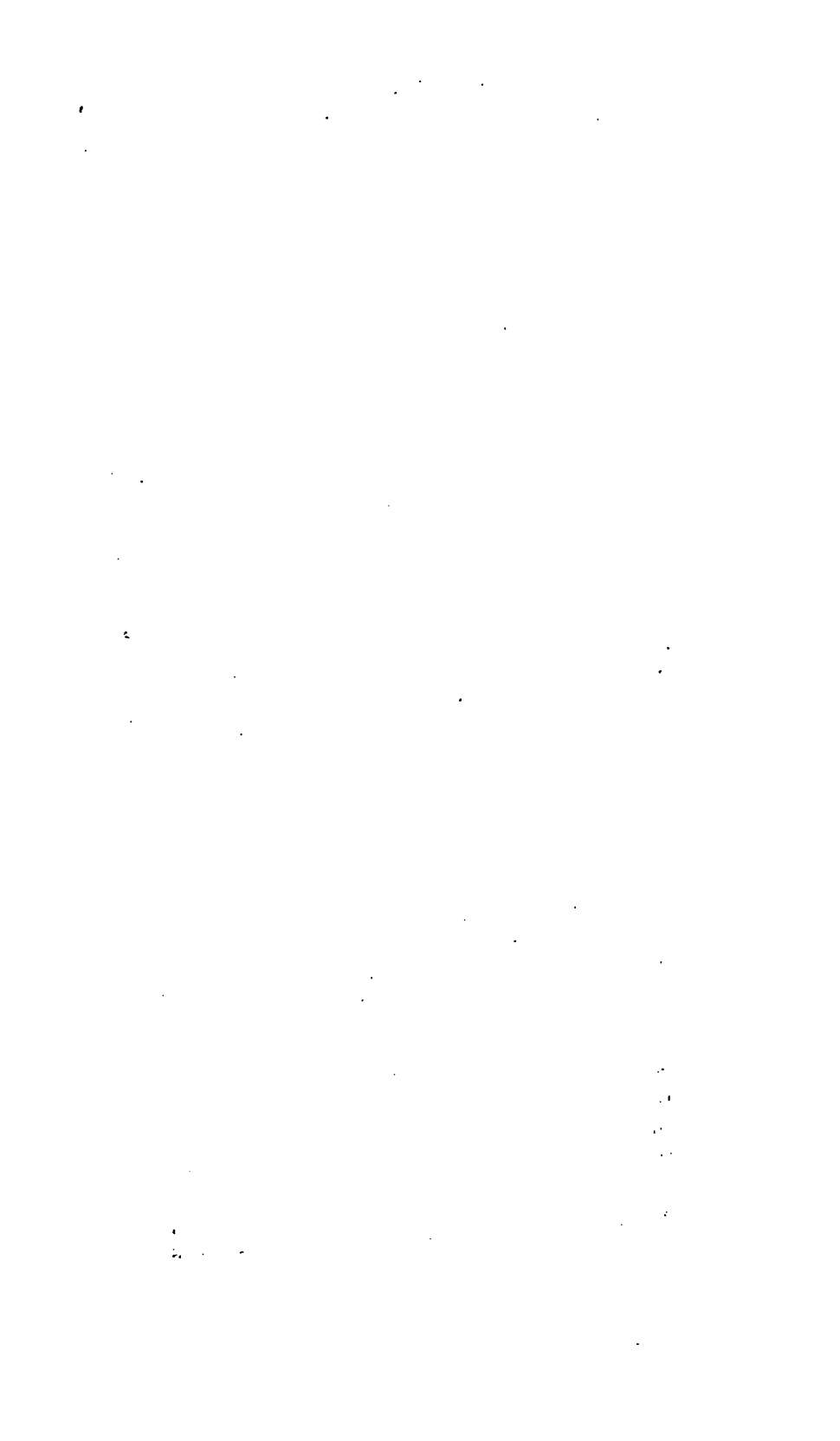
Towards the close of the festival they erect a funeral pile, place upon it the two dogs, and set it on fire. When they are partly consumed, one of them is taken off and put into a large kettle, with vegetables of every kind which they have cultivated during the preceding year. The other dog is consumed in the fire. The ashes of the pile are then gathered up, carried through the village, and sprinkled at the door of every house. When this ceremony is ended, which is always near the close of the seventh day, all the inhabitants feast together upon the contents of the kettle; and thus the festival is terminated.

This mode of exhibiting their gratitude is certainly far from satisfying the feelings of a Christian; yet I think several of the American states might learn from these savages the important lesson, that it becomes a people, possessing the light of revelation, to render annually a public tribute of thanksgiving to the Great Benefactor of mankind, for the blessings which they have received during the year from his bountiful hand. This however is not the only religious service, which has existed among the Six Nations. Mr. Kirkland informed me, that while he was crossing the Oneida lake, with a fleet of canoes, a violent storm arose, from which the fleet was in the utmost danger of perishing. The chief sachem, in whose

canoe Mr. Kirkland was, took from a box in the stern a small quantity of fine powder, made of a fragrant herb, unknown to Mr. Kirkland, and scattered it on the water. This he found was intended as an oblation to the deity acknowledged by the sachem.

There is a stone, too large to be carried by a man of ordinary strength, at some distance eastward from the Oneida village, which some of these people regard with religious reverence, and speak of it as their god. They say that it has slowly followed their nation in their various removals, and allege, as decisive evidence of the declaration, that a few years since it was much farther to the east than it now is. The truth is, a stout young man of the Oneidas, being a wag, resolved to amuse himself with the credulity of his tribe; and therefore, whenever he passed that way, took up the stone, and carried it some distance westward. In this manner the stone, advancing by little and little, made, in a few years, a considerable progress, and was verily believed by some of the Oneidas to have moved this distance spontaneously. The young fellow told the story to an American gentleman, and laughed heartily at the credulity of his countrymen.

I am, Sir, &c.



REMARKS

ON

EUROPEAN TRAVELLERS IN AMERICA.

LETTER I.

Volney.

DEAR SIR;

IN a former Letter I mentioned to you, that it was my original determination to avoid reading the accounts, given by European travellers concerning the countries, which were the immediate object of my own investigation. My reason was, I wished to come to every thing, which I saw, without bias from the opinions of others; and to examine every thing in the very light in which it should appear to me. At the same time I proposed to read, after I had examined for myself, what had been written by others, for the purpose both of denouncing my own errors and correcting theirs. To this plan I have rigidly adhered. Having finished my journey's investigation, I shall now commence an examination of several travellers from Great Britain and France, who have thought proper to visit this country, and to give their observations concerning it to the world. I begin with Volney. This celebrated Frenchman was well known in America, where he visited it in person, by his writings; particularly his travels in Syria, Egypt, and Palestine, and his ruins of Palmyra. The latter of these publications, indeed, gained him a little reputation with men of sobriety and good sense: the former was at first, in some degree, and continues to be, a popular work in this country; although Mr. Antes, in every appearance of truth, has informed the public, that

Volney, notwithstanding his professions, never ascended the Nile a step beyond Cairo. In the United States he certainly travelled extensively: to what purpose I shall now proceed summarily to inquire. My remarks will be confined chiefly to detached passages, and those such as assert facts. The book, from which I quote, is a translation of Volney's View of the United States, by Mr. Charles B. Brown, published in Philadelphia, 1804.

In the second chapter of this work, page 6th, the writer says, "In the year 1796, from Boston to Richmond, in Virginia, I scarcely marched through a tract of three miles, together, of cleared, or unwooded land." If M. Volney took the upper road from Boston to Springfield, he did not pass through three miles of wooded land till after he had passed Brookfield, a distance of about seventy miles. Between Brookfield and Springfield, about thirty miles, adding all the forests, groves, and coppices, on the Lyme range, and the lean plains lying west of it, perhaps we might make five miles more. From Springfield to New-York, as the road then went, summing up the scattered collections of wood on the road, there may be twelve miles more. The distance is one hundred and forty miles. The whole distance from Boston to New-York in this course is two hundred and forty miles. Twenty miles of wood, made up of fifty or sixty parcels, is the amount of all the wooded land, which M. Volney saw in this part of his journey. Two of these parcels make up eight miles of the twenty; and two others, four. The remaining eight miles are composed of groves and coppices, scarcely sufficient, in number or extent, to complete the variety and beauty of the landscape. This M. Volney must have seen, if he kept his eyes open; if he did not, he should have left the subject to those who did.

If M. Volney proceeded from Springfield to Hartford, on the western side of Connecticut river, and went on to Middletown, he rode twenty miles without passing a single grove, which extended an eighth of a mile along the road. If he went on the eastern side of the river, he proceeded forty miles without passing more than two such groves.

Page 9, the writer says, "The third district, or Northern Forest, is likewise composed of the fir, pine, larch, cedar, and

press. It spreads itself over the western parts of New-York, and the inland countries of New-England."

I have already given a sufficient account of the forests of these countries; and shall only observe here, that the fir is a solitary tree, thinly scattered upon the mountains, south of New-Hampshire and Vermont, and that it is rarely found in these states, except on the mountains, below latitude forty-four; that the pine, south of the district of Maine, if it were all collected into one spot, would scarcely cover the county of Hampshire; that the larch, though actually existing in New-England, is so rare, that I have never yet seen one; that the cedar, were it all collected, would scarcely fill three townships; and that the cypress is not, within my knowledge, found either in New-England or New-York.

In the state of New-York there is a considerable tract of pine land, extending from Lake George and South-bay, on both sides of the Hudson, down to the city of Hudson. There are, also, a few smaller tracts, particularly on the Susquehannah, and some of its branches; and on Long-Island there is a large forest of pines. Cedars are scattered, to no great extent, along the lower parts of the Hudson. Firs, larches, and cypresses, I have never met with in this state. Nineteenth of all the forests in this country, south of the district of Maine, are composed either of oak, hickory, &c., or of beech, maple, &c.

Page 10th, the writer proceeds, "On one side, in a course of nine hundred miles, are scattered ten or twelve towns, built entirely of brick, or of painted wood, and containing from ten to sixty thousand souls. Without the city are scattered farm-houses, built of unhewn logs, surrounded with a few small fields of wheat, tobacco, or maize; that are still encumbered with the half-burnt stocks of trees, and are divided by branches, and across each other, by way of fence."

The account which I have already given of this country furnishes the best proof of the inaccuracy of this representation. If it should be admitted to be just (and that it will be by every observing traveller, who follows my footsteps, I feel thoroughly assured), it will be seen, that the representation of M. Volney is merely a flight of the imagination. It will appear also that a great part of the ancient settlements in

New-England, instead of being scattered farm-houses, are composed chiefly of villages; most of them flourishing, many of them handsome, and not one of them in one hundred disfigured even by a log-house.

In May, 1810, I took a journey from New-Haven to Windsor in Vermont; and thence across the Green Mountains to Middlebury; whence I returned in a direct course to New-Haven. The distance which I travelled is a little more than four-hundred and sixty miles. A considerable part of it is occupied, also, by recent settlements. Two of my companions having read or heard of this observation of Volney, determined, before we commenced our journey, to count the log-houses, which they should find on the road. The whole number to Middlebury was fifteen; and thence to New-Haven thirty-two.

As to the assertion, that the houses are surrounded with small fields, still encumbered with the half-burnt stocks of trees, and divided by branches, laid across each other by way of fence, I shall only observe, that M. Volney is sporting with the credulity of his reader. A great part of the enclosures in the ancient settlements are formed of stone, the remainder of rails and of boards. Hedges we have none, all attempts to raise them having hitherto failed of success. In forests and recent settlements fences are often made of logs, raised upon each other, and sometimes trees are felled on the spot, so as distantly to resemble the enclosure mentioned by this writer.

Page 11th. Speaking of the great chain of mountains, which forms the principal feature of the United States, he says, "It begins in Lower Canada, on the southern shore of St. Lawrence, near its mouth; where its points are called by sailors the Hills de Notre Dame, and de la Magdeleine. Tending south-west, it recedes by degrees from this river, and forms the frontier of the United States till it enters New-Hampshire. It then stretches southward through Vermont, and assumes the appellation of the Green Mountain, &c."

As M. Volney never travelled over the region which he has here described, he is certainly to be acquitted of wilful misrepresentation. He ought not, however, to have asserted so roundly what he did not, and could not, know to be true.

the hills, which commence at the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and run south-westward between Lower Canada and Maine, turn directly to the south, about twenty-five miles east of Connecticut river. Their western branch terminates on the Sound at New-Haven. The Green Mountains, commencing their eastern ridge at West Rock, also in New-Haven, run directly north to Lower Canada. At some distance before they reach that province, they subside into hills of a moderate elevation. In the account, in which he pursues this subject farther, there are other errors, but it is unnecessary for me to mention them. I shall only add, that between Lower Canada and Maine the height of the White Mountains is only what is denominated a high ground, there being nothing which can be called a mountain in the whole range, until after it enters New-Hampshire.

Page 132. "For near three years together, from October, 1795, to June, 1798, I never saw the wind at the same point thirty hours at a time."

In what part of the United States M. Volney was, during that period, I am ignorant. No such state of weather has occurred where I have been, either at that or at any other time. For the best comment, which I am able to make on this assertion, I must refer you to the observations which I formerly made concerning the climate of New-England and that of New-York.

Page 133. "In summer, a calm may be expected at two o'clock in the afternoon; the thermometer at 86° or 88°. It succeeds, with a south-west wind, at four or five."

M. Volney does not inform us where these circumstances are to be expected. That they may be expected I certainly do not deny. But during five-sixths of the summer they will usually be expected in vain. Rarely is the thermometer as high as eighty-six, and not often so high as eighty. In a wet season we have usually two rains in a week; in a temperate season, one; in a dry season, perhaps one in one, two, or three months. A calm sometimes takes place from nine o'clock to eleven, or from ten to twelve, and is commonly followed by a breeze from the south-west, or some other southern point. A thunder shower is usually preceded by a south-west wind; and is almost always brought on by a wind blowing between

the western and north-western points. This wind commonly lasts from one to four days.

Page 140. "At these periods, that is, about the equinoxes, and in April and October, occur those tornadoes, which in the United States most commonly owe their birth to the north-east wind."

I have known one tornado in the month of October; but I never knew, nor did I ever hear, of one about the equinoxes, nor in the month of April. They have existed solitarily in June, oftener in July, and still more frequent in August. They never owe their birth to a north-east wind. In all instances, so far as my knowledge extends, they blow from between the west and north-west points, and are no other than violent thunder storms. They are neither preceded nor followed by a wind from the north-east.

Page 142. "The south-east wind in the United States bears some resemblance to the sirocco of the Levant, which also blows from that quarter, being hot, moist, light, and rapid, and producing, though in a much less degree, the same torpor of the brain, and the same uneasy sensations." Again, "The south-east wind is more supportable than the same wind in Sicily, because it loses some of the qualities which the sands of Africa imparted to it in its passage over the Atlantic."

There are several unfortunate mistakes in this account of M. Volney. His facts are falsely assumed. The south-east wind is never hot. In the winter it is warm, compared with the north-west and north-east, but rarely so warm, as to induce a person, moderately careful of his health, to make any change in his dress. In the spring, summer, and autumn, it is so universally cool, that I do not remember a single complaint, in the course of my life, that it was uncomfortably warm during these seasons. On the contrary, it is regularly complained of as chilly and piercing in the spring and autumn, and sometimes in the summer, particularly in June. In the summer, however, it is not frequent. When it blows it is never hot, but often of a refreshing temperature.

Equally unfortunate is M. Volney in his points of compass. A south-east course from the northern states would scarcely strike the southern point of Africa, and from the southern states would not touch that continent. In either case it must

pass over more than six thousand miles of ocean. One would think, that in this passage it must lose some of the qualities of the sirocco, if there were any imparted to it by the sands of Africa.

There is another misfortune in assigning this cause for the alleged heat of our south-east winds. They rarely last longer than two or three days*, and rarely blow with a velocity exceeding ten or twelve miles an hour. I will suppose, that they blow at the rate of twenty, and that they last three days. The blast would then come from a point fourteen hundred and forty miles distant. In six days it would reach us from the distance of twenty-eight hundred and eighty. If then these winds were to come, in a deflected course, from the nearest part of that continent, they would not, even at this rate, arrive at our shore within the longest period during which I have known them continue. But the truth is, they rarely or never blow through such a period, and never move with such a velocity for more than two or three days.

With regard to the torpor of the brain, supposed by M. Volney to be an effect of these winds, this is the first time I ever heard of the fact. These winds are customarily complained of as being chilly, as other winds are which blow from the ocean; and by that class of people, who are affected by what are called nervous disorders, are dreaded not a little, although less than those from the north-east.

Page 145. "We should naturally suppose, that a wind from the south would be hotter than one from the south-east, as in this country it is cooler."

This observation is of no other importance than as it is un-
 derstood. The south wind, like the north, is less frequent than those which blow from the north-west and south-west, the north-east and south-east, and rarely continues longer than thirty-eight hours. It is somewhat, though very little, warmer than the south-east. As it comes from the ocean in very nearly the same latitudes, its temperature cannot be supposed to be very different.

Page 149. "At the autumnal equinox the north-east takes

* According to M. Volney, not longer than thirty hours.

its turn to reign, with some intermissions, for forty or fifty days*.”

On this assertion I shall only observe, that I have never seen such an autumn. In this season we have usually one or more heavy storms from the north-east, continuing from one to three days. Westerly winds prevail during almost the whole of this season, which commonly is in an eminent degree serene and beautiful.

Ibid. “ The west wind is the most serene and bland of any in America.”

The west wind is in the summer the hottest, and in the winter the coldest, of any which blows in America.

Page 189. “ From New-York to Cape Cod the gale is due south.”

The observations already made concerning the south wind sufficiently expose the error of this assertion. I have lived at New-Haven more than thirty years, and most of that time have been an attentive observer of the weather. During this period, including the time which M. Volney spent in the United States, the south wind has never been prevalent.

Page 11. “ The atmosphere is so capricious, that the same day will freeze with the colds of Norway, scorch with the arduours of Africa, and present to you in quick succession all the four seasons of the year.”

It has never happened to me to see one of these extraordinary days. Our weather is variable, but this is a caricature, not a description.

The errors of this writer, and of Weld as quoted by him, concerning the breadth and depth of the river Niagara, the height of the plain from which it descends, the rapidity of the current above the falls, their perpendicular height, and the thundering sound of the billows dashing against the rocky sides of the caverns below, will be easily understood from the account which I have given of these objects.

If you wish to form a just opinion of Dr. Belknap's exhibition of the first colonists of New-Hampshire, mentioned by M. Volney, page 317, the work will speak for itself.

* How is this reconcilable with M. Volney's assertion, that no wind blows here longer than thirty hours.

have selected these assertions of M. Volney as specimens which you may be enabled to form a judgment of the credit to the writer. The character of the man who made them ought not to be mistaken. It ought not to be alleged as an apology, that the writer was a stranger, who resided here but a short time; and must, therefore, be necessarily ignorant of many of the things which he has handled in this work; nor that he was misinformed by others, and that the blame is chargeable on them, but not to him. M. Volney may be fairly excused in trusting his informants, and in reporting their information as true. The assertions of M. Volney are made in terms, which are peremptory and absolute, and are plainly meant to impress on the reader's mind a conviction, that the writer knew what he has asserted to be true. The fault, therefore, is justly chargeable to him. But what must be thought of the veracity, or of the accuracy of a writer, who asserts in such a manner things as I have specified. It will be saying little to observe, that reliance cannot safely be placed upon his information.

It is, however, but just to add, that the book, to a person who is able to separate the wheat from the chaff, is not without its merits. It contains some useful information, and some rational, and is mixed with much whimsical philosophy. The great misfortune attending through the whole of it is, that the reader, unless informed from some other source, knows not when to believe, and when to disbelieve, the writer. M. Volney appears to have been governed by that practical maxim of Voltaire, Monsieur Abbe, I must be read, whether I am believed or not. One declaration which he makes is undoubtedly correct: that many of the Americans dislike Atheists and Deists. In this dislike M. Volney himself undoubtedly felt a personal interest, as will appear from the following anecdote, communicated to me by the late Mr. Ellsworth, chief justice of the United States.

When this gentleman was at Paris, as envoy extraordinary to the United States, he was visited occasionally by M. Vol-

During one of his visits, M. Volney declared, in the most direct manner, his entire disbelief of the existence of God, of a providence, and of a future state. Not long after, M. Volney passed Mr. Ellsworth, at an early hour, in the

Champs Elisees, on horseback. "I see, friend Volney," said Mr. Ellsworth, "that although you disbelieve the existence of a God, you are willing to take some pains to preserve your life and health." "Yes," answered Volney, "this horse is my Providence." We do, indeed, very generally dislike Atheists. We think we have many reasons for the dislike. Among them, one is, that we find it impossible to place any confidence in them.

Atheists are perhaps always Jacobins in their dispositions, and, so far as a regard to their safety will permit, are usually Jacobins in their conduct. When these two characteristics are united, man becomes an absolute profligate, abandoned with respect to every moral principle, a spot on the human name, a nuisance to the creation. Whether M. Volney was a Jacobin in his political views I am ignorant. The best thing in his book is his comparison of the character, conduct, and success of French colonists, with those of English or Dutch extraction*.

I am, Sir, &c.

* "The settler of British or German descent," says M. Volney, "is of a cold and phlegmatic temper, and deliberately forms a plan of husbandry, which he steadily pursues. He attends sedulously to every thing that can influence the success of his projects. He never becomes idle till his end is accomplished, and he has put his affairs on a good footing.

"The impetuosity of the Frenchman leads him to embrace precipitately any plausible or flattering project, and he proceeds in his career without laboriously computing expenses and contingencies. With more genius for his portion, he laughs at the dulness and cautions of his Dutch and English neighbour, whom he stigmatizes as an ox; but his neighbour will sedately and wisely reply, that the patient ox will plough much better than the mettlesome racer. And, in truth, the Frenchman's fire easily slackens, his patience is worn out, and after changing, correcting, and altering his plans, he finally abandons his project in despair.

"His neighbour is in no haste to rise in the morning, but, when fairly up, he applies steadily to work. At breakfast he gives cold and laconic orders to his wife, who obeys them without contradiction or demur. Weather permitting, he goes to plough or chop; if the weather be bad, he prosecutes his in-door tasks, looks over the contents of his house and granary, repairs his doors or windows, drives pegs or nails, makes chairs or tables, and is always busy in making his habitation more comfortable and secure. With these habits he is nowise averse to sell his farm for a good price, and move, even in old age, still farther into the forest, cheerfully recommencing all the labours of a new settlement. There will he spend years in felling trees,

building a hut and a barn, and in fencing and sowing his fields. His wife, as placid and patient as himself, will second all his labours, and they will sometimes pass away six months without seeing the face of a stranger. In four or five years, comfort, convenience, and ease, will grow up around them, and a competence will recompense their solitary toils.

“ The Frenchman, on the contrary, will be up betimes, for the pleasure of viewing and talking over matters with his wife, whose counsel he demands. Their constant agreement would be quite a miracle; the wife dissents, argues, wrangles, and the husband has his own way, or gives up to her, and is irritated or disheartened. Home perhaps grows irksome, so he takes his gun, goes a shooting, or a journey, or to chat with a neighbour. If he stays at home, he either whiles away the hour in good-humoured talk, or he stolds and quarrels. Neighbours interchange visits, for to visit and talk are so necessary to a Frenchman, that along the frontier of Canada and Louisiana, there is nowhere a settler of that nation to be found, but within sight or reach of some other. On asking how far off the remotest settler was, I have been told, ‘ He is in the woods with the bears, a league from any house, and with nobody to talk to.’

“ This temper is the most characteristic difference between the two nations; and, the more I reflect upon this subject, the firmer is my persuasion, that the Americans, and the northern Europeans from whom they are descended, chiefly owe their success in arts and commerce to habitual taciturnity. In silence they collect, arrange, and digest their thoughts, and have leisure to calculate the future; they acquire habits of clear thinking and accurate expression; and hence there is more decision in their conduct, both in public and domestic exigencies; and they at once see the way to their point more clearly, and pursue it more directly.

“ On the contrary, the Frenchman's ideas evaporate in ceaseless chat; he exposes himself to bickering and contradiction; excites the garrulity of his wife and sisters; involves himself in quarrels with his neighbours; and finds, in the end, that his life has been squandered away without use or benefit.”

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LETTER II.

Weld.

DEAR SIR;

AMONG the English travellers in America, whose books I have seen, Weld is clearly one of the most respectable. The greater part of these men appear to be destitute both of, understanding and principle. From this imputation, however, I except Harriot and Wansey: the former a military officer; the latter a plain, honest clothier, not destitute of good common sense. The errors of Weld, which are numerous, are derived either from misapprehension, misinformation, or prejudice. The last of these characteristics was a predominant trait in the mind of Mr. Weld. From some unfortunate circumstances, which, as I am informed, attended him not long after his arrival, he conceived a strong dislike both to the country and its inhabitants; and never resumed his candour until after his book was completed.

His work contains a multitude of misrepresentations. Yet they seem never to have sprung from the want either of understanding, or of sincerity. He is, however, censurable, both for the obliquity of his views, and for the absolute and downright tenor of his assertions, in cases where he knew not that his assertions were true; and where, certainly, they were either wholly or partially erroneous.

As this writer, so far as he has informed us, travelled over a part only of the region, which is the subject of these Letters, and as I shall rarely trouble either you or myself with remarks on other parts of the United States, I shall not detain you long by my observations on his book.

In the second Letter, p. 31 of the fourth edition, he observes, "In a few instances only it would be possible to find a woman, at the age of forty, who has had a large family."

This declaration was not improbably intended to respect only the city of Philadelphia. Even thus limited, it is a gross mistake, as I know by the evidence of my own eyes. In the countries, through which the journies, mentioned in these Letters, lay, there are, it is believed, as many women of this description, in proportion to the whole number of inhabitants, as probably in any other.

Page 189. "Between the town and the Posaick (Passaic) river there is one marsh, which alone extends upwards of twenty miles, and is about two miles wide where you pass over it."

Mr. Weld should have said, that its breadth (as I should judge from passing over it eight or ten times) is not less than eight miles.

Page 190. "It" (that is, the Passaic) "suddenly precipitates itself in one entire sheet over a ledge of rocks, of nearly eight feet in perpendicular height."

For nearly *eight* feet read *seventy* feet. Mr. Weld certainly never saw the fall of the Passaic. I visited this spot in May, 1811. The rocks, over which this river descends, rise immediately on the western border of a little settlement, called Patterson. They are of green stone, or whin. The river, immediately before its descent, winds for some distance to the north-east, and, precipitating itself down a steep of seventy feet perpendicular, directs its course nearly south; forming a large and deep basin at the foot of the precipice.

To future travellers, who visit this scene, the solemnity will be deeply enhanced by the remembrance of the following melancholy incident. The Rev. Mr. Cumming, minister of the north Presbyterian church in Newark, having lately married a lady of an excellent character, and fine accomplishments, and having occasion to preach at Patterson, took Mrs. Cumming with him. On the Monday following they visited this cataract. While they were standing on the brow of the precipice, on the north side of the river, Mr. Cumming, having turned to look at some object behind him, found, when he again cast his eye forward, that his wife was missing. While she was looking with intense pleasure on the magnificent sheet of foam before her, she probably became giddy, and fell into the basin below. She was taken up as soon as it was possible;

but she was dead. This is said, whether correctly or not I am ignorant, to be the third instance, in which life has been lost in a similar manner at this fascinating spot.

Ibid. "From the Passaic to the North river, the country is hilly, barren, and uninteresting."

As Mr. Weld took the stage road, he must, after leaving the Passaic, have crossed a wide extent of marsh, perfectly flat (as will be supposed), before he reached the Hackinsack, a much larger river than the Passaic. After leaving the Hackinsack, the flat country continues through a moderate extent. Then the traveller ascends the elevated ground, on which stands the village of Bergen; a narrow, and not a barren, neck of land, perhaps from a mile and a half to two miles in breadth.

Page 205. "Gen. Washington told me, that he was never so much annoyed by mosquitoes as at Skenesborough; for that they used to bite through the thickest boot."

A gentleman of great respectability, who was present when General Washington made the observation referred to, told me, that he said, when describing these mosquitoes to Mr. Weld, that they "bit through his stockings, above his boots." Our mosquitoes have certainly a sharp tooth, and are very adroit at their business; but they have not been sufficiently disciplined, hitherto, to bite through the thickest boot.

There are in this writer several other observations concerning some of the interior parts of the state of New-York, which are incorrect; but are of little moment. There are, also, some invidious remarks concerning the character of the Americans, which merit animadversion*; but as they are

* Mr. Weld, after having mentioned, that himself and his company stopped on his passage down Lake Champlain at one house to breakfast, and at another to dine; at the first of which he says, "We got a little milk and about two pounds of bread, absolutely the whole of what was in the house; and at the second a few eggs and some cold salted fat pork, but not a morsel of bread;" proceeds to describe the latter of these manarous. "The wretched appearance also of this last habitation was very striking; it consisted of a wooden frame, merely with a few boards nailed against it; the crevices between which were the only apertures for the admission of light, except the door; and the roof was so leaky, that we were sprinkled with the rain even as we sat at the fire-side." He then goes on to observe, "That people can live in such a manner, who have the necessaries and conveniences of life

and in those parts of the work which describe the states north of my own limits, I will leave them, with a single ex-

ception their reach, as much as any others in the world, is really most astonishing! It is however to be accounted for, by that desire of making money, which is the predominant feature in the character of the Americans generally, and leads the petty farmer in particular to suffer numberless inconveniences, when he can gain by so doing. If he can sell the produce of his land to advantage, he keeps as small a part of it as possible for himself, and lives the whole year round upon salt provisions, bad bread, and the fish he can catch in the rivers and lakes in the neighbourhood; if he has built an comfortable house for himself, he readily quits it, as soon as finished, for another, and goes to live in a mere hovel in the woods till he gets time to build another. Money is his idol; and to procure it he gladly foregoes every self-gratification."

A man of common sobriety and good nature would naturally have attributed the wretchedness of this hovel, and the miserable circumstances of those by whom it was inhabited, to their poverty, or to the recency of their settlement in the wilderness; at least he would have asked the question, whether one or both of these might not probably have been the causes of what he saw. Gross prejudice, and rank ill-nature only could have readily determined, that avarice must be the sole assignable source of the sufferings undergone by these unfortunate beings. It is not, however, my design to dwell upon this subject. I have made the transcript for the purpose of introducing another from the fair-minded and gentlemanly Lambert; who, on his passage up the same lake, was forced to land upon the same shore, and has told us the following story of his reception by an American farmer.

"We were nearly two hours before we could get the vessel off the rocks. At length having succeeded, we coasted along the shore, till four o'clock in the morning, when we arrived in a small bay in the township of Shelburne, about sixty miles from St. John's, situate in the widest part of the lake. Here we went ashore at the first farm-house, at a little distance from the bay. The door was only on the latch, and we entered; but the people were not yet up. Having awaked the master of the house, and told him our situation, he said we were welcome, and that he would get up immediately. In the mean time, we collected some wood, and putting it upon live embers in the fire place, soon made a large fire. This was a most comfortable relief, after the cold night we had passed on board our miserable sloop. We found that a considerable quantity of snow had fallen in this part of the lake, though we had not met with any during the passage.

"The master of the house, with two of his sons, were soon up, and having put the kettle on the fire, made preparations for breakfast. About six o'clock, his wife and daughters, two pretty little girls, came into the kitchen, where we were assembled, and in the course of half an hour we had the pleasure of sitting down to a substantial American breakfast, consisting of eggs, fried pork, beefsteaks, apple-tarts, pickles, cheese, cider, tea, and toast

ception, to be examined by others. The remarks frequently thrown out concerning the avarice of the Americans are specimens either of very imperfect observation, or illiberal prejudice. If your own books fairly exhibit the character of the people of Great Britain, the difference between you and us, in this respect, is very small; and those of your countrymen, and of other European nations, who settle here, certainly acquire no advantage by being compared with our citizens. Mr. Weld observes repeatedly, that the farmers of this country will sell any thing, for which they can find a good market; and be contented to live miserably, for the sake of a little additional gain. Such remarks are unwarranted respecting the farmers of this country. The manner in which the people of New-England live, I have already described; and will leave it to you to judge, whether they do not live as well, where the settlements are not recent, as those of any other country, who are not possessed of more property.

One of the most extensive kinds of misrepresentation, adopted by European travellers in the United States, is found in the use of the word *American*. This word, when applied to the character, manners, or morals of the people, who inhabit the United States, is scarcely capable of having any meaning. Like *European*, it is an almost merely geographical or political term. Suppose I were to describe the manners, morals, or character of the British, or the Spaniards,

dipped in melted butter and milk. We were surprised at seeing such a variety of eatables, as it was not a tavern; but the farmer was a man of property, and carried on the farming business to a considerable extent. He showed us a great number of cheeses of his own making; and, for churning butter, he had made a kind of half-barrel, with a place for one of his young boys to sit astride as on horseback. This machine moving up and down answered the double purpose of a churn for making butter, and a rocking horse for his children.

"Having made an excellent breakfast, we inquired of our worthy host what we had to pay. He said he should be satisfied with a York shilling (about 7d. sterling); this however we considered too small a sum for the trouble we had given him and his family, and the handsome manner in which he had entertained us; we therefore gave him a quarter of a dollar each, that being the tavern price for breakfast. We then took our leave, and went on board our vessel, equally pleased with the disinterested hospitality of the American farmer, as with the comfortable refreshment we had received at his house."

in the use of this word; and should actually describe the manners of the Turks, Hungarians, or Poles. What Briton, or Spaniard, would be satisfied with the description?

A few observations on the account, given by Mr. Weld of Long-Island, will conclude what I wish to say concerning his work.

Page 548. "The dreadful maladies, which of late years we never failed to rage in these places (the large towns on the coast of America), during certain months."

The only malady, which, at the period specified, raged in these places, was the yellow fever, which began in Philadelphia, in the year 1793, two years before the arrival of Mr. Weld in the United States. No other disease had, during the period, which intervened between 1793 and the date of this letter, 1797, in any considerable degree prevailed. The yellow fever had spread twice in Philadelphia; once in New-York; once, to a small extent, in Boston; never in Salem; once in Newburyport; once in Providence; never in Newport. Mr. Weld ought certainly to have been better informed, before he ventured to say that any dreadful maladies had never failed to rage of late years in these places, during certain months.

Page 549. "The permanent residents on Long-Island are chiefly of Dutch extraction."

The number of inhabitants in King's County, in the year 1790, was 4,495: of these, 1,432 were blacks. Subtract this number, and there will remain 3,065. There are more English residents in King's County, by a considerable number, than there are Dutch in the other two counties. The whole number of inhabitants on the island, in 1790, was 36,949; of which, 3,065 is less than a twelfth part. So near is Mr. Weld's assertion to truth. Mr. Weld made a short excursion into King's County; and finding that the greater number of inhabitants there were of Dutch extraction, he concluded that it was so everywhere. "Ex hoc uno disce omnia." European travellers in this country usually make their general conclusions from single, or, at the best, from a very few insulated facts.

Page 549. "It is a common saying in New-York, that a Long-Island man will conceal himself in the house on the approach of a stranger."

I have spent about two years in the city of New-York, and never heard this saying mentioned. Had I heard it, I should have known, that it was ridiculously false. It was probably told to Mr. Weld by a mere citizen, who had, perhaps, crossed Brooklyn ferry twice. Mere citizens in this, and I presume in all other countries, are not uncommonly profoundly ignorant of the regions by which they are surrounded, and of the inhabitants which they contain. Very generally, indeed, they are acquainted with their own business; and this but too often is the boundary of their knowledge. Few worse informants concerning this country can be found than mere citizens; and yet from these men is unhappily derived most of the information acquired concerning it by foreign travellers.

I have visited Long-Island several times, and made the circuit of it. Mr. Weld himself will easily believe, that I have had more intercourse with the inhabitants than he could possibly have. I shall, therefore, beg leave to inform him, that, however awed they might be at his approach, they discover no peculiar marks of terror, or diffidence, in their intercourse with ordinary strangers; but receive them, so far as my knowledge extends, with a cheerful good-will, and a cordial hospitality.

Ibid. "Widely different from the Anglo-Americans, whose inquisitiveness in similar circumstances would lead them to a thousand troublesome and impertinent inquiries, in order to discover what your business was in that place, and how they could possibly take any advantage of it."

This contemptible observation has been so often repeated, that one would think even prejudice itself would be weary of uttering it; and that a little truth would give more pleasure to the tongue, merely as a variety. Mr. Weld has too much understanding, and ought to have too much good-nature, to have stained his pages with it. For my own opinions, I refer you to observations made in preceding parts of this work.

Page 550. "Immense quantities of grouse and deer are found amidst the brushwood, with which it (the Brushy Plain) is covered, and which is so well calculated to afford shelter to these animals."

Great numbers of deer inhabit, and are annually killed in the forests, by which the interior parts of Long-Island are so extensively covered. But that they are found amidst the

brushwood, with which the Brushy Plain is covered, and found in immense quantities, I have first learned from Mr. Weld. Even now I must beg him to explain what he means by *quantities* of deer.

Nor can I conceive how brush, which rarely rises to the height of three feet, though it may furnish a convenient shelter for grouse, can be very well calculated to afford shelter to deer.

Ibid. Mr. Weld observes, that several of the Dutch inhabitants have very extensive *tracts* of land under cultivation.

This must, I think, be a mistake; although Mr. Weld has mentioned the same thing in several places. We have *tracts*, but I believe no *tracts* of land in this country. The thing, whatever it be, which the writer means, must certainly be peculiar to Europe, if not to Great Britain; and ought, as well as *quantities* of deer, to have been explained in a small glossary at the end of the work.

Page 562. "I shall leave it" (that is, America) "without a sigh, and without entertaining the slightest wish to revisit it."

Unless Mr. Weld should revisit this country with a better temper than he displayed in his work, I presume every American, who reads this concluding sentence, will cordially say, Amen.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Duke De La Rochefoucault.

DEAR SIR;

I WILL now proceed to an examination of the Travels of the Duke De La Rochefoucault De Liancourt. It is remarkable, that these three travellers all visited the United States at the same time; and must, one would suppose, since in many instances they visited the same scenes, have met with the same objects. This, however, can hardly have been the fact, if we are to form our conjectures from what they have written.

The Duke De La Rochefoucault is plainly of a superior character in several respects to either of his compears. He is pleasant, candid, grateful, and honourable; equally remote from the scientific vanity of Volney, and the ill-natured petulance of Weld. He visited the United States for the purpose of learning the nature of the country, and the character of its inhabitants. Whatever object, within his reach, he supposed likely to be worth his investigation, he examined; and often with a patient and vigorous inquisition. To such persons, as he believed capable of giving him useful information, he applied for it; and frequently found those, who furnished it with a good degree of correctness. When he was treated with civility, he was pleased; when with kindness, he was grateful. Generally, he is distinguished from both Volney and Weld, in not deriving general conclusions from a single fact, or a very small number of facts; and from the former particularly, in showing no disposition to originate theories. In fairness of character he leaves Weld out of sight; and in honourable intentions to do justice to the country which he was exploring.

With religion, the Duke had evidently never busied himself; and cannot, therefore, be supposed to have known much of

subject. In his politics he was altogether a Frenchman, concerning these two subjects, it was to be expected that he should exercise pretty strong prejudices; and whoever had formed such an expectation must, in reading his Travels, have found it realized. Concerning other subjects, his prejudices were fewer than those of most travellers; I think I may say, of almost any. To me it seems, that America is not so much indebted to this nobleman, for being willing to enter so deeply into her condition and character; and for having presented it in so long a series of details, with so much exactness. Whether his work has been extensively read in America, I am ignorant. In this country it has certainly been read less than it deserves.

But the Duke has fallen into many errors. Most of them are, however, of no great importance; and few of them the result of negligence. Almost always they appear to be owing to erroneous informants; to ill intentions I should attribute any, which I have discovered.

My design in the following strictures is to show you how the Duke's information may be safely made an object of suspicion. You will understand, that there are many mistakes in these Travels, which I have purposely omitted, because I thought the number which I have selected sufficient for my purpose; and because I take little pleasure in finding fault with a man.

Vol. i, page 352. "General Schuyler, who intends to purchase all the land on his own account (i. e. of the Iroquois Indians); experiences strong opposition from Timothy Pickering, who is said to be displeas'd, that he cannot come in for a share in the proposed indemnification. These particulars, which I have from persons, who think themselves well informed, may yet be mere scandalous reports; although they have no improbability with them."

The Duke De La Rochefoucault is in several instances adroit in giving characters, and attributing designs. I presume that nothing of this nature could be imputed to General Schuyler. Had the Duke known Colonel Pickering, at that time, as well as I have known him since, he would have known that these reports, so far from carrying no improbability with them, were mere libels on the character of this gen-

tleman. Aristides himself would not have entered with more reluctance, or indignation, upon the design which is here suggested.

Page 255. Colonel St. Leger "succeeded in penetrating to the fort, which he besieged: but the intelligence of the capture of General Burgoyne's army put a speedy end to the siege."

Colonel St. Leger terminated the siege of Fort Stanwix on the 22d of August. General Burgoyne's army surrendered on the 17th of the October following.

Page 365. "The Episcopal is the principal religion (i. e. in Schenectady), although the town contains, also, a church for German Lutherans, and one for Presbyterians. The Germans were also the most liberal benefactors to the institution of a college, the property of which amounts already to forty-two thousand two hundred and twenty-two dollars, and one thousand six hundred acres of land, given by the states."

There is no German Lutheran church in Schenectady. The Episcopal is not the prevalent religion. The largest congregation by far was at that time, and still is, that of Dutch Calvinists. The Dutch, not the Germans, were the most liberal benefactors to the institution of this college. The land, possessed by this seminary, was given by the state of New-York, not by the states.

Page 367. "Albany is one of the most ancient settlements in North-America, and was formed in the year 1660."

Albany began to be settled about the year 1612. According to Smith, the first fort was built in 1614.

Ibid. "Vermont, and a part of New-Hampshire, furnish, also, many articles of trade."

Vermont trades with Albany: New-Hampshire does not.

Page 400. "The road from Marlborough to Boston* is a continued village. Twenty miles from this city continues an uninterrupted line of handsome houses, cleanly and pleasant villages, neat gardens, and fine orchards, which form altogether a rich and delightful prospect."

Now let us hear M. Volney's account of the same subject.

* About thirty miles.

“ In the year 1796, from Boston to Richmond in Virginia, I scarcely marched through a tract of three miles together of cleared land.”

The Duke and M. Volney certainly saw with different optics.

Ibid. “ You see everywhere numerous churches, of a simple construction, but neatly painted, and furnished with fine spires.”

This account, which is perfectly just, is not altogether accordant with the account given of this subject by the Christian Observer’s correspondent, on which I formerly made some strictures.

Page 401. “ A wooden bridge, including the causeway leading to it, is a mile in length.”

The length of this bridge, and its causeway, is seven thousand nine hundred and seventy-two and a half feet.

Page 406. “ His (*i. e.* Mr. Thomas Russell’s) assessment, under the sole head of capitation or poll tax, amounted to fifteen hundred dollars.”

Mr. Russell’s poll tax was the same with that of every other man, who pays this tax: and, I presume, never amounted to fifteen dollars. Mr. Russell possessed a fortune of about fourteen hundred thousand dollars; and must have paid a large tax: but his poll tax was no more than that of a day-labourer.

Ibid. “ Many colleges have been instituted in this state, which are scattered through its whole extent.”

These numerous colleges, about which somebody must have abused the Duke’s confidence, are, Harvard, Williams, and Bowdoin colleges; the latter in the district of Maine.

Page 443. “ The common drink throughout all America is grog.”

The common drink throughout all New-England, New-York, and a considerable part of New-Jersey, except the recent settlements, is cider.

Page 447. “ Penobscot is the only town in these parts: and it consists of a thousand houses.”

The township of Penobscot contained in 1790 a thousand and forty-eight inhabitants. In 1796, it was divided into two

townships: Penobscoot containing 935; and Castine, containing 665: total, 1,600. The number of houses in both may possibly have been from 260 to 270.

Page 448. "The young people of both sexes, however, especially the young women, are desirous of a church, in which they might have an opportunity to assemble every week, and to display their persons. In New-England they refrain on Sunday, with weak superstition, even from the most harmless sports; but it is, in truth, because it affords them an opportunity of going from home, that these people are so fond of visiting the church."

The Duke would have done wisely (as would M. Volney also) had he wholly declined meddling with religion. On this subject both these writers are of course erroneous. The Duke allows, that the New-England people are actually fond of *visiting* the church. As they refrain on Sunday, even with weak superstition, from the most harmless sports, they can hardly be supposed to visit the church, through life, for the sake of going from home, and meeting with their neighbours; since they cannot sport with them, even in the most harmless manner; and since they actually can and do go from home, and meet their neighbours at their pleasure, and indulge themselves in whatever sports they wish. That my fair countrywomen, especially "the young women," are willing to display their persons and their dress, on proper occasions, I am not disposed to deny. But I altogether doubt, whether there is in the world an equal collection of human beings, possessing in greater numbers, or in higher degrees, the piety of the Gospel, or an equal number to which the remark of M. De La Rochefoucault is with less propriety applicable.

Again, page 447. "Throughout all America the building of a new church, for each parochial district, is considered as a very burthensome expense."

Out of New-England there are, in the proper sense, no parochial districts. This observation, then, is capable of no application but to New-England. Whether the people of this county are reluctant to build churches, and to encounter the expense of their erection, may be easily determined from the vast number which they have built from the beginning, and

from the numerous instances in which they are pulling down the old ones, and building others, which are larger and handsomer.

Page 474. "Salem is separated from Beverly only by a bridge fifteen feet in length."

I presume this must be an error of the press: the bridge is fifteen hundred feet in length.

Page 477. "Salem contains, upon an average, sixty-nine thousand inhabitants."

Salem contained, according to the census of 1790, 7,921 inhabitants.

Ibid. "Lynn, which is dependent on the former place (*i. e.* Salem)."

Lynn is in no respect dependent upon Salem.

Page 478. "General Warren, who commanded in the celebrated battle of Bunker's Hill."

In this battle General Warren was a volunteer, and had no command.

Ibid. "The fort stood—the taking of which cost the English 90 officers and 1,400 men."

The loss of the British on this occasion was in a very small degree owing, in any manner, to the imperfect work, here styled a fort; formed in less than twenty-four hours, and capable of containing but a small part of the Americans who were engaged. The action was a regular battle, in which the line extended across the peninsula.

Page 483. "These fugitives from persecution had not been here more than two years when they declared war against the Indians."

Similar assertions are found, vol. ii, p. 152.

The Plymouth colonists landed at the close of the year 1619. The first war declared by any of the New-England colonists against the Indians was that against the Pequods in the year 1637. The second was that against Philip, 1675. The former of these was seventeen, and the latter fifty-five years after the landing at Plymouth. Never was there a more absolute slander than that which is contained in these assertions of the Duke. The colonists acted only on the defensive, and laboured with all their might to avoid war in both cases.

Ibid: "New emigrants arrived here, from time to time, from Europe. Other settlements were formed. Force, or artifice, extorted from the Indians new cessions of territory."

Again, "Without any prejudice against the colonists, or in favour of the natives, it may be reasonably believed, that the greater part of the enormities and crimes, attributed to the Indians, originated primarily from the conduct of the European settlers on their possessions."

When the colonists of New-England purchased land of the Indians, they gave a fair, full price for what they bought. Purchases of this nature extended over almost all the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island. After the wars with the Pequods, Philip, and the Narrhagansetts, they claimed, as all other nations have done, the rights of conquest; and never were these rights claimed with more absolute justice. The war in each case was merely defensive, and the injustice of the aggressors was of the grossest and most provoking nature. The colonists, without an unkind act on their part, were murdered in the most brutal manner by the Indians. They made patient and earnest efforts to obtain justice, but it was obstinately refused. In this situation, if in any which has ever existed, war was demanded. After the offending tribes were vanquished, lands were given to the surviving Indians, who remained in the country, more than sufficient for the maintenance of them all, even in their own mode of life; and, what was at least of as much importance, were secured to them against both frauds and purchases, so that most of them are holden to the present day. Where shall we find the historic page equally clean in this respect? No transactions of men are more pure than those concerning the purchase of lands from the Indians which are left upon record, as most, if not all, of them are in the town records throughout New-England. There is, therefore, no foundation for this senseless calumny, unless, indeed, the falsehood has been so often told, that every slanderer has acquired a right to tell it again.

Whether the enormities and crimes, attributed to the Indians, derived their primary origin from the conduct of the New-England encroachers, may be conjectured from this consideration, that they existed antecedently to the arrival of the

colonists, and were found by them already existing as established customs. Accordingly they were practised on each other.

From a period, not long after the termination of Philip's war, the chief source of these enormities and crimes was the French government in Canada, "We have found," says Governor Shute, "by more than threescore years experience, that we had always lived in perfect peace with our neighbouring Indians, had it not been for the instigation, protection, supply, and even personal assistance of the French." See Letter to Rolle, February 21, 1718, Hist. Coll. vol. v.

Page 485. "Pit-coal and iron-stone are plentiful."

Pit-coal has hitherto not been found, either in Plymouth, or in any other part of New-England, except very lately in Rhode-Island.

"His family" (*i. e.* the family of William Rotch) "has been for some generations engaged here in trade."

The truth is, the town of New-Bedford was settled in 1764. Mr. Rotch himself purchased it, as has been already mentioned in these Letters.

Ibid. "The bread is commonly made of maize and barley; and this is, indeed, their usual bread throughout their whole state."

Barley has never, within my knowledge, been employed as a material for making bread in New-England.

Page 496. "It is usual for young people at the age of thirteen to leave the family of their parents, and go into the service of others. The parents find it vain to endeavour to detain them, for, if not permitted to work as others do, they will not work at home."

The Duke must have been in a reverie when he wrote these sentences. Children in New-England are usually under a very efficacious parental government, and would regard a desertion of their home as the last misfortune. Were they disposed to this conduct, the law would punish both them and those by whom they were received.

Page 511. "Ships, which exceed one hundred and twenty tons burthen, take their lading in Connecticut river at New-Haven."

New-Haven is thirty-four miles west of Connecticut river,

and it is presumed that no ship from that river ever took in its lading at New-Haven.

In vol. i, p. 514, he observes, that “the notes of the New-London bank are for a dollar.” On the same page he observes, that “the notes of the Norwich bank are for half a dollar;” and, p. 519, that “the notes of Hartford bank are for a dollar each.

The notes of these and of all other American banks are, and ever have been, of just such an amount, from a dollar upwards, as the directors please; and there never was a bank which issued notes of only a single given amount.

Page 515 and 516, the Duke makes several observations on the imperfection of the husbandry in Connecticut. The whole passage is too long to be quoted, and is generally erroneous.

Our husbandry is sufficiently imperfect; but, taken together, it is inferior to that of no state in the Union. In saying this I speak the common language of the country.

Page 521. “Some silver firs are thinly scattered over this tract,” *i. e.* between Northford and New-Haven.

The Duke mistook a kind of juniper for silver firs, and was perfectly right in saying that they make a poor appearance. His accounts of our forests are commonly erroneous; and he often finds other trees, beside firs, where no future traveller will ever find them.

Ibid. “Two great stone buildings, belonging to the college, with the church and assembly-house, standing round the churchyard, compose the principal part of the town.”

I think the Duke must have written this sentence when he was asleep, or else must have given us one of his dreams, or else the New-Haven spoken of must be that which he has placed upon Connecticut river.

There were at that time three brick buildings belonging to the college, and fronting the green in a row. There were, also, four churches and a state-house. It is difficult to conceive how the four buildings, mentioned by the Duke, could compose the principal part of a town, consisting of five hundred and fifty houses, the least number attributable to New-Haven at that period.

Page 522. “Only one of these ships sails to Europe;

mother makes its voyages to the West Indies. The remaining vessels (*i. e.* forty-eight) are engaged in the coasting trade."

There are fourteen or fifteen coasting vessels belonging to New-Haven; and the number may possibly at some time or other have amounted to twenty. The remainder have always been employed in foreign trade.

Page 523. "Most of the inhabitants (of New-Haven) have small farms in the neighbourhood."

This would be a very pleasant story if it were correct, but very few of them were then, or are now, able to boast of such a possession.

Page 525. "The most excessive intolerance, the most violent persecution, ensued, against the Quakers in particular, who were treated as the worst of heretics; were tortured, banished, beaten with stripes, even put to death."

In the year 1656, the legislatures of Connecticut and New-Haven colonies, in consequence of a recommendation from the commissioners of the four united colonies, made a law against "Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, and such like notorious heretics, forbidding all persons within the colony to entertain such heretics unnecessarily, on penalty of five pounds, and all towns to suffer such entertainment on the same penalty per week. The governor, deputy-governor, and assistants were empowered to commit them to prison, or send them out of the colony. Persons, unnecessarily discoursing with them, were fined twenty shillings; those, who kept their books, ten shillings. County-courts were required to suppress their books; and masters of vessels were required not to bring them into the colony. If they did, they were ordered to carry them out again, at their first setting sail from the port, where they landed them, on penalty of twenty pounds." This is the only law ever made in the colony of Connecticut against heretics. It was intolerant; but did not display the most excessive intolerance. It exhibits a spirit of persecution, but not of the most violent kind. When the Duke wrote this sentence, he certainly had forgotten the scenes which were acted throughout several centuries in his own country. But he informs us, that the Quakers were tortured, banished, beaten with stripes, and even put to death.

This law was made, as I have observed, on a recommendation of the commissioners. Dr. Trumbull says, that it was of short continuance, and that nothing of importance appears to have been transacted upon it, either in the colony of New-Haven or that of Connecticut. It does not appear, that an individual Quaker ever suffered in Connecticut, in his person or property, on the score of religion. Quakers were, therefore, not banished, tortured, abused with stripes, nor put to death.

No person was ever tortured in Connecticut, for any reason, by any judicial court; nor in New-England; nor, so far as my knowledge extends, in any of the United States.

Ibid. "Before which (*i. e.* the legislature), all suits at law may be brought by a last appeal."

No civil suit could be brought by appeal before the legislature, where the sum depending was less than five thousand dollars.

Ibid. "The governor presides in the council, and is also speaker in the house of representatives."

He certainly must be a strange sort of a governor to hold both these offices, and stranger still if he executed them, since the council sat in one chamber, and the representatives in another at the same time.

Ibid. "Besides which, he can influence the voices of several other members of the legislature."

The governor of Connecticut has no *official* means of influence; and if he were to use any other means, besides such as are involved in the character of a wise and good man, it would cost him his place.

Ibid. "The members of the supreme judicial courts, those of the county courts, and the justices of the peace, are nominated from among the legislature."

The judges of the supreme judicial court cannot be members of the legislature. The judges of the county courts may be, and some or other of them, probably, always are. There is, however, no legislature, of which many of them are members. Whether justices of the peace are thus nominated may be determined from this fact: there are fifty-seven representatives in the counties of Hartford and New-Haven, and a hundred and eighty-five justices. The proportion is probably

the same, substantially, elsewhere. The truth is, this assertion is entirely groundless.

Page 527. "Without these conditions (*i. e.* the possession of a hundred dollars, or a residence of six years), he will not obtain relief from distress in poverty."

Every person, who is in distress from poverty, obtains immediate and certain relief, and that equally, whether he be an inhabitant or a stranger. The only difference is, that the expenses incurred for an inhabitant are charged to the town; while those incurred for a stranger are charged to the state.

Page 528. "The general assembly has likewise the power of settling ministers."

The power of settling ministers is vested solely in the several congregations.

Page 529. "Although the letter of the law has established freedom of religious sentiments in Connecticut, such freedom is, however, far from being known here. Presbyterianism reigns in all its rigour, despotism, and intolerance.

The Duke is always unhappy when he speaks of religious subjects. If freedom of religious sentiments is not established in Connecticut, if it is not known in its fullest extent, it will be difficult to say where it is known. Not a legal disadvantage is laid upon any man for his religious sentiments. Every man may here think and worship as he pleases. Even those, who unhappily do not worship at all, meet with no molestation. The several religious sects live together in absolute harmony. It is true we do not think very favourably of persons who are irreligious and immoral, and this perhaps may be what the Duke intends; but both the laws and the inhabitants suffer them quietly to pursue their own courses, so far as their religious sentiments are concerned. Presbyterians have no peculiar privileges, and claim none. It is difficult, therefore, to conceive how Presbyterianism can here be intolerant; still more how it can reign; and most of all how it can be despotic. All these imply some superiority over others; but Presbyterianism here has none.

It ought to be remembered, that Presbyterianism (that is, in the New-England sense) was once the established religion of Connecticut; and that, although those, who profess

it, have always been a vast majority of the inhabitants, they, by a law, which themselves made, voluntarily placed other denominations upon the same footing with themselves.

Ibid. "Every town, forming a regular incorporation, must keep a grammar school."

This is an error. Every town is incorporated; but every town is not obliged to keep a grammar school.

Page 531. "The considerations, which moved the legislature to determine, as they did, in this business, were respect to property, and the fear of dangerous consequences, as likely to arise from a sudden and general emancipation."

This is an error. The determination referred to was, that every black, born in the state after the year 1784, should be free at adult age. The considerations, which prevented the legislature of Connecticut from emancipating all the slaves within the state at once, were the following. A considerable number of the inhabitants believed slavery, as it existed here, to be justifiable. Many of these, who were slave-holders, insisted, that they had bought their slaves under the protection and countenance of the government; and that therefore, if their slaves were taken from them, they should have an equitable claim upon the government for remuneration. By others it was considered as a violent act to take them away, although they cordially wished them emancipation. The legislative act, which has been alluded to, was really a compromise between the parties on this subject, and was the more readily acceded to, because it was generally thought, that those, who had kept slaves, and had received the benefit of their labour throughout their working years, ought now to support them; and not to throw them as a burthen upon the community. From the slaves themselves there was not, and could not possibly be, any apprehension. There was never any law authorising slavery. The practice was adopted, merely because it had been pursued in other parts of the British dominions.

The whole number of slaves in the state, according to the last census, was three hundred and ten.

Page 536. "The ministers, who in consequence of their mutual wranglings, and their fierce intolerance, have lost much of the high influence which they once possessed."

The ministers of Connecticut do not wrangle, and they are

intolerant. Our brethren, who inhabit the states south of complain, even to this day, that the influence of ministers, is still too high.

ibid. "Such as possess extraordinary wealth are very anxious to conceal their fortunes from the vigilant and invidious jealousy of their fellow citizens."

This is a groundless misapprehension of the Duke. There is no such jealousy on the one hand, and no such anxiety on the other.

ibid. "No culture, but that of meadows, no tillage appears;" i. e. between Fairfield and Stamford.

There is no part of New-England, equally extensive, in which there is a greater proportion of tillage, and a less of mow. Indeed the proportion of tillage is as great as can consist with good husbandry.

ibid. "It is said, that the soil in general is sufficiently good for bearing corn, but that the nature of the climate subsists the crop to a blasting, that never fails to spoil it in its growth. These disadvantages affect the whole territory, lying along this coast."

I will not examine the philosophy of the Duke's informants. Their reports were erroneous in the facts. The real blast is the Hessian fly.

ibid. "From this place (Stamford) the coast of Long Island is forty, from New-Haven it is not more than twenty, the distance."

The coast of Long Island is twelve miles from Stamford, and twenty-nine from New-Haven.

Page 590. "Ships of small burthen make their way through the Sound to New-York."

Ships of all sizes pass easily through the Sound to Hellgate. American frigates of forty-four guns, and sixteen hundred tons burthen, go safely through that passage.

ibid. "The passage to the island of New-York is by King's ferry, at the distance of fourteen miles from that city."

It should have been written, "the passage to New-York is by King's bridge, &c." King's ferry, is a ferry over the Hudson, about forty-four miles from New-York.

Page 541. The description given of the lands on Connecticut river is in many respects imperfect and erroneous.

Vol. ii, page 141. "That, which above all the others most violently clashed with the maxims and interests of the synod, was his declaration, 'that punishment, inflicted for matters of conscience, was persecution.'"

The whole of this story is erroneously told: but the particulars are too numerous for insertion in this place. Mr. Williams had certainly some considerable excellencies in his character, and as certainly some serious defects. "Quod sensit valde sensit." Whatever opinion he took up, as a part of his own system, he seized with a rank hold. His opinions on several religious subjects were rigid, and straitened, to a degree rarely paralleled; and some of them were certainly dangerous to the peace of society, and to religion. Among other doctrines, he held it to be unlawful to commune with his brethren in Boston, unless they would acknowledge themselves to have sinned in communing with the church of England before their emigration, and declare their repentance. He denied that the magistrate could lawfully punish blasphemy, profaneness, or sabbath-breaking; or tender an oath to a man whom he believed to be unregenerate. He declared it to be unlawful for a Christian to pray with a man whom he believed to be of this character, even a member of his family; and that it was unlawful to give thanks after the sacramental supper, or after common meals. He pronounced the churches of New-England polluted and anti-christian; and refused to commune with the members of his own church, unless they would separate from the other churches. He was baptized a second time, in March 1639, by one of the brethren of his church; but after a short time he determined, that baptism ought not to be administered at all, without an immediate revelation. For the second, third, and fourth, of these tenets, he was banished. But it must be remembered, that Mr. Williams was not banished for *holding* these opinions. He conversed, preached, wrote, and acted. He refused to take the oath of fidelity himself, and taught others to refuse. Moreton said, "He spake dangerous words." Mather said, "He preached furiously against the patent, which was the foundation of the government. In a similar manner he struck at the character and existence of the New-England churches; and boldly pronounced them antichristian. Finally, he refused

pray with his own wife and family, or to ask a blessing at meals with them, because they attended public worship with the church at Salem, which refused to withdraw from communion with the neighbouring churches.

In the infant state of the New-England government and churches, such a man threatened not only their peace, but their existence. He was plainly a man of talents; bold, restless, regardless of consequences, and in his judgment and feelings, and in his ecclesiastical conduct also, at least as intolerant towards those who differed from him, as they in their civil conduct towards him. They took not a little pains to reclaim him, and plainly were very much at a loss how to live with him in peace. Any alteration in his opinions and practices, except what was originated by his own mind, was hopeless. He was sure of being right. He was right when he held the doctrine of infant baptism. He was right when he was baptized anew by one of the members of his own church at Providence. He was right when, after this, he re-baptized several of them. He was right when he told them, that in all his life he had been deluded and had misled them; that their last baptism, as well as the first, was a nullity; and that they must renounce all that had been hitherto done, and wait the coming of new apostles.

Page 142. "The accusation brought against him was only a pretext to cloak the jealousy entertained of his influence by Governor Winthrop and others. But that pretext was an effectual mean of accomplishing their views; and Coddington being banished," &c.

This is an error. Mr. Coddington was not banished. He removed quietly from Boston to Rhode-Island. All the history which I can find concerning this subject says otherwise. Mr. Coddington was an assistant; and, having become an Antinomian, probably by the influence of Mrs. Hutchinson, was left out of the list of magistrates by his countrymen. He then, in company with some others, purchased Aquetneck, which he named Rhode-Island. In his latter days he became a Quaker.

Page 148. "Taunton and Durham, each the capital of a county of similar name."

Taunton is the capital of a county named Bristol. Dedham, not Durham, is the capital of a county named Norfolk.

Page 152. "But soon these new-comers became persecutors in turn."

On this subject see the remarks already made on the persecutions of the Indians by the people of Connecticut. The answer, there given, will refute this calumny as well as that.

Page 153. "The Presbyterians, finding themselves more numerous than the other sects"—

There were no other sects until a considerable time after the country began to be colonized. Permit me here to observe, what, so far as my knowledge extends, seems to have been passed over in the writings of others, that the first colonists of New-England left their own country, and came to this inhospitable wilderness, with a full expectation and settled design to live by themselves. It was their darling wish; the great object of all their aims; to live by themselves, safe from the intrusions of others. They had gone through every labour, expense, and suffering to accomplish this desirable object. In their own country they had undergone every thing but death, on account of their religion. In this distant, solitary wild, they naturally thought that they might be undisturbed. They had purchased the country at home. They had again purchased it here. They had settled it; they had defended it. The expense and self-denial, the patience and perseverance, which they had encountered, were extreme, wonderful, and such, as in their own view at least, entitled them fairly to an exemption from all the trouble, afterwards given them by the Baptists and Quakers. When they had gone through all these difficulties to a great extent, and changed the country into a desirable habitation; these people came in among them. Why did they come? They were not invited. They were not welcomed. They were not desired. The New-England colonists intruded upon no settlements of Baptists or Quakers; nor did they meddle with the business, or break into the precincts of any other people. It was one of the privileges of Israel, that "they should dwell alone." The people of New-England wished ardently for the same privilege, and for the very same reason, viz. that they might

transmit what they believed to be the religion of the Gospel, pure in its doctrine, discipline, and manners, to their posterity. Why should this privilege be grudged to them? The Baptists and Quakers they regarded as errorists. They had done nothing towards purchasing, clearing, or defending the country; and, in the view of the inhabitants, came only to corrupt their principles and disturb their peace. They cordially hated the people of New-England. Why did they not stay among those whom they liked better? The only answer is, they came to make proselytes: the most uncomfortable of all intruders.

Internal dissensions have been universally esteemed more serious calamities than external wars; and internal dissensions about religion are certainly as serious calamities as those about liberty. He, who excites civil discord in a community, is universally accounted an enemy of its peace. Why is he less deserving of this character, who excites religious dissensions?

The world was sufficiently wide to furnish the same opportunities to Baptists and Quakers to plant themselves, which had been found by the people of New-England. Sufficient tracts might have been obtained from the crown, and purchased of the Indians. Why did they not obtain and purchase these tracts? Had they done this, the New-England people would not have disturbed them. In England no man is permitted to preach, *without a licence from the Government*. These people preached in New-England, in defiance of the express injunctions of the Government. A number of them insulted both the Government and the religious worship of the country with gross indecency and outrage.

The Duke asserts, that "the Quakers and Baptists were persecuted, imprisoned, banished, and put to death."

It is not true, that any Anabaptist was put to death. Several of them, after having openly disobeyed an express injunction of the Government, were imprisoned and banished; one of them, who insulted the court, and was declared by his neighbours to be an idle, lying fellow, was whipped. So late as the year 1748, the Rev. Dr. Rodgers, of New-York, was sent out of Virginia by the general court of that province, for preaching to some Presbyterians, who had invited him

into the country for that purpose. This gentleman did what all others ought to do in the like circumstances. Upon receiving the order of the court, he desisted from preaching, and left the province.

I am no friend to persecution for religion, or for any thing else; and regard it, as I believe, in all cases with at least as much abhorrence as the Duke De La Rochefoucault, or any other declaimer against the New-England colonists. Still I can find no justification either for the Anabaptists or for the Quakers; those, I mean, who are the subjects of these remarks.

Ibid. "The worst of all governments is that in which a system of religion is the main spring; and which is either conducted or influenced by the ministers of that religion."

A part of this sentence is just; and the rest may be fairly yielded to a man, who had lived in a Popish country. A government, conducted by the ministers of religion, must certainly be a bad one, I think the worst of all governments, for the following reasons. When civil and ecclesiastical power are united in the same hands, such ecclesiastical power as has been actually possessed by men in most countries, and such as in this case would be possessed by them in all, would furnish temptations, which they would never resist; and generate a system of oppression, which their subjects could never sustain. The ministers would become villains, and the people would be undone. The experiment has been fairly tried in the Romish hierarchy; and, happily for mankind, can never be tried again. Should it be said, that the ministers of religion would be persons of too good a character to be guilty of such enormities—probably this would be true of the first set, which came into these dangerous circumstances, because they would be merely ministers of the Gospel, men, who came into that office for the sake of discharging its duties. But those, who followed them, would enter the ministry solely for the purpose of obtaining the power attached to the office. These would commence their ministry with fraud, and would soon become abandoned. The government, therefore, would be in the very worst hands; and, because the power possessed by them would be greater than in any other case, would be the worst government. But a system of religion, or, in better

ords, the true religion, or Christianity, ought to be the basis of all government. In this case, human government would proceed on the same principles as that of the Infinite Ruler. All governments, also, ought to be regulated absolutely by these principles. Were they in fact thus regulated, an end would be put to all those sufferings, which subjects feel, except from the incapacity of rulers.

The question, "Whether ministers ought to have influence with respect to the affairs of government," will, if answered with truth, be answered differently, according to the character of ministers, and according to the degree, and perhaps the manner, in which the influence is employed. By influence, I intend the efficacy which the character and circumstances of a man have towards inducing others voluntarily to coincide with him in opinions and measures. Where clergymen are wise and virtuous men, it is hardly possible that their influence upon government should fail of being beneficial.

The case of Massachusetts and Connecticut, alluded to at the commencement of the paragraph, from which the last quotation is taken, is unfortunately selected by the Duke for the purpose of proving his assertion. In these states, from their first settlement, ministers, although absolutely destitute of power, have had as much influence as in any country in the world. It is no exaggeration to say, that in these two communities, industry, good neighbourhood, good order, useful knowledge, sound morals, and genuine piety, have flourished uniformly, and as extensively, as in any country on the globe.

Page 154. "The governor and judges of Salem."

There never were any such persons.

Page 206. "Indian corn bears no higher price here (*i. e.* Brookfield, Massachusetts) than nine-pence a bushel."

The Duke must have been egregiously misinformed concerning this subject. The Brookfield farmers would hardly be satisfied with the market, which he has provided for them. The lowest price, at which I ever knew Indian corn sold, was 10 shillings* a bushel. In the years 1795 and 1796 it could not be less than four, and was not improbably five or six shillings.

* One and six-pence sterling.

I will now close the remarks, which I have thought proper to make on the Duke De La Rochefoucault. I should do justice neither to the traveller, nor to myself, if I did not observe, that I have found his work much more valuable than I expected. There are, indeed, many errors in it. Some I have mentioned, and not a small number of others might have been added to them. But it contains, also, very many valuable truths. The writer was often misinformed; sometimes negligent; and sometimes misled by prejudice: but he discovers everywhere a wish to gain information, and a willingness to recite it. What he saw, he is willing to report as it appeared to him. In the times in which he wrote, it was scarcely possible not to be prejudiced about politics; or, with the education which he had received, about religion. Generally he discovers a commendable spirit of inquiry and industry, respectable understanding, and an honourable degree of integrity and candour*.

I am, Sir, &c.

* The following may serve as specimens of the errors, into which foreigners easily fall with respect to the names of persons and places, and into which they betray their readers. The Duke says,

Belly town	for Belchertown.	Gresworth	for Griswold.
Volwich	Woolwich.	Stone river	Stoney river.
Pepperborough	Pepperelborough.	Watworth	Wadsworth.
Saga	Saco.	Golf	Goff.
Goldhue	Goodhue.	Whadley	Whalley.
William Rush	William Rotch.	Durham	Dedham, &c.

LETTER IV.

Lambert.

DEAR SIR;

I HAVE lately seen, *Travels in Lower Canada and North-America*, in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, by John Lambert, a native of Great Britain, printed in London for Richard Phillips, 1810. On this book I will now make a number of observations.

Permit me to say, generally, that the writer is superior to most of his fellow travellers in candour and justice. He came to America, as he informs us, upon business. Unexpected disappointments having frustrated his design, he found himself at leisure to travel over several parts of this continent. The result of his observations and inquiries he has given us in three octavo volumes, and has in my view made a valuable present to the public. The information, which he has furnished concerning Canada, unless I am deceived, is to a considerable extent new and satisfactory. In the United States his opportunities of seeing the country and acquiring information were much fewer than I should have wished, and evidently much more limited than he himself wished. Yet he has the merit of having made the most of them. What he saw, he generally observed with accuracy and good sense, and told with truth; and it deserves to be recorded to his honour, that, with a victory over prejudice, not often achieved by Englishmen travelling in this country, he appears plainly to have been desirous of seeing every thing in its native light, and not with jaundiced eyes. For his information he was dependent, as every traveller must be, upon others; often he is well informed; at times he was undoubtedly led into error. He passed over several hundred miles in which I have travelled; and his accounts of what fell under his eye are just,

beyond what I should expect from a foreigner, to whom every object was new, and who had so little opportunity of examining with attention. Upon the whole, Mr. Lambert has claims to respect and to confidence, which cannot be challenged by any other native of Great Britain, who has appeared here as a traveller.

The following paragraph in the introduction to his work well deserves the attentive perusal of every Briton, who considers this country as meriting his regard.

“ After residing a twelvemonth in Canada, I visited the United States, a country, whose real state is almost as little known in England as that of Canada; and the manners and dispositions of whose inhabitants are seldom viewed, but through the false medium of popular prejudice.

“ Whatever truth there may have been in the accounts given of the United States by former writers; they present at this day but imperfect or distorted pictures of the country and its inhabitants. Those, who have not seen the United States for the last twenty years, would be astonished at the alteration that has taken place. No country, perhaps, ever increased in population and wealth, or rose into importance among other nations more rapidly, than the United States. Within the space of thirty years, they have emerged from the obscurity of colonies into the rank of independent states; governed by a constitution altogether novel in the present times; but which, whatever defects it may contain, has proved the source of all their prosperity. The people of England are too apt to hold the character of the Americans in trifling estimation; but when it is known, that their country is fast approaching to importance, that their imports and exports already amount to one half of those of Great Britain, while their annual expenditure is not a twentieth, and their national debt not a fortieth part of ours, we cannot avoid giving them our measure of admiration, whatever jealousy might suggest to the contrary. It is to be hoped, that the two nations will no longer give way to blind and acrimonious prejudices against each other, but endeavour to cultivate the blessings of peace instead of the horrors of war.”

It would be well if some of your journalists were to learn a little truth from these observations of Mr. Lambert, and to

re with him, that the travellers, whose malignant accounts take a pleasure apparently not less malignant in quoting, given only imperfect or distorted pictures of the country its inhabitants. The blind and acrimonious prejudices, ioned by this writer, have been indulged by no persons greater spleen or grosser falshood, than by the authors me of your reviews. Great Britain has no market of so h value to her as the United States; and no body of men e world, equally numerous, so willing to be her steadfast ds upon reasonable principles, as a large part of their bitants. Why this body should be provoked and alie- d, by the torrents of abuse so liberally poured out on r side of the Atlantic, the writers to whom I have referred yet to explain.

Page 176. "From what cause the custom (of driving on right side of the road) originated in America, I cannot

he cause is this: The drivers of loaded carts and waggons ally walk on the left side. If you take the right, the er is of course between you and his own team. He is efore able to see that he gives you sufficient room; which ould not do if you took the left side. Hence the law res every carriage to go on the right.

Page 278. "The inhabitants of the shores of Nova-Scotia the New-England states, who are enveloped in fogs more a one half the year, enjoy the same ruddy complexion as English; while those, who live in the interior under a r sky, are universally distinguished by sallow and swarthy plexions."

here are two errors in this sentence, so far as it respects w-England. Its shores generally enjoy a remarkably fine r sky; and the inhabitants of the interior are rather more ly, so far as there is any difference, than those on the e.

Page 354. On this and the following pages there are several unfortunate observations concerning religion, a subject ch the writer has very imperfectly examined. I mention fact, not as coming within the scope of these remarks; but vely that, after what I have said concerning the respectable racter of Mr. Lambert, it might not be supposed from my

nce that I approved of these opinions. In the subsequent parts of the book there are other observations of a nature generally similar. At the same time I acknowledge with ease, that Mr. Lambert appears to be respectful to religion and morality.

Page 435. "The rabbit was never found wild in any part of America."

Wild rabbits are considerably numerous in New-England.

Vol. ii, page 128. "The Americans are so extremely captious on political subjects, that they can never speak of them without entering into a dispute; and disputes generally terminate in quarrels."

The Americans are without a doubt sufficiently inclined to dispute about political subjects, and are in my opinion at least sufficiently captious. New-England is believed to be as much interested in this controversy as any part of the American Union. Yet there are every day conversations on political subjects without disputes, and disputes without quarrels. These indeed must be very rare; for I do not remember that I have heard of half a dozen in New-England, during the twenty-five years which have elapsed since the establishment of the American constitution.

Page 129. "It (the American stage coach) is always drawn by four horses; which, in well settled parts of the United States, are as good as the generality of English stage horses."

Who could have expected this from an English traveller in America!

Page 132. "At the better sort of American taverns or hotels, very excellent dinners are provided, consisting of almost every thing in season."

Ibid. "English breakfasts and teas are, generally speaking, meagre repasts, compared with those of America; and as far as I had an opportunity of observing, the people live, with respect to eating, in a much more luxurious manner than we do; particularly in the large towns, and in their neighbourhoods. But their meals, I think, are composed of too great a variety, and of too many things, to be conducive to health; and I have little doubt but that many of their diseases are engendered by gross diet, and the use of animal food

every meal. Many private families live nearly in the same style as at these houses, and have as great a variety upon their tables."

I hope Mr. Lambert, since he is a Briton, will be considered as an unexceptionable witness to the fact, that the people of this country have something to eat and drink, both in private houses and in inns; the testimony of your former travellers to the contrary notwithstanding. I, who have known the whole subject by experience, can testify, that this has been the fact, with regard to both private houses and inns, from my earliest remembrance. Food in the richest variety has always abounded in this country, and has been within the reach of every man, possessed even of moderate property. The principal difference between the farmers and mechanics who are in easy circumstances, or are worth from five to ten thousand dollars, and the gentlemen (that is, when there is any difference), is, so far as the mode of living is concerned, found chiefly in the different modes of management, particularly in cookery. A farmer of my acquaintance, worth perhaps from twenty to twenty-five thousand dollars, kept as good a table as any man whom I ever knew.

The best old-fashioned New-England inns were superior to any of the modern ones which I have seen. They were at less pains to furnish a great variety of food. Yet the variety was ample. The food was always of the best quality; the beds were excellent; the house and all its appendages were in the highest degree clean and neat; the cookery was remarkably good; and the stable was not less hospitable than the house. The family in the mean time were possessed of principle, and received you with the kindness and attention of friends. Your baggage was as safe as in your own house. If you were sick, you were nursed and befriended as in your own family. No tavern-haunters, gamblers, or loungers were admitted, any more than in a well ordered private habitation; and as little noise was allowed.

There was less bustle, less parade, less appearance of doing much to gratify your wishes, than at the reputable modern inns; but much more actually done, and much more comfort and enjoyment. In a word, you found in these inns the

pleasures of an excellent private house. To finish the story, your bills were always equitable, calculated on what you ought to pay, and not upon the scheme of getting the most which extortion might think proper to demand.

The Duke De La Rochefoucault was sick at the house of Captain Williams in Marlborough. A stranger, a foreigner, appearing as he says in a very plain dress, and universally in circumstances which indicated no superiority of rank or character, after he had recovered his health, chiefly as it would seem by the kindness of the family, he exclaimed, "Surely these are the best people in the world."

I am entirely of Mr. Lambert's opinion, that our meals are very often composed of too great a variety to be conducive to health. A simpler mode of living would naturally prevent excess in eating and drinking. Our dinners are furnished with a great variety of vegetables as well as of meats.

Page 136. "The morning was remarkably fine."

The account which is given in the following paragraphs of the Hudson and the country bordering upon it, particularly of the beauty and magnificence of the scenery, is just, and far from being exaggerated. I hope it will contribute to persuade some of your countrymen, that nature did not lavish all her charms on the eastern continent, but reserved some of her choice gifts for America. One of your countrymen a short time since questioned one of mine to the following effect: "How comes it to pass, that America has no such fine scenery as we find in European countries?"

Page 146. "The first is of very considerable extent, being one hundred and twenty miles in length, and about eight miles in breadth. It is a fertile and well-cultivated piece of land, inhabited chiefly by the descendants of the old Dutch settlers."

For the truth, with regard to these subjects, I refer you to my observations concerning Long-Island, and to my notes on the Travels of Weld.

Page 202. "A taste for reading has of late diffused itself through the country, particularly in the great towns."

A taste for reading has always been diffused throughout New-England, and social libraries were frequent at the be-

ring of the last century; and the libraries of ministers, and
er men of learning, were to a considerable extent better
n they are now.

ibid. "It seems, indeed, that the fair sex of America have,
hin these few years, been desirous of imitating the example
he English and French ladies. They have cast away the
ipping and frivolous tittle-tattle, which before has occu-
d so much of their attention."

Mr. Lambert was misinformed concerning this subject. The
ies in New-England, who received a good education fifty,
y, and in various instances even one hundred years ago,
re as well educated as most of those who have followed
m; were possessed of as much sound knowledge, of as
ned a taste, of as elegant accomplishments, and of as much
nity and excellence. The modern education is attended
h more expense and parade, but is not productive of
ater moral or intellectual improvement.

Page 208. "I was told of one (sailor), who carried with
a small grappling, and, while the horse was at full speed
n one of the streets, threw out the anchor, which, catch-
hold of the stones, suddenly brought him up, broke his
se's neck, and hurled him a distance of several yards upon
pavement."

This story I heard when I was a boy; and it may serve to
w you, that your travellers pick up many a tale of other
es, and present it to the public as an account of something
t has lately happened.

Page 357. "Towards evening we lost sight of Neversink
s, and could not help thinking upon the absurdity of their
ne, while I beheld their summits sink into the ocean as the
sel receded from the coast."

I have been accustomed to see the name printed Navesink,
I have supposed it an Indian word, corrupted by careless
nunciation into Neversink.

Page 399. "At the period when the Americans were so
ch exasperated against Great Britain, in consequence of
attack upon the Chesapeake frigate," &c.

The story told in this paragraph is erroneous; and Mr.
mbert was ill informed. I never before heard that the
fish subjects throughout the states were under the ne-

cessity of keeping within doors, until the popular fury was abated. No Americans, so far as I remember, wore a piece of crape round their arm, in those parts of the country with which I am well acquainted; nor was any man within those limits ducked under the pumps, for refusing to comply with that mark of respect for his deceased countrymen.

The chief reason, for which I have quoted this sentence, is the improper attribution which it contains of actions and characters to all [the Americans, which are due to a part only, and that probably very small. This is a very common and very unfortunate practice of your travellers in the United States. They see or hear of something which is done in this country, some local custom, some solitary incident, some good or bad treatment of a foreigner. They find two or three bad inns, make with some sharper a disadvantageous bargain, purchase lands unadvisedly of some jobber, and are bitten in the contract, and are otherwise injured, teased, or abused. Immediately the character becomes in their mouths universal; the custom spreads over the whole country; the incidents become a general history; the people have all turned sharpeners and land jobbers; the inns are all dirty, and the innkeepers rude, vulgar, and insolent.

The case, in which this conversion of individuals into a class, and of particulars into generals, is most frequent, and which an inhabitant of New-England regards with very little complacency, is that, in which the customs, manners, morals, and other characteristics, of other states of the Union are applied to his own. A traveller in one of the United States is told, that the inhabitants treat their slaves with cruelty; in another he is informed, that they are engaged frequently in duels, fighting cocks, gouging, and horse-racing; that they are rude and insolent to strangers; that their inns are wretched; their churches few, poor, and decayed; their ministers few, and many of them uneducated; the manners expensive; the income of the inhabitants anticipated, and their character extensively that of semi-civilization. Now, whether these things are truly said or not, I am not at present interested to inquire. My objection lies to the manner in which they are described and attributed. They are described as general customs of the whole country, and are attributed to its inhabitants uni-

sally. Thus we are told, that the *Americans* gouge, race
 es, and fight cocks; and that the inns, the churches, the
 sters, the manners, and the customs of the United States
 uch and such.

ppose I were to travel through Spain, and, finding the
 sition in that country, should say, in the journal of my
 that this horrid tribunal is established in Europe, and
 he inhabitants at the end of certain periods celebrate the
 da fe. Suppose I were to travel through Turkey, and,
 modating my journal to the manners of the Turks, should
 that the people of Europe are Mohammedans, wear mus-
 os, keep their turbans on, and pull off their shoes in their
 ues, have each four wives, and as many concubines as
 can maintain, are served by eunuchs and mutes, and are
 ed to go once in their lives on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Or
 ose I should make an excursion into Russia, and should
 uted all that Dr. Clarke has said to disgrace the people of
 country to the Europeans generally; or, proceeding on-
 l to Lapland, should attribute to the inhabitants of Europe
 ize, structure, features, and complexion of the Laplanders;
 would a candid and intelligent man think of my assertions
 my character? What would the inhabitants of Great Bri-
 France, and Germany, think of a traveller who applied
 hem declarations which were true of Spaniards, Turks, or
 landers only?

et these assertions, when made concerning the people of
 ope at large, would be no less just and true than those as-
 ions which you travellers often make concerning the inha-
 ats of this country, under the general names of Americans,
 he people of the United States; assertions adopted with
 a less discrimination by several writers in your literary
 als. The customs, manners, and morals of the states at
 uthern and western borders of the Union are, to a great
 nt, absolutely unknown in New-England; and the story
 rning the inns, the churches, the ministers, the gouging,
 orse-racing, the cock-fighting, the gambling, and the great
 ty of imputations thrown by your tourists on the character
 e Americans, are as little applicable to New-England as
 ld England, and in most instances much less. Your peo-
 make horse-racing an amusement of high importance; and

your gentlemen, clergy, nobles, and princes, frequent this diversion at Newmarket in the same manner as your jockies. Your people fight cocks: to us the thing is unknown, except by report. Gambling is carried on to an extent immeasurably greater with you than with us. Gouging, familiarly attributed to us by some of your writers, is as absolutely unknown in New-England as in St. James's palace. Our inns, perhaps, are not as good as yours, but I am confident that they are better than those of any other country. Our plain people have more civility than such of yours as visit this country, and are abundantly better informed. The gentlemen are less haughty, distant, and reserved. Of our churches and ministers I have already given you a sufficient account.

But this is not all. Your travellers seize on a single person, or a solitary fact, and make them the representatives of a whole community, and a general custom. Have you no awkward persons? No sharpers? No debauchees? No profligates? No blunderers in language, both in pronunciation and meaning? If not, what are we to think concerning the representations made of the morals, manners, and language of your inhabitants in plays, novels, newspapers, literary journals, travels, and moral treatises. Is an American to form his ideas of the language of Great Britain from that of the driver of a stage coach, a porter, a Yorkshireman, or an inhabitant of Wales? Are the morals of Wapping to characterize the English nation? Is the phraseology of Billingsgate to become a specimen of their breeding? Are the coal-heavers and coal-miners, who supply London with fuel, to become the index of your manners? And are we to learn the state of your morals from Colquhoun's Police of London, or from that of the Thames?

Mr. Lambert is less afflicted with this disease of turning particulars into generals, and individual facts and persons into a host, than most of your travellers. Yet even he is not without some trespasses. They are, however, so few, and of so little moment, as scarcely to demand animadversion.

Page 431. "The militia of the United States is, for the most part, badly disciplined. In the towns, some show of military force is kept up by the volunteers; but throughout the country places the militia meet only to eat, drink, and be merry."

: this may be true of the militia of some other states in
 ion I am not warranted to deny, but it has no applica-
 Massachusetts and Connecticut. With the character
 militia in other states I am very imperfectly acquainted.
 re the militia are an excellent body of men; and, though
 in most instances to some of the volunteer corps in the
 towns, are well dressed, and to a great extent well
 ned. An American officer of distinction, who at New-
 a saw daily the appearance and discipline of the Con-
 it state troops, taken by voluntary enlistment, and sta-
 in the neighbourhood of that city, declared that he had
 een a finer body of men, although he had often seen
 ards of his Britannic Majesty and the invincibles of
 on. The militia of these states, whenever they are
 led for the purpose of discipline, instead of spending
 me in eating and drinking, are very industriously em-
 in the proper business of the day.

iii, p. 80, "It (New-Haven) has a harbour for small
 g vessels."

harbour of New-Haven admits easily ships of three and
 ndred tons; and a number of the vessels owned in this
 ave *coasted* round the globe. Mr. Lambert arrived at
 Iaven about midnight, and left it the next morning. It
 strange that his account of it should be both defective
 oneous.

86. "Hartford contains about 10,000 inhabitants."

city of Hartford contained 3,955 inhabitants; the re-
 r of the township 2,048.

ii, p. 131, Mr. Lambert says, "Albany contains about
 nhabitants."

inhabitants of Albany, by the same census, amounted to
 and, including the little town of Colonie, separated
 only by an imaginary line, 10,962.

iii, p. 86. "Elders go about and forbid innkeepers to
 any person, at their peril, to travel (i. e. upon the
 a)."

ebody abused the confidence of Mr. Lambert. Such a
 presume, never took place in Connecticut. The ministers
 state have no authority over innkeepers, or any other
 s, except as ministers or parents, and are not accus-

tomed to meddle with business which is not their own. The sportive observations at the conclusion of this paragraph are therefore out of place.

Page 88. "It was only within these few years that the spring was discovered."

Fifty years since it was at least as much celebrated as at the present time.

Page 89. "Throughout the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New-York, a remarkably neat, and indeed elegant style of architecture and decoration seems to pervade all the buildings in the towns and villages, and, I understand, is more or less prevalent in the northern and middle states. The houses in the small towns and villages are mostly built of wood, generally one or two stories above the ground floor; the sides are neatly clap-boarded and painted white; the sloping roofs are covered with shingles, and painted of a slate colour, and with sash-windows, green Venetian shades outside, neat white railings, and steps, have a pretty effect. Sometimes the entrance is ornamented with a portico. The churches, or, as they are oftener termed, meetings, are constructed of similar materials, painted white, and frequently decorated like the houses, with sash-windows and green Venetian shades. The building is also surmounted by a handsome spire, or steeple, with one or two bells. A small town, composed of these neat and ornamental edifices, and situated in the neighbourhood of well cultivated farms, large fields, orchards, and gardens, produces a most agreeable effect, and gives the traveller a high opinion of the prosperity of the country, and of the wealth and happiness of its inhabitants. Indeed, those parts of the northern and middle states, through which I travelled, have the appearance of old, well-settled countries. The towns and villages are populous; provisions are cheap and abundant; the farms appear in excellent order; and the inhabitants sober, industrious, religious, and happy."

I wish this passage to be compared with the declarations of Volney and other travellers on this subject.

Page 94. "The inhabitants of Marlborough are nearly all congregationalists. This denomination of Christians practise a form of worship, that easily reconciles the Presbyterian and Episcopalian to meet in one church. It is in some sort a re-

laxed Presbyterian service. They have no written form of prayer; the service consisting of chapters of scripture, extemporary prayers, and a sermon, with psalms or hymns at intervals. The minister frequently reads his discourse as in the Episcopal churches; and organs are often put up in the meeting house. The prayers of those congregational ministers have been of that general and tolerant nature which embraces all sects and denominations of Christians; supplicating for the safety and welfare of all men, without respect of persons. Their discourses were generally of an evangelical cast, but devoid of all absolute tenets, dogmas, and denunciations. Faith was earnestly recommended, but the necessity of good works was strenuously enforced."

I hope these remarks will be admitted by Englishmen, and among others by your journalists, as proofs that the inhabitants, particularly the congregationalists, who constitute the great body of the inhabitants of New-England, are extensively destitute of that bigotry so liberally fastened upon them by former English travellers, and by a multitude of their countrymen. I hope, also, that it will be allowed to refute the imputations of intolerance, on these very people, by the Duke De La Rochefoucault; good natured and candid on every other subject, but always erroneous and sometimes perverse on that of religion. I hope, also that the declaration (page 86 of the same volume), "The people of Connecticut are distinguished by their industry and economy, strict piety and devotion," will contribute to diminish the number and the spirit of those aspersions, which have been so long multiplied on the moral character of the New-England people in Great Britain.

Page 98. "Through the whole of this journey of two hundred and forty miles, from New-York to Boston, I had passed over a most beautiful tract of country, which from the manners of its inhabitants, the excellent order and condition of its towns, villages, and buildings, its farms, orchards, gardens, pasture and meadow lands, together with the face of the country, undulated with mountains, hills, plains, and vallies, watered by a number of rivers, small lakes, and streams, afforded a variety of the most beautiful landscapes, and strongly reminded me of English scenery."

Compare this account with that of Volney, concerning the same tract of country.

Ibid. "Much has been said by former travellers of the familiarity and rudeness of the American people. I will not attempt to contradict their assertions; but for myself I must declare, in justice to the American character, that I experienced the utmost civility, and even politeness, from the inhabitants in every part of the country through which I travelled. The coachmen were civil and the tavern-keepers attentive; wherever I had occasion to mix with the country people, I never met with the least rudeness or shadow of impertinence on any occasion; on the contrary they were civil and obliging."

Compare this passage with the various reports of your travellers, particularly of Weld and Ashe, concerning this subject. Let them compare it with their own caricatures, and blush for the gross injustice, which, through prejudice and ignorance, or from a cause still more censurable, they have done to the inhabitants of this country.

How much happier, because more just, is the spirit of Mr. Lambert, than that of his predecessors.

Page 100. "Those travellers, who visited the United States soon after the Americans had obtained their independence, were swayed by their prejudices, for or against that country." And again, page 101. "If they (the English travellers) had been the dupes of a few knaves, the American people were branded as rogues; and the rudeness, imperfections, and chicanery of individuals were set down to the account of the whole nation. Sometimes they published their complaints to the world, and these, becoming current, have tended to increase that animosity and disgust, which the American revolution had engendered, and which were already too prevalent in England."

It is sufficient to have transcribed these declarations of Mr. Lambert. They are too just to admit of a doubt; and, to him who feels any regard to the subject, too important to be read without interest.

Page 105. "The females of the New-England states are conspicuous for their domestic virtues. Every thing in their houses has an air of cleanliness, order, and economy, that

ay the female character to the greatest advantage. The g women are really handsome. They have almost all complexions, often tinged with the rosy bloom of health. have generally good, and sometimes excellent teeth. did I see more instances to the contrary, among the g women of America, than are to be met with in Eng-

Their light hair is tastefully turned up behind in the urn style, and fastened with a comb. Their dress is neat, le, and genteel; usually consisting of a printed cotton st, with long sleeves, a petticoat of the same, with a co-d cotton apron, or pin-cloth, without sleeves, tied tight, covering the lower part of the bosom. This seemed to e prevailing dress in the country places. Their manners ay, affable, and polite; and free from all uncouth rus-. Indeed they appear to be as polished and well-bred e ladies in the cities; although they may not possess hightly-finished education. Yet, in the well-settled parts [ew-England, the children do not want for plain and use-struction; and the girls especially, are early initiated in principles of domestic order and economy. At the ns and farm-houses, where we rested on the road, we l the people extremely civil and attentive. We were ed with as much respect as if we had been at our own s; and the landlord, his wife, and daughters, waited on the most obliging manner. I do not mention this as a ry instance, it was general at every house where we ed; neither have I drawn my conclusions merely from eception I met with at taverns, and other places of e resort; but from my observations upon the people in ral, with whom I had frequent opportunities of mixing, her they belonged to the highest or the lowest orders e community. I believe it is generally allowed, that, for veller who wishes to make himself master of the real oter and disposition of a people, it is not sufficient that sociate only with the grandees of a nation; he must mix the plebeians; otherwise he acquires but false ideas of ountry and its inhabitants. 'The great mass of na-' says Dr. Johnson, 'are neither rich nor gay. They, e aggregate constitutes the people, are found in the

streets and villages, in the shops and farms, and from them, collectively considered, must the measure of general propriety be taken.' From these I have judged of the real character of the Americans; and I found it as difficult to discover a single particle of rudeness in the behaviour of the men, as it was to discover an ugly face or bad teeth among the young women."

This paragraph is so just, and at the same time so honourable to my fair country-women, that I was willing to transcribe it all. The women of New-England are very generally such as are here described; differing however, as you will suppose they must differ, according to their circumstances in life. As I have before given their character, I will not weary you by enlarging upon it here. In one particular Mr. Lambert has contravened my own belief. I had supposed that the teeth of the New-Englanders, particularly of the females, were less generally good than those of the English. Mr. Lambert has pronounced the fact to be otherwise, and is unquestionably much abler to make the comparison than I can pretend to be.

Page 112. "At the upper end of the park (in Boston) there is a stand of hackney coaches, superior in every respect to vehicles of that description in London. The horses and carriages of some of them are equal to the best glass coaches."

Thus an Englishman has found one thing in the United States, which is superior to the same thing in London. I hope this will be remembered.

Page 167. "An American writer, in reviewing Mr. Moore's 'Epistles, Odes, and other Poems,' descants with much truth and justice upon the false estimates which the English people, in particular, form of the American character.

"'All ranks of people in Britain,' says that writer, 'from the prince to the peasant, appear to be most profoundly ignorant of our situation, both individually and collectively. Not even the British statesmen form aught bearing the least resemblance to a correct notion of our actual condition; and the ambassadors sent out to America from Britain, instead of

searching into the character of the people, are more employed in tattling and gossiping at tea-parties and routs.'"

Observe, that Mr. Lambert, an Englishman, pronounces these observations of the American writer to be true and just; and therefore the English nation in particular, that is, more than other people, form false estimates of the American character. What is the sentence which Mr. Lambert thus pronounces to be just? It is no other than that all ranks of people in Britain, from the prince to the peasant, appear to be profoundly ignorant of our situation, both individually and collectively. And that not even the British statesmen, nor the British ambassadors, understand this subject. And what is the reason of this ignorance? Evidently they do not think the subject worth their investigation. I am satisfied that your ambassadors should, if they please, employ themselves more in tattling and gossiping at tea-parties and routs, than in earning the character, interests, and relations of the people among whom they reside, and to learn whose character and circumstances is an immediate and important part of their duty. Your statesmen also may, with my consent, be satisfied with the conduct of these functionaries; and, as they have already done in many instances, may hereafter send to the American States men, who, instead of promoting the interests of their own country or ours, will while away the period of their embassy in parade and pleasure. But I protest against the representations of any man who is profoundly ignorant of our character and situation, when he undertakes to describe either. Let him learn what we are, and what are our circumstances, or let him be silent concerning us. He who desperately ventures on falsehood, in cases where he is ignorant, is very little removed from him who utters it in direct contradiction to his own knowledge.

The observations which I have last quoted from Mr. Lambert's book, you will remark, are taken from an American writer, who reviewed Anacreon Moore's Epistles, Odes, and other Poems; and are followed by several strictures upon the allegations of this man, against the American character.

You will easily believe that every American, who has reputation or worth, must feel a mixture of indignation and contempt when he hears this pedlar of filthy rhymes say, that the

American character is made up of iniquity and baseness. Let him look at his own works, and observe how small a part of them is not employed for the sole purpose of corrupting mankind. How little of his time has he spent in any other business than that of a pander to licentiousness. He has talents which might have rendered him respectable, but he has only prostituted them. Nor will any felicity of numbers, style, or imagery, which his admirers may challenge for him, at all lessen the infamy which has already attached to his name, and which will adhere to it so long as it is remembered. If this profligate writer possessed any optics, which would enable him to look inward, the world would hear no more of his aspersions on others. His own baseness and pollution would occupy all his future thoughts; and the remainder of his life would be spent in confessions and tears.

Page 477. "They (the Vermontese) have often displayed their dexterity as horse-jockies in Canada, and exchanged their weak and ricketty pacers for the hardy Canadian horses."

Mr. Lambert mentioned this fact before in nearly the same language. The reader would suppose from it, that the inhabitants are generally employed as horse-jockies. The people of Vermont are employed in farming, and it is believed that few of them are horse-jockies. It would also be supposed from these declarations, that pacers abound in Vermont. In my various journies through this state I do not remember that I have seen even one. It is a great misfortune to New-England, at least, that this breed of horses is so nearly extinct. The Narrhaganset horse was undoubtedly the best for the saddle which we have ever known. The few which remain of that breed are purchased with extreme avidity, and usually at a very great price. Nothing better deserves the attention of the farmer than the restoration of these fine, sprightly, vigorous animals, to the possession of his countrymen.

Page 479. "I found in several instances, that the people of Vermont, and some other of the New-England states make use of many curious phrases, and quaint expressions." Again.

"Every thing which creates surprise is awful with them. 'What an awful wind,' &c." Again,

“ A variety of other quaint expressions are equally common, and have become favourite phrases, not only among the country people, but also among some of the American writers.”

A number of these quaint expressions are recited by Mr. Lambert in the sentences immediately following. They are those, with little variation, which have been repeated by every English traveller who has thought it proper to mention this subject. One would think, that even Englishmen must be wearied by the repetition.

The truth concerning this subject is, there are people in this country, as there are in all other countries, who use language imperfectly and improperly. Terms of exaggeration are common in the mouths of all men; and different terms are used at different periods by the same individual, and the same community; and at the same period by different individuals, and different parts, at least, of the same community. Thus the words, grand, capital, monstrous, awful, dreadful, terrible, wonderful, surprising, astonishing, amazing, devilish, damned, and many others, have had their place and their day; and some or other of them are in use in this country at the present time. A moderate number of ignorant people employ the term awful for this purpose; as a number, not very moderate, of your countrymen use the terms damned and devilish, with at least as much quaintness, and more turpitude. But Mr. Lambert may be assured, that, although he must from his birth be supposed to be infected with the English disease of finding fault with the language of Americans, yet, had he resided in New-England twelve months instead of twelve days, he would have found, that our language is less quaint, and less corrupted, than that of his own country. The reason is obvious. The people at large are much better educated; a fact which he himself recognizes in the 474th page of this volume.

Page 480. “ I could collect hundreds of others (colloquial barbarisms), equally absurd, which have been invented by Americans, who are desirous of introducing what they call an American language.”

There are probably two errors in this observation. One is, that there are no such inventions. Certainly there are very

few. I know but one man, a very respectable one indeed, who has made any attempts of this nature. The other is, that he could collect hundreds of these colloquial barbarisms, whether invented or uninvented.

There are several other errors of serious importance in this work. But not being possessed of the means of establishing the truth with respect to the several subjects, I shall omit them. Others still, of a subordinate nature, I have thought it unnecessary to mention. Upon the whole, Mr. Lambert's work is creditable to his understanding, accuracy, and diligence in obtaining information. And, what is much more honourable to himself, exhibits in a very advantageous manner his candour, justice, and integrity.

I am, Sir, &c.

LANGUAGE OF NEW-ENGLAND.

LETTER I.

The English Language in this Country pronounced more correctly than in England. Blunders in Language customary in London. Reasons why the People of New-England pronounce the English Language with propriety.

DEAR SIR;

AMONG the things for which the people of the United States, particularly of New-England, have been censured and ridiculed by your countrymen, our language, in a variety of respects, has come in for its share. We have been accused of an erroneous pronunciation; of retaining ancient words, which you have discarded; of annexing to others an unwarranted meaning; of coining new ones; and of thus contributing to render the language perplexed, unsettled, and imperfect. As I have never seen this subject examined, except on one side, I shall take the liberty to give you a few thoughts concerning it; and flatter myself that you will willingly accompany me through the investigation.

I shall not, I believe, offend against either truth or propriety if I say, that the English language is in this country pronounced more correctly than in England. I am not, indeed, sanguine enough to expect, that you will credit the assertion, nor that you will believe me to be a competent judge of the subject. Still I am satisfied that the assertion is true. That you may not mistake my meaning, I observe, that by a correct pronunciation I intend that of London; and, if you please, that of well-bred people in London. You may,

perhaps, be inclined to ask, how I can even know what this pronunciation is. I know it in two ways: from hearing a considerable number of Englishmen of this description converse extensively; and from information which enlightened Americans have given me concerning the subject, who have resided in London. In both ways my information has been so extensive, as to forbid every reasonable doubt, in my own mind, concerning its sufficiency.

When I say that the language is pronounced here more correctly than in England, I do not intend, that it is pronounced more correctly, or even as much so, as by some Englishmen; although in this respect I have good reason to believe the difference to be scarcely perceptible*. This I was taught before the revolutionary war, by an English gentleman, an inhabitant of London; who resided in New-Haven a considerable time, and who was several years in the service of the British government. Since that period I have been often told the same thing by respectable Englishmen, traveling or residing on this side of the Atlantic. I have also found the observation verified by the pronunciation of these very Englishmen, and of others.

My meaning is, that the inhabitants at large speak English with a nearer accordance to your standard of pronunciation, than the inhabitants of England. Of this the proof is complete. I have seen a dramatic performance, written in the West country dialect; the words being spelt according to the local pronunciation: of which I was scarcely able to understand a sentence. I have also seen a volume of poems, professedly written in the dialect of Yorkshire, in which, independently of some local phraseology, the distorted pronunciation required a glossary to explain the meaning of many sentences, even to an English reader. Now, sir, it is no exaggeration to say, that from Machias to St. Mary's, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, every American, descended from English ancestors, understands every other, as readily as if he had been bred in the same neighbourhood. I have

* Several American gentlemen have informed me, that respectable Englishmen, to whom they have been introduced, have taken it for granted, and even insisted, that they must have been either born or educated in England, because they spoke the language exactly like themselves.

continually and long had under my own instruction youths in almost all the American states, and am ordinarily unable to conjecture, from their pronunciation, the part of the country which gave them birth. There is nothing here which can be called, without an abuse of language, *dialectic*. This, it is believed, cannot be said of an equal number of people in any country of Europe. The differences of pronunciation, here, are of no moment, unless that of the vowel U deserves to be excepted.

Permit me to turn your attention to the pronunciation of London itself; and to the mistakes and abuses adopted, or rather inherited, by those who were born within the sound of Bow bells. You would scarcely be able, if you were to search every house in New-England, and glean the whole number of individual blunders, to make up such a list as Pegge, in his *Anecdotes of the English Language*, has given us of the errors which for ages have found a residence in your metropolis. I refresh your memory, as well as for some other reasons, I have set down a short catalogue of these elegant peculiarities.

Necessuated . . . for	Necessitated.
Unpossible	Impossible.
Least-wise	At least.
Aggravate	Irritate.
Conquest	Concourse.
Shay	Chaise.
Po-Shay	Post-Chaise.
Gownd	Gown.
Partender	Partner.
Bacheldor	Bachelor.
Obstropolous	Obstreperous.
Argufy	Signify.
Common Garden	Covent Garden.
Pee-aches	Piazzas.
Kiver	Cover.
Daater	Daughter.
Saace	Sauce.
Saacer	Saucer.
Saacy	Saucy.
Chimibly	Chimney.

Perdigious	Prodigious.
Progidy	Prodigy.
Contagious	Contiguous.
For fraid of	For fear of
Duberous	Dubious.
Musicianer	Musician.
Squits	Quits.
Pillord	Pillored.
Scrowge	Crowd.
Sqneedge	Squeeze.
Vemon	Venom.
Serment	Sermon.
Verment	Vermin.
Pallaratick	Paralytic.
Postes }	Posts.
Postesses }	
Sittiation	Situation.
Somewheres, Nowheres, &c.	Somewhere, Nowhere, &c.
Oftens	Often.
Mislest	Molest.
Scollard	Scholar.
Regiment	Regimen.
Howsomdever	However.
Whatsomdever	Whatever.
Commonality	Commonalty.
Properietor	Proprietor.
Non-plus'd	Non-plus'd.
Unbethought	Recollected.
Discommode	Incommode.
Paragraft	Paragraph.
Stagnated	Stagger'd.
Disgranted	Offended.
Ruinated	Ruin'd.
Solentary	Solitary.
Ingenuosly	Ingenuously.
Intoxicated	Intoxicated.
Perwent	Prevent.
Skirmidge	Skirmish.
Confiscated	Confiscated.
Refuge	Refuae.

Raddiges	Raddishes.
Rubbage	Rubbish.
Nisi Priis	Nisi Prius.
Taters	Potatoes.
Lovyer	Lover.
Pottecary	Apothecary.
Nyst	Nice.
Nyster	Nicer.
Closte	Close.
Closter	Closer.
Sinst	Since.
Wonst	Once.
Industerous	Industrious.
Sot	Sat.
Fragz	Fragments.
Moral	Model.
Jocosious }	Jocose.
Jecosious }	Jocose.
His'n	His.
Hern	Her's.
Ourn	Ours.
Yourn	Yours.
The t'other	The other.
Any hows.	
Some hows.	
No hows	
Nolus belus	Nolens volens.
Weal	Veal.
Winegar	Vinegar.
Vicked	Wicked.
Vig	Wig.

and the beautiful examples in the following dialogue between a citizen and his servant;—

Citizen. Villiam, I wants my vig.

Servant. Vich vig, Sir?

Citizen. Vy, the vite vig, in the vooden vig box, vich I v'e last Vednesday at the westry.

Neighbourwood Neighbourhood, &c.

I don't know nothing about it.

Worser Worse.

Lesser	Less.
More	worsen.
Most	agreeablest.
Knowd	{ Knew. Known.
See'd	{ Saw. Seen.
Mought	Might.
Axe	Ask.
Fetch a walk	Take a walk.
Faught a walk	Took a walk.
Fotch	Fetch.
Cotch cold	Caught cold.
Fit	Fought.
Shall us	Shall we.
Summons'd	Summon'd.
A dry, a hungry, a cold.	
Hisself	Himself.
Theirselves	Themselves.
This here	This.
That there	That, &c.
A few while	A little while.
Com'd	Came.
Went	Gone.
Gone with	Become of.
Went with	Became of.
He is gone dead	He is dead.
He went dead	He died*.

Of these ornaments of the English tongue, some are found among the ignorant people in this country. A great part

* In the next paragraph Mr. Pegge adds: —

“ These, Sir, and a few other such vulgarities (to use the London word), such *vitia sermonis*, are to be heard daily throughout the bills of mortality I readily admit; but then every body understands their meaning, and their language is not like the unintelligible gabble of nine-tenths of the provincial inhabitants of the remote parts of England, which none but the natives can understand; though I doubt not, but on close investigation, such language (as I hinted before) might be radically justified. Bring together two clowns from Kent and Yorkshire, and I will wager a ducat that they will not be able to converse for want of a dialect common to them both.”

must, I believe, be acknowledged to be exclusively the property of your metropolis. The former class will at least serve to keep our blunderers in countenance. The latter constitute a collection of improprieties, which far exceeds every thing known in New-England. I ought to add, that here mistakes of this nature belong only to individuals, and do not extend even over a single village; much less are they spread through a considerable tract of country. It will not be supposed, that uneducated men will be free from errors, either in the pronunciation or the use of language. But we have none, even among such men, so outrageous as these.

Among the reasons, which here contribute to a general propriety, both in the use and the pronunciation of language, the following are not without their influence.

A great multitude of the parochial schools are taught to a considerable extent by young men educated in colleges, and in this manner derive their pronunciation immediately from the common standard, in a good degree.

The great body of our people are regularly at church, and thus imbibe their pronunciation in a considerable degree from the clergy.

All those, who are liberally educated and polished, converse, as I have heretofore observed, more freely and universally with their plain neighbours than probably was ever done in any other country; and some persons of the former character are found in almost every village.

As there are here no distinct orders in society, all men endeavour to copy the manners of those who have acquired superior importance and reputation, and that in their pronunciation as well as in their dress and manners. To acquire this resemblance is an object of direct design and active ambition.

Our countrymen, as has been observed, read, and that in such numbers, that it may be justly said to be the general character. Hence they obtain the intelligence necessary to comprehend the importance of this object, and that attentive observation which secures the attainment.

Many of them, also, are, to a considerable extent, present at courts, and there acquire an additional conformity to the standard pronunciation. From these, and doubtless from other causes, some of which may have escaped my attention,

we have derived a pronunciation, probably more uniform than has ever prevailed in any other country in the world.

From an observation in the Eclectic Review, I am ready to believe, that the writer supposed the peculiarities of Mr. Webster's pronunciation to be generally adopted in this country. The opinion, if it exist, is erroneous. These peculiarities have spread very little. The friends of Mr. Webster, of whom I am one, regret that his learning and labours should be rendered less useful by his departure, in several instances, from the common standard.

I am, Sir, &c.

...
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LETTER II.
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The Inhabitants of this Country charged with retaining Obsolete Words; with introducing New Words; with annexing new Significations to Words. Alterations in Language less in this Country than in England, for the last two hundred Years. Vindication of this Conduct.

DEAR SIR;

WE are accused, also, of *retaining ancient words*, brought by our ancestors from their native country, and since that period left by the English out of their vocabulary. The charge, undoubtedly, is to some extent well-founded. That bodies of men, speaking originally the same language, should, when separated from each other to the distance of three thousand miles, retain, at the end of two centuries, precisely the same words, may, I think, be justly regarded as an absolute impossibility. Certainly no instance of this nature has been hitherto known: of course it ought not to have been expected here. Men always have such words as will express the ideas, which they have occasion to communicate to each other. Nothing is more natural than that we should retain some ideas, and have occasion to communicate them, which you have not retained. Both you and we unquestionably retain some part of the manners of our ancestors: but it is scarcely credible, that we should both retain exactly the same parts. About those, which we severally retain, we shall severally have occasion to converse; and each must have words, expressing the ideas out of which the conversation is made. These, so far as they were in the possession of our ancestors, we naturally retain. This you have done as well as we, and to a great an extent. Nay, I believe you have many more words,

which are not considered as classical by yourselves, than we have. The peculiarity in each case is natural and necessary; and he, who finds fault with it, must be either very thoughtless or very silly. An American, who reads such of your books as display the language and sentiments of humble life; such as plays, novels, and that excellent work, the *Religious Repository*; finds in them a great multitude of expressions, which certainly can plead nothing to justify them, except that they are idiomatic phraseology of ancient times. Many of them, at least, are absolutely without the classic pale; and are accordant with no existing grammatical rules. It is however sufficient for him, that they were the language of those who have gone before you. On what principles are you justified in retaining these words, which will not justify us in retaining ours?

But we are censured, also, for *making new words*. The charge is undoubtedly just. Wherever we find occasion for the use of words, and have them not, we, like you and all other nations, make them. In the state of Connecticut a number of men are chosen annually by each town, to receive from each inhabitant a list of the taxable property in his possession. This list is required by law, and is made up by the proprietor. The men, who receive it, are from their employment styled *Listers*. If the proprietor gives in a false list, he is punished by having the falsified article increased on the list four-fold. Englishmen on both sides of the Atlantic have no fondness for circumlocution. We therefore style this punishment *Four-folding*. These are terms, confined to this state: and, although sufficiently remote from elegance, yet serve to convey ideas of some importance in our state of society, which otherwise could not be conveyed without a periphrasis. A few others, local also, may be found in other parts of our country; and a small number have had a more extensive currency. Among these, *immigrate*, *immigration*, and *immigrant*, hold a conspicuous place. The stream of population flows *out* of Great Britain; but a part of it flows *into* the United States. You, therefore, have no use for these words; but we have at least as much as you have for *emigrate*, and its derivatives. Why then should we not use them, rather than be driven to a tedious periphrasis every time

we have occasion to communicate the ideas, denoted by these terms? In Great Britain there are few or no alluvial lands: so few at least, that the most respectable of geographers, Major Rennell, has thought it proper in the Memoir, accompanying his Map of Hindoostan, to describe those, which are formed by the Ganges, and the manner in which they are formed. I know not that you have any single word to denote them. Here, as you will easily perceive by these Letters, they are objects of considerable importance; and hence have naturally received a name. In New-England they are called *intervals*; denoting the land, lying between the original bank, and the stream, to whose waters they owe their existence. This word, derived from our ancestors, we retain, and find it useful. *Freshet* is found in Johnson, who defines it to be a pool of fresh water, and quotes Milton as his authority. It is also found in Ainsworth, who says, "It is the water of the ocean, destitute of salt, near the mouth of a river." I presume he meant the water of the river immediately above the limit, where it begins to mix with the water of the ocean. This definition coincides with the ancient use of the term *Freshes*. Freshet, as used here, denotes a considerable addition, made to the waters of the river by melted snow or rain. In this sense it was used by Sir Ferdinando Gorges in the middle of the seventeenth century. Here these accumulations of water are interesting objects; particularly in the spring. At that season, as has been before observed in these Letters, the rivers of this country, particularly the Connecticut, overflow the intervals on their borders to a great extent; and rise sometimes to the height of twenty-five feet above their common level. A fact occurring so often and so regularly, becomes, of course, a frequent theme of communication among the inhabitants, and needs a single word to express it. The word *grade* was probably adopted from feelings and circumstances purely republican. If I mistake not, it sprang up during the revolution. At that period there was a strong disrelish to every thing which savoured of nobility. *Rank*, though originally a harmless term, was, you know, long before employed extensively, to designate this object of republican dislike; and therefore became naturally offensive to an American ear. Still, as some men will ever be superior to others;

as officers in an army particular, even in one which is republican, must be distinguished in this manner; it became necessary to adopt a term, by which this distinction might be expressed, and we enabled to converse about it without a circumlocution. No word more naturally offered itself in this dilemma than the word *grade*. Accordingly it met with a welcome reception; and has ever since occupied a place of no contemptible importance in our vocabulary*.

The verb *progress* can plead nothing more in its own favour, so far as my knowledge extends, than that it is more concise than the phrase, for which it is substituted.

Universally, we make words just as you do, whenever we think they are wanted; and in the same manner mankind have always acted, since they began to speak. The whole number of those, which have been coined here, falls much short of a single column in an octavo dictionary.

Among the words, to which we are considered *as annexing unwarranted significations*, *improve* undoubtedly claims the first place. For this the people of New-England have been laughed at by Dr. Franklin, kindly admonished by Dr. Witherspoon, and severely censured by many others. The unwarranted meaning, which we annex to it, is that of *use, employ*. Thus we say, *improve our time; improve our privileges; improve an estate, a house, a field, &c.* Those who censure us contend, that the only proper meaning of the word is either to meliorate, when a transitive verb; or, when an intransitive, to become better. Unfortunately, however, for all these critics, the original word *improve*, which has been transferred to our own language, is to *use, to employ*. Unfortunately, also, Englishmen have always used the word in the very same sense in which it has been used by us. Says Dr. Watts,

“Our souls would learn the heavenly art,
To *improve* the hours we have.”

“Which is a hint,” says Addison, “which I do not remember

* “The prospects of the soldiery were to revel again in the plunder of other countries, and to gain military promotion through war; they thought only of rising above their respective *grades*.”—Speech of Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons, Friday, April 28, in the debate on the war with France.

to have seen opened and *improved* by others, who have written on this subject."

"I shall now conclude," says Dr. Witherspoon, "by *improving* this subject for the purpose of self-examination."

The practical remarks or inferences, with which sermons are usually concluded, are, to a great extent, by your divines called the *improvement* of a sermon.

The practical use made by Doddridge, in his Family Expositor, of each of those sections into which he divides the New Testament, is regularly called by him the *improvement*.

I need not tell you, that, in the instances here quoted, the idea of melioration, or amendment, is incapable of being annexed either to the verb or the noun, and that *to use* or *employ* would be perfectly tautologous with the verb, and the corresponding substantives with the noun.

There are other words of a similar nature, involved in the same accusation, and for the use of them the same reasons may be given. There are very few of them, however, which may not be found, and found used in the same sense, in English writers. On hardly any subject has more silly pedantry been displayed than on this, or coarser and more ludicrous mistakes been made. We have retained very few words, which you have not. Fewer still have been coined, and to still fewer have we annexed any new meanings.

Let us now examine the other side of this subject. How many new words, do you believe, have been introduced into the language by your own countrymen since the colonization of New-England? Look at the writings of your travellers, and mark their numerous gleanings from the French and Italian; and those, too, given out in books intended to be universally read. I allude not here to technical words, though even among these there are many unnecessary terms inserted in their productions. I refer to words customarily used even in familiar conversation; and to those, which have words exactly correspondent in our own tongue. I refer to words, which are apparently introduced by these writers, and many others, merely to let the world know, that they understand French and Italian. How many of these words have become already established in our own language, and how many more are advancing towards the same naturalization. Surely this

right of innovation is not secured to you by an exclusive patent. I know you will claim the authority and the privileges of a parent. But permit me to ask, is our nonage to exist for ever? You have ten millions of people: we have eight. How soon will our numbers exceed yours; and that in a very formidable proportion. You have more learning and more science than we, and you write better. Admit it. How long think you will this be said with truth? The period is not distant, at least as we believe, when we shall be your rivals; and when, in spite of our lakes and marshes; of the recent settlement of this continent, and of the general inundation which it experienced since the deluge of Noah, and which kept it covered for so long a time; in spite of the malignancy of the climate; the want of matter; the want of tails on several species of animals; the sterility of the soil; the multitude of the insects; the defectiveness of the quadrupeds; the contempt of the Quarterly and the sneers of the Edinburgh Reviewers; we are fast advancing towards wealth and power, towards intellectual, and I hope towards moral and religious distinction. If God will continue to give us his blessing, as it has been heretofore given, I have no fear concerning our success in all these interesting particulars. We shall then, at least, have a language, which will be understood here, and will probably answer all the necessary purposes of communication. I hope it will have sufficient force and elegance to satisfy all the reasonable demands of those by whom it will be spoken.

Think not that I am willing to see the language of this country vary from that of Great Britain. There are many reasons for which I should regret so untoward an event. It is "the tongue wherein" I and my countrymen, no less than you and yours, "were born," and to which our attachment is probably little, if at all, inferior to yours. The books, already written in this language, contain more learning, science, and wisdom than those in any other; and the probability is strong, that such as will hereafter be written will add materially to this accumulation of treasure. It is the language of our Bible. It is the language of our laws. It is already established to a considerable extent in the four quarters of the globe, in New-Holland, and in a great multitude of islands of

inferior size. The two nations which speak it, appear, hitherto, to be more interested in spreading the religion of the Gospel through the world than any other; and their common language furnishes them many facilities towards the execution of this glorious purpose. With this mighty advantage in their hands, it is difficult to conceive how far the energy of these nations, directed to the most benevolent of all objects, may proceed; or what is the boundary, at which it may be truly said to them, "Hitherto shall ye come, but no further."

But there is no reason to expect such a disaster. In the ordinary course of things, centuries must pass away before any very material change of this nature can take place. That we ought to make words, to express such ideas as we have occasion to communicate, and as cannot be conveniently communicated by any terms at present in the language, there cannot be a doubt in the mind of any person, who is a competent judge of this subject. All mankind have invariably supplied themselves with words in every such case. It would be idle to expect in us, or in any other people, a departure from this course. It is a law of our nature; and absolutely necessary to the intercourse of intelligent, and to some extent even of savage, society. Climate, soil, and other local circumstances, present many objects to one nation, which are not known by another. Minerals, vegetables, and animals; the revolution of the seasons, nay even the state of the weather, furnish almost every nation more or less with ideas, which are peculiar. Arts, commerce, manners, government, religion, and all other objects, about which the mind is voluntary, and with respect to which it is continually forming new ideas by its power to compound, abstract, and compare, furnish very many more. To communicate many of these will be felt to be indispensable; and, wherever terms are wanting to express them, new ones will regularly be made. Circumlocutory phraseology will rarely be felt satisfactorily to answer the purpose.

A variety of things in our climate, soil, and other local circumstances, in our minerals, vegetables, and animals, differ materially from the same things in Great Britain. These things, generally, must have names. Wherever existing words, without too violent a deflection, can be employed as

names for them, they will be adopted. But there are cases, where no such words can be found; and in these new ones will be made. Much more extensively applicable are these observations to ideas, framed by the mind, and derived from the state and business of society. These, being in every advanced state of civilization very numerous, require many new names to express them; and, wherever the ideas are to be communicated to others, such names will be found. Nothing but ignorance, or inadvertency, can permit any man to believe, that the people of the United States will not act in this case, just as all other people have acted; particularly as the British nation has always acted. Within a century and a half, you have introduced into the English language one-third, perhaps, of its vocabulary. Why, when our necessity or convenience, or, to use a single term, when our exigencies require it, should we not be expected to do just what you and all other nations have done? Why should it be an object of surprise, that we have thus done? The copiousness of the English language, however, is such, that a long time will probably elapse, before new-coined words will be very numerous, on either side of the Atlantic. I have never discovered any inclination to multiply them, here; and I observe a general jealousy among your philologists, which cannot but check any propensities of this nature in Great Britain. A large proportion of the books, which are either studied or read here, are printed on your side of the Atlantic; and every writer in the United States must, in order to acquire the reputation of writing well, conform in a good degree to the standard, established by the English classics. Our state of society also, though in many respects differing from yours, as every thinking man must preconceive, is yet in many more substantially the same. Our laws, religion, and very many of our customs, are more like yours than those of any two nations ever were. Hence, from this copious source of change in languages comparatively few alterations will for a long time be derived. I have often wondered, that so many British writers, and among them several, who would hear their claim to talents questioned with very little patience, should censure the people of this country for innovations of this nature. The considerations, here suggested, furnish not our excuse, nor our justification,

for the case requires neither; but unanswerable proof, that the conduct is a thing of course, and inwoven with the very nature and circumstances of man; that we have acted as all other nations have acted in the like circumstances, and as every man, acquainted with the subject, would expect us to act.

On the same grounds we have retained some words in the language, which are lost out of your current vocabulary. We found use for these words; you did not.

The surprise, expressed by your writers at these facts, their censures, their ridicule, are all groundless. To expect the contrary conduct on our part would have been an absurdity. To demand it would be to demand what never existed, and what in the very nature of things is impossible.

I am, Sir, &c.

LEARNING, MORALS, &c.

OF

NEW-ENGLAND.

LETTER I.

Schools. System of Connecticut. Schools of New-England. Effects of this Education on the People at large. Honourable Roger Sherman.

DEAR SIR;

THE state of learning and science, or generally of information, in every country where these objects are pursued at all, cannot fail to engage the attention of an enlightened and inquisitive mind. To know this, its causes, and its consequences, is to know something in the history of man, which, while it awakens our sympathies, expands our views, and enables us in some respects to form juster opinions concerning our own state of society, and concerning the general character of our race. Since the American revolution, it has extensively become a custom among writers in Great Britain, who either find or make a reason for speaking of the subject at all, to treat the character of the Americans with severity and contempt. The story told there has been echoed here; and there have not been wanting natives of this country, who, having learned by rote the observations, and especially the sneers, uttered on the eastern side of the Atlantic concerning their countrymen, have repeated them with not a little self-complacency. These men have probably felt, as critics concerning the writer whom they are censuring, that to censure involves of course a superiority to those who are the objects of their censure; and that, therefore, while they are condemning others in the gross, they are elevating their own

character to distinction and consequence. I give these men very little credit for their labours, or for the spirit by which they are dictated. Nor am I satisfied with the kindred efforts, which are made in Great Britain. Generally they have exhibited very little of truth or justice, and still less of candour or moderation. For sneers or sarcasms I have no great respect; and these are the principal weapons which have hitherto been used in this warfare.

A stranger, travelling through New-England, marks with not a little surprise the multitude of school-houses, appearing everywhere at little distances. Familiarized as I am to the sight, they have excited no small interest in my mind; particularly as I was travelling through the settlements recently begun. Here, while the inhabitants were still living in log-huts, they had not only erected school-houses for their children, but had built them in a neat style; so as to throw an additional appearance of deformity over their own clumsy habitations. This attachment to education in New-England is universal; and the situation of that hamlet must be bad indeed, which, if it contain a sufficient number of children for a school, does not provide the necessary accommodations. In 1803, I found neat school-houses in Colebrook and Stewart, bordering on the Canadian line.

The general spirit and scheme, by which the education given in parochial schools (for such I shall call them) is regulated throughout the New-England states, are substantially the same. It will be sufficient, therefore, to give a particular account of the system pursued in Connecticut.

The state of Connecticut is by law divided into school societies. These societies are empowered to divide themselves into as many school districts as their convenience may require. They are also empowered, in each case, to form school districts, by uniting parts of two neighbouring school societies, as they shall mutually judge convenient. In this manner the whole state is divided.

The districts have severally power to build school-houses, and to purchase grounds on which to erect them; to repair them, and to tax themselves for the expense; to appoint a clerk to record their proceedings, a collector of taxes, and a treasurer.

For the support of the schools, the state pays out of the treasury, annually, the sum of two dollars upon every thousand dollars in the list of each school society, to its committee, for the benefit of the schools within its limits. It also pays to these societies, half yearly, the interest arising from the school fund. To form this fund, the state sold part of a tract, called "the Connecticut Reserve;" lying on the southern border of Lake Erie, within the present state of Ohio. The principal sum, arising from this source, was, in the treasury books, in May, 1812, 1,341,989 dollars*. At the same time, the first of these payments amounted to 12,924 dollars. But, in order to entitle a school society to these sums, their committee must certify, that the schools in said society have been kept for the year preceding in all respects according to the directions of the statute regulating schools; and that all the monies, drawn from the public treasury for this purpose, have been faithfully applied and expended in paying and boarding instructors.

If these monies are misapplied, they are forfeited to the state. If the committee make a false certificate, they forfeit sixty dollars. These committees are also empowered to take care of all property, belonging to their respective school societies, and to dispose of it for the benefit of such schools, according to the true intent of the grant or sequestration, from which the money is derived; unless where either the grantor or the legislature has determined, that such grant or sequestration shall be under the management of persons, acting in continual succession.

All the public monies, intended for the benefit of any school society, are to be paid into the hands of its treasurer.

Each school society is to appoint suitable persons, not exceeding nine, to be overseers or visitors of all the schools within their limits. It is the duty of the overseers to examine the instructors; to displace such as may be found deficient, or will not conform to their regulations; to superintend and direct the instruction of the children in religion, morals, and manners; to appoint public exercises for them;

* The amount of the school fund, in May, 1821, was 1,700,000 dollars.—*Pub.*

to visit the schools twice, at least, during each season; particularly to direct the daily reading of the Bible by such children as are capable of it, and their weekly instruction in some approved catechism; and to recommend, that the master conclude the exercises of each day with prayer.

Any school society is also empowered by a vote of two-thirds of the inhabitants, present in any legal meeting, warned for that purpose, to institute a school of a higher order for the common benefit of the society; in which all the children, whose parents wish it, are to be advanced in branches or degrees of learning, not attainable in the parochial schools.

If any school district within a school society expend less than its proportion of these public monies in supporting its school or schools, the surplus shall be paid over to such districts as have in their school expenses exceeded the sums distributed to them.

Such is a summary account of the system, by which the public schools in Connecticut are regulated. By the public schools, I intend those, which receive benefactions immediately from the state, whether parochial or of a higher class. I think you will agree with me, that provision, very honourable to the state, is here made for their existence everywhere; for the buildings, in which they are to be kept; for the mode of education to be pursued in them; for the establishment of good instructors; for the faithful discharge of their duty in promoting the learning, religion, morals, and manners of the children, and universally, for whatever is necessary in institutions of this nature. Committees are by law appointed, and made accountable for carrying into execution the benevolent designs of the legislature; and visitors are constituted with ample power to compel the performance. A motive, also, is presented of more efficacy than almost any other to induce the inhabitants of every school society and district to see, that every part of these designs shall be faithfully accomplished; *viz.* the sum, which they are to receive, if the committee certify to the treasurer or comptroller, that all these duties have been performed according to law, or to lose whenever such certificate cannot be given. Should a false certificate be given, the penalty incurred is sufficiently heavy to

prevent the crime from being repeated; especially as the committee can have no personal interest of sufficient magnitude to balance the inconvenience.

Accordingly, the schools are everywhere in existence, and are everywhere managed with a good degree of propriety.

Two things, only, seem to be wanting to render the system complete. One is the establishment of the same scheme of education throughout the state; the other is the institution of a board of commissioners, one in each county, whose business it shall be to examine into the actual state of the schools in their respective circuits, and who should meet semi-annually at Hartford and New-Haven, to receive the reports of the respective committees, compare them with the result of their own inspection, and make a general report to the legislature. The former of these, by making the scheme of instruction an object of public attention, would secure to us the best system, and the latter would assure us of its complete execution.

I have now given you a summary view of the schools in Connecticut. With little variation of figure, light, or shade, it will serve as a portrait, sufficiently exact in this respect, of New-England at large, the state of Rhode-Island excepted. In Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Vermont, schools are everywhere established. They are often styled parochial schools. You will not suppose that each parish has a school, distinguished by this title; but that each parish has a sufficient number of schools to admit all the children which it contains. To these little seminaries the children of New-England are universally sent, from two, three, four, and five years of age, to the period in which they have learned to read, write, and keep accounts. In many of them, other instructions are added, according to the skill and disposition of the instructors, and the wishes of the parents. At the earliest periods, children of both sexes are placed under the direction of female teachers, and, at more advanced stages of their education, under that of men. I speak of the common schools only. It ought to be observed, that throughout a considerable part of the country, the female pupils, whether placed under the instruction of men or women, are sent to separate schools.

It has not often happened to mankind, that their children have, in mass, been taught to read and write. In Switzerland

and in Scotland this privilege has been extensively enjoyed, and in a subordinate degree in several other countries. In New-England, with the exception made above, it may be said to be absolutely enjoyed; although a solitary individual may here and there be found, who has not availed himself of the privilege, and who is regularly viewed by those around him with a mixture of wonder and pity.

Goldsmith says, "Of all professions in society, I do not know a more useful or more honourable one than (that of) a schoolmaster; at the same time I don't see any more generally despised, or men whose talents are so ill rewarded." Goldsmith was a native of Ireland, and when he wrote this had long been an inhabitant of England. So far, therefore, as he is to be credited, in a case with respect to which he could hardly mistake, schoolmasters must have been little esteemed and ill rewarded in these countries. Happily, as well as justly, this observation is not true in New-England. A schoolmaster here adds to his reputation, instead of lessening it, by keeping a school, if he performs his duty well, and acquires more weight in society than he possessed before. The reward, also, for this useful service to mankind, is certainly decent, to say the least. Twenty dollars a month, and board, including washing and lodging, amounting in the whole to three hundred and forty dollars a year, is frequently the stipend, which a young man receives for keeping a parochial school.

The effects of this part of the New-England manners are of the happiest nature. By this instruction, all persons here find free access to the Bible, and to many other sources of knowledge. Intellectual improvement is in some degree extended to all. Nor is the number of persons small, who, availing themselves of this education in early life, have, without any other advantages than such as their own industry and habits of inquiry furnished them, acquired a considerable share of information; particularly of that practical knowledge, which more than any other makes men useful members of society. Many such men, beside filling useful public offices of inferior distinction, and performing a great variety of that important business, which under many forms and many names exists in every society of civilized men, and is indispensable to general as well as personal happiness, have become magistrates, legis-

lators, physicians, lawyers, and sometimes divines, and through life have sustained useful as well as honourable characters. Nay, such men have been found in several instances on the highest bench of justice, and in the most dignified seats of legislation. You are not, however, to suppose, that they have arrived at these offices by a mere fortunate concurrence of circumstances, by the public courtesy, or by the arts of a demagogue. Here, the public courtesy has usually been a mere tribute of respect to acknowledged worth. The men in question have generally been well qualified for their employments, and have passed through them with reputation.

The late Honourable Roger Sherman was, in early life, unpossessed of any other education than that which is furnished by a parochial school. By his personal industry he supported, while a young man, the family left by his father, and provided the means of a liberal education for two of his brothers. By his original strength of mind, and his attachment to books of real use, he qualified himself to hold, and with an uncommon degree of public esteem actually held, the successive offices of county surveyor, justice of the peace, judge of the court of common pleas, judge of the superior court, representative in the state legislature, councillor, member of the old congress, and representative and senator in the new congress. In these offices he acquired, and deservedly, the highest respect, not only of the people of Connecticut, but also of the first citizens in other states throughout the Union. This gentleman, who went to the grave with unabated honour, and to whose memory I pay this tribute with peculiar satisfaction, was, what very few men unacquainted with the learned languages are, accurately skilled in the grammar of his own language. At the same time he was an able mathematician and natural philosopher; extensively versed in the history of mankind; and a profound logician, statesman, lawyer, and theologian. His character was completed by exemplary integrity, uprightness, and piety. Of how few men can all this be said with truth?

The general remarks, which I have made on this subject, will not be sufficiently explained by a recurrence to mere native strength of mind. There are, unquestionably, in every country, men, whose intellectual capacity and vigour raise them from the common level to eminence and honour; and

those, who are very great, must undoubtedly have possessed great endowments. But these are too rare to satisfy our inquiries in the present case. A considerable part of the distinction, found here, is derived from a combination of advantages and efforts. The advantages, to which I refer, are such as these. Public offices are open to every man. At the same time, an unusual spirit of inquiry pervades all classes of men in this country. In consequence of these facts, the most powerful motives to exertion are continually held out to those whose dispositions prompt them to exertion. In such a state of things a greater number of persons will be affected, and more powerfully affected, by these motives than in any other.

The influence of this general diffusion of knowledge is unquestionably happy. There is no department, and no concern of life, to which it does not extend. Even the private, neighbourly visit among the common people is materially affected and sensibly coloured by it, and is accordingly more rational, enlightened, and pleasant than it is believed to be in most other countries. Conversation is here carried on with a respectable degree of good sense, a variety of information, and often with wit, humour, and brilliancy. Minds may, without exaggeration, be said to mingle in it, and with each other. Nor will men of superior knowledge, unless possessed of a fastidious taste and character, fail either of entertainment or instruction in their intercourse with the substantial farmers and mechanics of New-England.

In a republic, particularly in those of this country, a great proportion of the business, which is termed public, is managed by the people at large. The complicated affairs of school districts, parishes, townships, and counties, demand a considerable share of intelligence, and the agency of a great number of persons. The debates of a town-meeting not unfrequently affect the interests of the inhabitants in a degree, at least as intimate, and often as important, as most of those which are carried on in the legislature; and the office of the select-man is in many respects more closely interwoven with their happiness than that of the magistrate. The extensive powers, entrusted to these men, and the subjects suspended on the decisions of town meetings, I have mentioned in former Letters. I have also observed, heretofore, that probably

three-fourths of all the male inhabitants in the state of Connecticut sustain, in the course of life, some public office or other. To such a state of society, extensively found in New-England at large, this general diffusion of knowledge seems indispensable. All these departments require some, and many of them much thought, good sense, and information. Unless, therefore, knowledge were generally extended, they could not be usefully filled.

Nor is the importance of this fact less real, though perhaps less thought of in the church. A clergyman, here, addresses an assembly, almost all the adult members of which understand, with a good degree of precision, the language which he uses, the doctrines which he teaches, and the illustrations which he employs, that is, if he preaches as he ought to preach. Sound and sensible discourses may here be delivered with a rational assurance, that they will be well understood; and what may be called the elementary part of a preacher's instructions may be safely considered as having been already acquired from other sources. In consequence of this state of things, the churches, in most of the ancient settlements of New-England, are more firmly established, and less liable to be "blown about by every wind of doctrine," than those of many other countries. Among people, possessing a good share of information, religious novelties operate with less fascination, and are more reluctantly received than among those who are ignorant. In a word, knowledge here gives, and in a more desirable manner, a good degree of that stability, which is elsewhere produced by energy in the government.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Academies in New-England. Colleges. State of these Institutions in 1812. Law and Theological Seminaries. Medical, Historical, and Philosophical Societies. Social Libraries.

DEAR SIR ;

YOU may perhaps remember, that in the account which I gave you concerning the establishment of schools in Connecticut, provision is made in the law, which creates the system, for the institution of schools of a higher class than those which are parochial, or of such as in this country are generally styled academies. The knowledge, taught in these schools, is undefined by any general system, and comprehends as much, and as little, of languages, arts, and sciences, as the trustees of each think it proper from time to time to prescribe. In this respect many of them are undoubtedly imperfect, and do not, so well as they easily might, direct the education which they profess to communicate. A wise and well-constructed scheme of education is certainly a desideratum in these seminaries, and might contribute not a little to spread knowledge in a more perfect form, and to a greater extent. There is not, indeed, a very great difference in the objects aimed at, or in the modes pursued. The law commits the inspection of these schools in Connecticut to a number of visitors, annually chosen by those for whom they act, but attempts not to control any other schools besides those which are constituted by itself. The provision of the law is insufficient; but whether a substitute will be provided within any moderate period, which will remedy its defects, is uncertain.

You are not, however, to suppose, that these schools are not very useful seminaries. They are generally filled with students, and are directed by instructors, respectably qualified

for their business. Under this direction a great number of youths are continually employed in obtaining an education in branches of knowledge not communicated in the parochial schools. Here they are qualified for their entrance into colleges. At the same time they are furnished with the necessary means of qualifying themselves for other business, which demands an education considerably enlarged. Thus the country possesses itself of talents, which would otherwise sleep in obscurity; and is enabled to see its affairs prosperously managed in several departments, which, if not of the highest consequence, are yet perhaps more interesting to its welfare than most of those which are. Here they become intelligent surveyors, navigators, happily prepared for commercial apprenticeships, and fitted for the whole routine of human business, which demands a middle education between that of the parochial school and that of the college.

Of these schools there are more than twenty in the state of Connecticut. The exact number I do not know. About ten or twelve of them may be incorporated. Seven or eight are sustained by funds. Some have sprung from the combined exertions of numbers, and some from the efforts of individuals. Of those, which have funds, the principal are Bacon academy at Colchester, amply endowed by a Mr. Bacon, one of its inhabitants; the Episcopal academy at Cheshire; the Hopkins grammar school at Hartford; and the Staples academy at Weston.

In Massachusetts there are forty-eight of these schools, all incorporated, and most, if not all of them, endowed to some extent by the state. The principal of these is Philips's academy at Andover. Two of those in Connecticut, and three in Massachusetts, are exclusively female seminaries. Some others admit children of both sexes.

Of the academies in Massachusetts the district of Maine has its full proportional share.

In New-Hampshire the number of schools, which may with propriety be placed on this list, is thirteen. The principal of these is Philips's academy at Exeter, formerly described in these Letters.

The number of these schools in Vermont is twelve, all of which are incorporated.

I have heretofore observed, that there are eight colleges in New-England.

Harvard college, now styled the university in Cambridge.

Yale college, at New-Haven in Connecticut.

Dartmouth college, at Hanover in New-Hampshire.

Brown university, at Providence, Rhode-Island.

Williams college, at Williamstown, Massachusetts.

The university of Vermont, at Burlington in that state.

Middlebury college, at Middlebury in the same state; and

Bowdoin college, at Brunswick in the district of Maine.

You observe, that some of these seminaries are styled universities, and some of them colleges. You will not from this suppose, that the name university indicates any superior importance, or any more extensive scheme of education. The university at Cambridge is, in some respects, the most considerable; and in every respect the university of Vermont is the least of all these literary establishments.

The state of these institutions, in the year 1812, was the following:—

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

A president; seven professors academical; seven professors medical; three tutors; a librarian; a regent; a proctor; an instructor in the French language.

The academical professors are—of theology; of logic, metaphysics, and ethics; of rhetoric and oratory; of the Hebrew, other Oriental, and English languages; of Latin; of mathematics, and natural philosophy; of Greek; and of natural history.

The three tutors teach—the senior tutor, geography, geometry, natural philosophy, and astronomy; the second, Greek; and the third, Latin.

Of the medical professorships—the first is of anatomy and surgery; the second, of the theory and practice of medicine; the third, of chemistry and the materia medica; and the fourth, of clinical medicine.

The two remaining ones are assistants, or adjuncts, to that of anatomy and surgery, and that of chemistry and the materia medica.

The number of students the same year was 281.

YALE COLLEGE.

A president; five professorships academical; and three medical.

The academical professorships are—of theology; of law, natural and political; of mathematics and natural philosophy; of chemistry and mineralogy; and of languages and ecclesiastical history.

The medical are—of anatomy and surgery; of the theory and practice of physic; and of the materia medica and botany.

Here also is one professorship adjunct.

Six tutors. The particular provinces of these instructors have been sufficiently explained in the account given of this seminary.

The number of students was 313.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

A president; five professorships academical; one medical; and two tutors.

The academical professorships are—of theology; of civil and ecclesiastical history; of mathematics and natural philosophy; of languages; and of chemistry.

The medical professorship is of medicine.

The number of students was about 150.

The number of medical students exceeded 50*.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, IN 1811.

A chancellor; a president; three professorships academical; and two medical.

The academical professorships are—of law; of moral philosophy and metaphysics; and of chemistry.

The medical professorships are—of anatomy and surgery; and of the materia medica and botany.

* By the catalogue of 1821, the number of students in Dartmouth college was—

Under Graduates	157
Resident Ditto	8
Medical Students	65

Two tutors, and a preceptor of a grammar school, connected with the university.

The number of students was 128.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

A president; a vice president; a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; two tutors.

The number of students was 95.

MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE, 1812.

A president; three academical professors.

One of law; one of mathematics and natural philosophy; one of languages; two tutors.

The number of students was 113.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.

A president; a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy; a professor of the learned languages; a medical professor.

There are also four other professorships on paper.

The number of students supposed to be from 30 to 40.

The means of medical instruction in New-England will be seen sufficiently in this account of its seminaries.

The law school, heretofore mentioned in the description of Litchfield, as being under the instruction of Judge Reeve, and James Gould, Esq., would not, it is believed, do discredit to any country. Law is here taught as a science, and not merely nor principally as a mechanical business; not as a collection of loose, independent fragments, but as a regular, well-compacted system. At the same time the students are taught the practice by being actually employed in it. A court is constituted; actions are brought and conducted through a regular process; questions are raised; and the students become advocates in form.

Students resort to this school from every part of the American Union. The number of them is usually about 40.

Every theological professor in these seminaries is destined to instruct such students as apply to him in the science of theology. But the theological seminary at Andover has

already engrossed most of the young men in New-England, designed for the desk. Three professors, one of theology, one of sacred literature, and one of sacred rhetoric, are already established here; and two or three more will probably be added to their number within a short time*. Fifty students may be considered as the average number for three years past†. As this seminary is richly endowed, and as the gentlemen employed in its instruction are pursuing their business with spirit and vigour, there are the best reasons to believe, that it will hold a high rank among institutions of the same nature.

There are, also, in New-England the following medical societies:—

The Massachusetts' Medical Society.

The Connecticut Medical Society.

The New-Hampshire Medical Society.

The objects of these institutions are to unite the gentlemen of the faculty in friendship, and in one common pursuit of medical science; to discourage by their united influence empiricism in every form; to furnish a centre of correspondence for the reception and publication of medical discoveries; and, universally, to elevate and improve the art of healing.

A historical society was formed at Boston, in the year 1791, and incorporated in the year 1794, by the name of the Massachusetts' Historical Society. The object of this institution is to collect and publish whatever authentic documents may illustrate the past and present state of this country. Twelve volumes of its collections for this purpose have been already published; which in a very honourable manner prove the utility of the design.

An agricultural society has been formed in Connecticut, and another in Massachusetts. A small collection of papers, published by each, has been favourably received‡.

There are, also, two philosophical societies in New-England. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Massachusetts, which holds its sittings at Boston; and the Con-

* A professorship of ecclesiastical history was added in 1819.—*Pub.*
 † 1812. Now (1820) they exceed 100.—*Pub.*

‡ Many agricultural societies have been established in New-England during the last three years (1820).—*Pub.*

necticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, which meets in New-Haven. The latter was incorporated in the year 1800. The American Academy has published three volumes. The Connecticut Academy has completed one volume of Memoirs, and also has begun the publication of a statistical account of the state. Both of these institutions are, it is believed, advancing.

I have here given you a summary, and, as I believe, an exact account of the means, provided and employed for the purpose of diffusing literature, science, and general information among the inhabitants of New-England.

It ought, however, to be added, that in a great part of the towns and parishes there are social libraries established. In some places they are considerable; and in all are of material use to the little circles in which they exist. The information which they spread is of importance. They also excite a disposition to read; and this employment naturally becomes a substitute for trifling, vicious, and gross amusements. It also contributes to render society and its intercourse, in a good degree, intelligent and refined; while thought takes place of sense and passion, civility of coarseness, and information of scandal. It also enables parents to give their children better instructions, and to govern them more rationally; and at the same time it renders the children more dutiful and more amiable.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

Observations of Buffon, De Pauw, &c., relative to the Deterioration of Animals; of the Bodies, and of the Minds of Men in America. Genius; what, and whence derived. Genius of Americans. Literature and Science of the Americans. Men of Learning. Causes why they are not numerous.

DEAR SIR;

THE contempt, mentioned in a preceding Letter, as cast by some of the inhabitants of Great Britain upon this country, has at times extended to a great part of all which it contains: to its soil; its climate; its vegetable productions; its animals; the bodies of its inhabitants, both aboriginal and derived; the minds, particularly of the latter class; their manners, arts, literature, science, government, morals, and religion. On the continent of Europe it has proceeded still further. The Count de Buffon, and Mr. de Pauw, extend it even to the continent itself; and suppose that there is something defective in its very structure and constitution. Both of these writers imagine, that America has suffered a general inundation, many years since the deluge of Noah, which kept it covered for a long time. To the recency of this inundation the Count attributes the malignancy of the climate in America; the barrenness of its soil; and the imperfect nature of its animals and people. Mr. de Pauw supposes, that the lakes and marshes, left by that inundation, are the cause of its insalubrity; the great number of its insects; the defectiveness of its quadrupeds; the barrenness, both of the soil and the women; the stupidity of the men; &c. &c.

That the Americans extensively possessed traditions, and those not incorrect, concerning the general deluge, is unquestionable; traditions, which it is impossible to apply to any

other event. But this subsequent inundation was formed by the Count himself, whose imagination found little difficulty in deluging worlds, or making them; while Mr. de Pauw found as little in swallowing either the deluges or the worlds.

The animals of America the Count has found to be few in the number of their species; small in their size; defective in their structure; degenerate in their natures; and a great part of them unfortunately without tails. All this train of misfortunes these gentlemen ascribe to the wretchedness of our climate; the infancy of nature on this continent; the sterility of our soil; the deficiency of matter; and the great number of lakes and marshes left by this mischievous deluge. A prudent philosopher will generally choose to be sure of his effects before he looks out for their causes: while those, who make causes, as generally find little trouble in creating also their effects. The man, who could discover the origin of this globe in the impact of a comet against the surface of the sun, which struck off a quantity of melted glass, sufficient to form the world, can discover any thing, and make any thing, which he pleases.

Unfortunately for these gentlemen, there are fewer species of animals without tails in America than on the eastern continent, the Count himself being the umpire.

I have already considered the size and weight of our animals. It is unnecessary to observe again, that the elk, the moose, the brown bear, and the bison, are larger than the caribou or the tapir, boldly asserted to be the largest native animals of this continent, or than a calf a year old. I have also considered the assertion, that European animals, introduced into this country, degenerate; and shall only add, on this subject, that there is now in this town a horse, twenty hands, or six feet and eight inches in height, every way well-proportioned, and but four years old; a native of this land of deterioration.

An eagle was not long since killed at Brookfield in Connecticut, which had just destroyed a calf. The American condor is the largest known bird of prey in the world.

With regard to the bodies of the native Americans, Mr. de Pauw and Dr. Robertson acknowledge, that there are

no deformed persons among the savages of America, because they put all children of this description to death. But they assert, that, wherever this species of cruelty is prevented, the proportion of deformed persons is greater than in any country in Europe. It would have been well, if these gentlemen had furnished us some evidence of the truth of these assertions, or at least of their probability. As they have left the story, it can only afford diversion to such as read it on this side of the Atlantic, mingled with pity for its authors.

Deformed people are certainly uncommon in this country; and the inhabitants are as tall, as well made, as strong, as agile, and as handsome, upon an average, to say the least, as those who visit us from the eastern side of the Atlantic.

With regard to the insalubrity of the climate, I shall have occasion to consider the subject in another place.

The great object, at which all this ingenuity is aimed, is, I suspect, the *minds* of the Americans. Most of the followers of those gentlemen have left to them the task of carrying on a war against the subjects, already specified in these remarks; and have directed their own attacks to the genius, learning, and science, which are found on this side of the Atlantic. As these attacks are peculiarly pointed against the people of the American States, you will cheerfully permit me to pay some attention to them.

There are few questions on which more pedantry, and more prejudice, have been displayed; in which vanity has assumed sillier airs, or reason been oftener put to the blush, than on that, which is so customarily started respecting the comparative genius of different nations. Were it not, that pride is so pleasantly regaled by the incense regularly offered to it, whenever the question is brought up to view, by those who present it, good sense must long ago have been wearied and surfeited, and decency have sickened with the service.

Genius may be generally and accurately defined to be the power of making mental efforts. This definition involves alike what may with propriety be termed logical genius, or the power by which intellectual efforts are made, and rhetorical genius, or that which is seen in the efforts of the imagination and the feelings. The attribute, in both its forms, is unquestionably communicated to some minds more than to others. The great

body of mankind may, I think, be said, with some qualifications, to possess the average share, or genius at the middle point. A few are raised above it, and a few depressed below. The differences among those, who are numbered in either of these classes (differences, which are often very great), are derived chiefly from energy in the individual; from the motives set before him to exert it; and from the incidental advantages, which are furnished to him by the mode and circumstances of his life. This truth is evidenced in a great variety of ways. In many instances, for example, individuals, who have removed from the older settlements in the United States (where they had few motives to exertion, because every thing, which prompts to effort, was already in the possession of others), to the new settlements (where all things of this nature lay equally open to them as to others), have suddenly exhibited talents, which before they were not suspected to possess. So common is this fact, that it is here generally admitted to be a part of the regular course of things.

For similar reasons, operating on other modes of life, the Greeks and Romans, during those periods of their political existence which called for great efforts, and annexed to them splendid rewards, never wanted great men to lead their armies. For the same reasons the French revolution has regularly produced a constant succession of very able generals; and if a considerable number have at any time lost their lives, their places have been immediately filled up by successors equally able. For the same reasons, also, the American and British navies have regularly been supplied with commanders, whose talents have been equal to every achievement within the reach of man.

From these very causes, he, who wishes to satisfy himself, will find derived the whole of that distinction, which attended the four ages, as they are emphatically termed, of genius,

As genius is the power of making efforts, it is obvious that it will never be exerted, or, in other words, the efforts will never be made, without energy; that is, without the resolution, activity, and perseverance, which are necessary to their existence. This energy can never be summoned into action but by motives of a suitable nature, and sufficient mag-

itude, to move the mind. Nor can it act to any considerable purpose, unless attended with proper advantages. Wherever these causes do not meet, the fire will be smothered. Gray wrote sound philosophy, as well as beautiful poetry, in the following fine stanzas :—

Full many a gem, of purest ray serene,
The dark, unfathom'd caves of ocean bear :
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

Some village Hampden, that with dauntless breast,
The little tyrant of his fields withstood ;
Some mute, inglorious Milton, here may rest ;
Some Cromwell, guiltless of his country's blood.

Th' applause of listening senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read their history in a nation's eyes,
Their lot forbade.

How obviously must the real Milton have been inglorious, if he had been mute ; and how obviously would he have been mute, notwithstanding all his powers, if his energy had not prompted him ; or if commanding motives had not summoned that energy into action.

Various writers have attributed the existence of genius to natural causes, particularly to climate ; and many others, who have not made this ascription in express terms, have yet plainly implied their adoption of it in the manner in which they have generally spoken of this subject. In the contemptuous observations concerning America, and, particularly, concerning the United States, to which I have referred above, this doctrine seems to have been taken for granted. Of these gentlemen I ask, whether the Greeks and Romans owed their genius to this cause. If they did, why does not the same climate now produce the same genius ? Greeks inhabit Greece still. But where are Homer and Sophocles, Plato and Aristotle, Pericles and Demosthenes ? Where are Themistocles, Cymon, Lycurgus, and Epaminondas ? The climate of Italy is unaltered. But who would think of looking for Cicero and Livy, Virgil and Horace ; or for Tasso, Ariosto, and Father Paul, among the inhabitants of

that country? In a word, whence is it universally the fact, that no climate, and no country, has for any great length of time been productive of this coveted endowment.

I ask again, what is the nature, what the quality of the climate? Must it be temperate? If so, whence were derived the talents of the two Gustavuses, Charles the Twelfth, Peter the Great, Suwarrow, and a long train of others, born and educated under a frozen sky? Or, on the other hand, whence were those of Moses, David, Solomon, Job, Isaiah, and Paul? Whence those of Cyrus, Kouli Khan, Mohammed, Sesostris, and a splendid train of Arabian and Persian poets? Must it be moist? Whence were derived those illustrious inhabitants of dry and parched regions, just now mentioned? Must it be dry? Why were Shakspeare and Milton, Alfred and the Black Prince, Bacon and Newton, born under the dripping canopy of Great Britain? Must it be clear? To what cause then does the world owe Pindar, Pelopidas, and Epaminondas, Erasmus, Grotius, and De Witt? Must it be foggy? How shall we explain the character of Pascal and Montesquieu, Corneille and Racine, Henry the Fourth and Conde?

Perhaps it will be said, however, that salubrity of climate is the immediate cause of this mental superiority. If it were true, that strong health regularly accompanied vigour of mind, if the bodies which last the longest regularly sustained the highest powers of the soul, there would be some reason for resorting to this attribute of climate for an explanation of the difficulty under consideration. But how many of those minds, which have attracted the admiration of mankind, have inhabited frail tenements, and quitted them at a comparatively early period; while the grosser spirits, which occupied the strong barracks of Pratt, and Parr, and Jenkins, and a host of Russian peasants, found them unassailed by disease, and defying death many years beyond a century. At the same time Greece, and Judea, and Arabia, and even Italy, are countries not remarkable for health.

Upon the whole, I believe, with all due respect to the Count and his postillion, that this scheme must be given up.

But were we to allow this curious theory all which it solicits, the result would be in the highest degree favourable, in

some respects, to the United States at large, and in all to the countries, which are the immediate subjects of these Letters. The United States comprehend as great a variety of climates as all Europe, south of the Baltic; and most of the countries which they cover are healthy. New-England and New-York are among the healthiest countries in the world: New-England universally; New-York, with the exception of a very few spots of no great extent. The miserable, malignant, niggard sky, attributed to America by the gentlemen whom I have so often mentioned, furnishes in these two countries more clear and bright days, annually, than are seen by the inhabitants of any country in Europe, except, perhaps, by those in the middle of Russia. The products of the soil are more various, and a great proportion of them are more exquisite. If Mr. de Pauw had visited this country, he would have hunted in vain for the marshes, which gave him so much trouble. You will perceive, that I have passed through a great part of New-England, in the journies which have been mentioned: I had travelled through it extensively before: yet I never found in it a marsh, so far as I remember, which contained more than a small number of acres. That larger marshes exist I have not a doubt. But that they are numerous, or extensive, or of any importance, is a dream of Mr. de Pauw.

As to the lakes, whose exhalations constitute, I suppose, a curious part of the malignancy of our climate, we must plead guilty. There are three great lakes on the borders of the state of New-York, and one of them washes the western shore of New-England, not far from two hundred miles. It must also be conceded, that some of the flat grounds along Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario are in a degree unhealthy. The small lakes in the state of New-York I have elsewhere briefly enumerated, and have observed, that little spots, near the outlets, are subjected to the fever and ague, and to bilious excretions. The whole of these insalubrious tracts would, I suppose, make up a county of the middle size.

In New-England, as I have heretofore mentioned, there are, besides Winnipiseogee, Umbagog, and Moose lakes, the largest of which is somewhat more than sixty miles in diameter, more than a thousand, which extend from one fourth of a mile in length to perhaps nine miles. If the description,

which I have given of them, be credited, it must be admitted, that their only effect is to add to the beauty of the landscape, and to the pleasure of the inhabitants. Whatever may be their efficacy on the body or the mind, it must undoubtedly be experienced in the greatest degree by those who inhabit their borders. But it has not been discovered, hitherto, that these have been less healthy, or less ingenious, than the rest of their countrymen.

If we suppose genius to be a gift of God, immediately communicated, and independent of natural causes, it must be admitted, that it is given according to his own pleasure, for his own reasons, and when, where, and to whom he chooses. Both the philosophers and the critics, with whom I am now concerned, would probably adopt this method of accounting for the facts in question with reluctance, and only in the last extremity. In this case, however, no reason can be assigned, *a priori*, why this gift should be supposed to descend on a single country in one age rather than in another, or on one country rather than another. Still, if the fact be otherwise, every such argument must, I confess, stand for nothing. Should these causes be given up, and this endowment be considered as descending like beauty, strength, and other natural attributes, in the ordinary course of human propagation, it will, I suppose, be admitted to be subject to much the same laws, to proceed in much the same course, and to be liable to much the same variations, as these attributes. We often see both men and women, of fine talents, the parents of children of the same character, as we often see handsome persons the parents of handsome children. Sometimes, also, superior talents descend through a series of generations. According to this mode of accounting for the existence of genius, the inhabitants of Great Britain will, I presume, readily admit the people of the United States to possess their full share, as the great body of them are descended from British ancestors, and the rest have derived their origin from Europe. The people of New-England, particularly, have sprung almost universally from England itself. Vigour of mind has appeared more frequently in Great Britain than even in Greece; although, for obvious reasons, not so often employed on precisely the same objects. We therefore claim our descent from that

country, which, if any one in modern times can claim the title, must be allowed to be the nursery of genius.

From these observations it will, I think, appear, that the preconceptions of Buffon, de Pauw, Robertson, and other philosophers, concerning the American continent, and its influence upon the bodies and minds of men, are unsolid, and without any foundation in facts. I am, therefore, at liberty to believe my countrymen are not insuperably precluded by any law of nature, or any known decree of Heaven, from the possession, in some instances at least, of those talents, which may do honour to the land which gave them birth, and be the source of important benefits to mankind.

After all that has been said on the subject discussed in this Letter, I am aware, that many of the writers, with whom I am contending, deserting the causes, on which some of their predecessors have so confidently relied, make their appeal to the more decisive evidence of facts, which they say are subversive of all our claims to ingenuity, learning, and science. Unhappily, this subject is rarely treated with sobriety, and not very often with decency. Our cause, instead of being examined, is often prejudged; and, instead of being left to stand or fall by argument and evidence, is proved to be bad by a sarcasm, and condemned by a sneer.

To add to our misfortunes, a train of European travellers have passed through this country, whose books an American reads with astonishment, pity, and diversion; astonishment at the ignorance and falsehood of the writers; pity for that falsehood, and that gross depravity from which it has proceeded; and diversion, excited by the silly prejudices, the ludicrous mistakes, and the distorted narratives, of which these books are very extensively composed. He does not commonly find even the likeness, which may ordinarily be found in a caricature. In my own mind these books have lowered materially the confidence, with which I have heretofore regarded travellers of reputation; and forced me to feel a continual succession of doubts concerning what they had written. If men, passing through a country whose language is their own, and whose laws, customs, and religion not a little resemble their own; a country, to every part of which they have free and safe access, and to every person in which they may, if men

of fair reputation, be easily introduced; can be so grossly ignorant of its real state; fall into errors so numerous and so palpable, and so frequently utter falsehoods equally palpable, what judgment ought to be formed of the books written by men, who, while travelling, are destitute of all these advantages? To what a host of mistakes must the travellers be exposed, to whom the language of the countries through which they pass, the manners, government, and religion, are all unknown; who often find the access to persons and places either impossible or difficult; and who at times are obliged to fly, rather than permitted to travel. Of several of these gentlemen I shall find occasion to take some notice hereafter.

Permit me to add, that there is more spirit, than candour or good sense, in the treatment which we have received from some persons, even of reputation, on your side of the Atlantic. The process has not been a course of investigation, but a train of hostilities. The issue has been such as a mind, in the slightest degree acquainted with human affairs, could not fail to foresee.

In order to form a just opinion concerning this subject, it will be necessary for you to become acquainted with the actual state of the country, particularly with the state of society from which every thing pertaining to it is derived.

Of the mode of education pursued in New-England, from the parochial school to the professional seminary, I have given you a summary account. You have seen the extent, the mode, and the degree, in which instruction is here communicated to every rising generation; in a higher degree to many, and in the highest degree in which it here exists to a number, which, compared with that found in any other country, is great. It will not, I think, be believed, that a society, in which all these things are taught, and thus taught, can be very ignorant, or entitled to the character given them in the following words: "There is, however, both in the physical and intellectual features of the Americans, a trace of savage character, not produced by crossing the breed, but by the circumstances of society, and of external nature." Of our manners I shall speak hereafter. That our common people, as a body, are superior in intelligence to those of the same class in the most enlightened countries of Europe we know with abso-

late certainty, not only from the information of the numerous Americans who have travelled through those countries, and the acknowledgment even of many Englishmen, but from the fact, that Europeans of this class have come in shoals to America, through a long period, and have exhibited to us the degree of intelligence which they possess.

The literature of this country is certainly inferior, as is also its science, to that of Great Britain. Solitary instances of proficiency in learning have existed here, which would have been thought honourable there. Dr. Cotton Mather was an example. The late Dr. Stiles of this town was another. There have been, there are now, a few others, who have accumulated as much knowledge as the length of human life would permit. The number of these is, however, small. I will explain to you the causes of this fact, and attempt to show you, that it involves no disgrace to the literary men of my country.

All the people of New-England, without an exception, beside what is created by disease or misfortune, are men of business. The observation is applicable, alike, to those who are appropriately styled men of business, and to all others. The clergyman, to take an example which may serve universally, preaches two sermons every sabbath, of forty or forty-five minutes each at an average, always composed by himself; and necessarily, if he would not sink into contempt, catechises the young persons in his congregation; visits all the sick in his parish, and that in many instances often; attends every funeral; makes many parochial visits; receives many visits from his parishioners in turn; entertains not a little passing company; attends every associational and consociational meeting within his district; is present at ordinations, and at other ecclesiastical business; and delivers a considerable number of public and private lectures. To these are to be added all his domestic concerns, together with those of an extraneous nature, which are perpetually occurring, and constitute a considerable source of employment. Permit me now to ask you, whether such a life can furnish any considerable opportunity for pursuits merely speculative? Yet from no part of this complicated business can any prudent, not to say pious, clergyman ever withdraw himself. Permit me farther to ask, whether,

the giving and receiving of some parts of these visits perhaps excepted, the performance of these things is not more useful to mankind than extensive researches into learning and science would ordinarily be? Such researches demand the whole of human life; a great part of it at least. Where, in the life of a clergyman thus occupied, can the time, which is indispensable for them, be found? The business of a clergyman, it is here believed, is to effectuate the salvation of his flock, rather than to replenish his own mind with that superior information, which, however ornamental or useful in other respects, is certainly connected with this end in a very imperfect degree.

In addition to these things it ought to be observed, that clergymen here are rarely possessed of libraries sufficiently extensive to make such attainments practicable. The reason of this fact is no dishonour to them. It is, that they are not able to purchase such libraries.

I have chosen to illustrate the subject by taking a clergyman for an example, because men of that class are often considered as having more leisure than those of any other. But were such pursuits easy, and the time and means for them ample, the persons engaged in them could rarely obtain a tolerable reward for their labours. No American has, within my knowledge, been willing to inhabit a garret for the sake of becoming an author. Books of almost every kind, on almost every subject, are already written to our hands. Our situation in this respect is singular. As we speak the same language with the people of Great Britain, and have usually been at peace with that country, our commerce with it brings to us, regularly, not a small part of the books with which it is deluged. In every art, science, and path of literature, we obtain those which to a great extent supply our wants. Hence book-making is a business less necessary to us than to any nation in the world; and this is a reason, powerfully operative, why comparatively few books are written.

A market for original literary productions is, for this and several other reasons, with which I will not trouble you, so limited, as to hold out little encouragement for the profession of an author. I never knew half a dozen persons who here made writing books their business for life. To write books is not merely a work of genius, or learning, or science; it is,

also, in the proper sense, an art. Accordingly it has been not a little improved by a long progress of time in Great Britain, and on the European continent. Here it has been comparatively little cultivated, because the motives for cultivating it have been comparatively few. In consequence of this fact, most men of the first distinction for genius and intelligence are not authors. Their proper business has engrossed their attention to so late a period in life, as to prevent them from assuming the character. Active life has here, proportionally more than in most countries in Europe, furnished the commanding objects of ambition.

In the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, fellowships in great numbers have supplied the means of deep research in the fields of literature and science. In these, ingenious men have found subsistence, leisure, books, enlightened companions, and every other advantage for mental excursion, gratuitously supplied. The intense student obviously cannot be employed in acquiring property, and must therefore be supported by others, or starve. But on this side of the Atlantic no such support is provided for the votaries either of learning or science. Not a fellowship, as I heretofore observed, exists in any of the literary institutions in the United States. Nor do I know a single foundation, on which an individual is supported for the mere purpose of enabling him to advance far in speculative pursuits.

In Great Britain, also, particularly in England, the livings of the clergy, especially of the superior clergy, and the mode of life to which they are destined, enable them to spend their whole time in study. In America the case is reversed. Here men are only paid for doing the business of their respective professions.

From all these facts you will readily perceive, that peculiar discouragements and obstructions of those speculative efforts, which have added so much distinction to the European character, exist in the United States.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Opinion of the Edinburgh Review relative to the Literature of America. President Edwards. Rev. Dr. Edwards. Dr. Franklin. Dr. Rittenhouse and other Natural Philosophers. Ingenious and Useful Inventions. M'Fingal. Progress of Learning in Great Britain from the Eighth Century.

DEAR SIR;

FROM the observations in my last Letter you may possibly be induced to believe, that whatever may be the deficiency of our genius and learning, it is not attributable to the causes alleged by Buffon and De Pauw. In this I hope to convince you, that amid all these disadvantages our character is not altogether such as it frequently appears in the observations of your countrymen.

In the Edinburgh Review of Ashe's Travels in America*, is the following passage: "In short, Federal America has done nothing either to extend, diversify, or embellish the sphere of human knowledge. Though all she has written were obliterated from the records of learning, there would (if we except the works of Franklin) be no positive diminution, either of the useful or the agreeable. The destruction of her whole literature would not occasion so much regret as we feel for the loss of a few leaves from an ancient classic."

These declarations are certainly uttered in a sprightly manner. But they are untrue. The late President Edwards has more enlarged the science of theology than any divine of whom either England or Scotland can boast; and the loss of his works would occasion more regret than these reviewers, and I may add, without any fear of sober contradiction, than the whole literary world would feel for the loss, not of a few leaves only, but of the whole works of half the ancient authors

* Vol. xv, p. 398, American edition.

ant. I do not intend that the reviewers themselves feel this regret, but that it would be felt by a vast multitude openly and insidiously hostile; I mean Christians. It is not a treatise written by Mr. Edwards, except those were merely occasional, which has not enlarged science. I particularly specify his treatises on Religious Affections, on Qualifications for Communion in the Christian Church, on Moral Agency, on Original Sin, on God's last End in the Government of the World, and on the Nature of True Virtue. The subjects of these discussions have long been acknowledged by the whole civilized world to be of the highest importance to man. They are, also, of the most abstruse nature and require the profoundest thought and the most extensive comprehension. Two of them are professedly replies of the ablest philosophers who have written on the Arminian question, that on Moral Agency, and that on Original Sin; and both appear to have terminated the dispute. They have now been published more than fifty years. On one of them have been steadily appealed to as immovable standards of faith, so far as these subjects are concerned. On the other they have been bitterly complained of, denounced as false, pursued with sarcasms and sneers, and hunted down with contempt; but they have never been answered. Nothing can explain this fact but the acknowledgment, that they have never been believed to be unanswerable.

I am aware that it may, and will, be replied to a part of my observations, that I have here taken for granted a main point, *viz.* that the scheme of Mr. Edwards is true. Of its truth I have not a question, but I will not assume it here. I am ignorant how many persons disbelieve it, nor how rebellious the character is of some who are in this number. I am ignorant, on the other hand, that it is the scheme actually adopted by all those distinguished men, who, by the aid of God, produced the Reformation; nor that it is substantially found in the creeds, confessions, and catechisms of all Protestant churches, particularly in the articles and homilies of your own church, and, let me add, in the prayers also. It is the glory of this great man, that he had no love for in-
 on. He did not believe that theology was, like philoso-

phy, left in such a situation, that ages might pass on, during which the honest inquirers in the church would be necessarily and invincibly ignorant of its fundamental truths. Nor did he think it proper to sacrifice common sense to metaphysics. Though probably the ablest metaphysician who has appeared, he never warped from the path of common sense. To the scriptures he yielded the most profound reverence, and the most implicit confidence. At the same time, he treated his antagonists with a civility, candour, and moderation, which very few of them, or their followers, have exhibited in return.

The first of my positions is not at all affected by the supposition, that Mr. Edwards's opinions are erroneous; *viz.* that the loss of his writings would awaken more regret than the loss of a few pages of an ancient author, or even of half the works of all the ancient authors now extant. The question here is merely concerning a matter of fact. You may say, perhaps, that I assert merely my own opinion. I confess it. The reviewer also asserts nothing but his opinion: and I am fairly warranted to believe, that my own regret for the loss of Mr. Edwards's works would be greater than his for the loss of a few pages of an ancient author, or the whole of many ancient authors. Such a loss would be the loss, perhaps, of a few facts, some of them in a degree interesting to mankind: as the case might be, of a few opinions and doctrines of considerable value, or possibly of a fine narrative, or interesting description.

His subjects are the most important in the universe; and his discussions are the clearest, the ablest, and the most decisive elucidations of them which the world has ever seen. He has elicited from the scriptures truths which have escaped other men; has illustrated them by arguments which were never before discovered; and has shown their dependence, connection, and importance, with a comprehensiveness of view, which elsewhere will be sought for in vain.

With regard to the principal subject under examination, principal, I mean, with respect to the present debate, the admission, that Mr. Edwards's doctrines are erroneous, will only exhibit it with still higher advantage. What must have been the talents which could have placed error in such a light, that all the distinguished men, who have appeared on

the side of truth during the last fifty years, not only in Great Britain, but in the whole Christian world, have been unable to detect his errors? Does truth in its own nature labour under such disadvantages? Or did Mr. Edwards possess such singular and transcendent powers?

Indifference to the subject cannot here be pleaded, nor contempt for Mr. Edwards. The numerous complaints made of his writings in Great Britain, and the numerous specimens of ill-nature with which he has been assailed, prove beyond debate, that they have been regarded with far other feelings than indifference. That they would have been answered, had those, who disrelished them so strongly, been able to answer them, there can be no doubt. Look into Boswell's Life of Johnson, and mark the gloom with which the biographer was distressed, from fear that the system of Mr. Edwards should be the truth; and, what I principally intend, observe the dread with which Johnson himself regarded the subject of his appeal to him, and the caution with which he avoided reading the book so pathetically complained of, although Boswell ardently wished him to read it, and although he regarded the Americans with even more contempt than he felt towards the Scots.

Suffer me to add, that in his History of Redemption, and in his treatise on God's last End in the Creation of the World, there is a sublimity of thought, to which, since the days of the apostles, there has been no rival. I do not intend here sublimity of imagination. I intend intellectual sublimity; vast and elevated conceptions of truth. Both of these works, too, were only collections of his sermons, delivered as a part of his ordinary course of preaching, and the former of which was published after his decease.

At the same time Mr. Edwards was a most powerful preacher. It is believed, that no preacher, who has appeared in this country, ever engrossed the attention of his audience so often, so long, and to so great a degree, except Mr. Whitfield. Yet his voice was low, and he was destitute of gesture. During the first third of his ministry he read his sermons. The remainder of his life he often preached, either with short notes, or extemporaneously. The propriety of his pronunciation, his earnestness, his gravity, and his singular solem-

nity, controlled in the most absolute manner the minds of those who heard him. The Rev. Mr. Hooker, who succeeded him, a gentleman distinguished for his learning, good sense, and elegance of mind and manners, as well as for his moral worth, said to me in a circle, conversing on the nature of eloquence, "This subject is so variously understood and defined, that it is difficult to determine what is intended by it; but, if it consists in making strong impressions of the subject of a discourse on the minds of an audience, Mr. Edwards was the most eloquent man whom I ever knew." The late Nehemiah Strong, Esq., a native of Northampton, and formerly professor of mathematics and natural philosophy in Yale college, observed to me, that in early youth he heard Mr. Edwards deliver the sermons, which now constitute the History of Redemption. His mind, he remarked, was from the beginning deeply interested in the subject. As it advanced, his feelings became more and more engaged. When Mr. Edwards came to a consideration of the final judgment, Mr. Strong said, his own mind was wrought up to such a pitch, that he expected, without one thought to the contrary, the awful scene to be unfolded on that day, and in that place. Accordingly, he waited with the deepest and the most solemn solicitude to hear the trumpet sound and the archangel call; to see the graves open, the dead arise, and the Judge descend in the glory of his Father, with all his holy angels; and was deeply disappointed when the day terminated, and left the world in its usual state of tranquillity.

You will not suppose, that I mean in any of these observations to commend the style of Mr. Edwards. In perspicuity and precision it was, however, excellent; in other respects it was slovenly. His thoughts were such as none of his opposers were ever able to form. In this respect he stands alone among moral and metaphysical philosophers. One excellence his compositions had, which criticism cannot fail to approve. His sermons almost universally rise in their importance and impressiveness from the beginning to the end. This is, ordinarily, the only happy mode of conducting a discourse.

The late Rev. Dr. Edwards, president of Union college in Schenectady (New-York), second son of this gentleman, was possessed of the same superiority of mind. His answers to

Chauncey's work on Universal Salvation, and to Dr. West's be subject of Moral Agency, particularly the latter, are acts of reasoning, to which Europe can show nothing superior in theological and metaphysical philosophy.

The talents of my countrymen have been exhibited, as I have seen, respectably in various other modes. Dr. Franklin is mentioned in this very declaration of the reviewer from the ground of disgrace; and has been so often pronounced a distinguished natural philosopher, in the most enlightened countries of Europe, and by persons of high eminence, that it is too late to attempt a reversal of this sentence. Professor Winton would have done credit to any country in the character of a natural philosopher; as would also Dr. Williams, who afterwards filled the same chair in the university at Cambridge. Rittenhouse merited this character in a still greater degree.

Bred to the business of a farmer, and educated only in an English school, he was obliged by ill health to quit that profession, and devoted himself to the employment of a clock-maker, and then to that of a mathematical instrument maker. Although he was his own instructor. He formed the science of horology without any knowledge of its existence in Europe, and for a number of years supposed himself to be its author. His best orrery, it is believed, in the world, was invented, as well as made, by Dr. Rittenhouse. At the same time he was the possessor of a very enlarged and vigorous mind, and thought with peculiar felicity concerning every subject to which he directed his researches. What unhappily is not so often the fact as might be wished, he was also distinguished for moral excellence. Godfrey of Philadelphia was the inventor of the quadrant, falsely called Hadley's; it having been villainously stolen from him by a man of that name. The machinery of Whitney in the manufacturing of arms has not, it is believed, been exceeded by any single mechanical effort of a mind accustomed to the mechanical pursuit. The orrery of Pope is a noble specimen of ingenuity, and had it been constructed on a scale sufficiently large to secure its arrangement and durability, it would probably be esteemed inferior to none now in the world*.

The following account of Pope's orrery, copied from the Massachusetts Centinel, March 10th, 1788, was drawn up by the very respectable men, whose names are at the bottom, in conformity to a commission,

Many other specimens of ingenuity might be here mentioned, which have reflected not a little credit on the inventors and their native country. Such is the machine invented by Mr. Whitney for cleansing the upland cotton of its seeds. Such

which they had received from the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, to examine this curious piece of mechanism, and report concerning it to that body.

“The subscribers, members of the committee for examining machines, in conformity to a vote of the academy, have inspected Mr. Joseph Pope’s orrery.

“Upon a careful examination, the view afforded them much satisfaction.

“The Sun, placed in the centre, revolves on his own axis, which is inclined. The several planets, at their relative distances from the Sun, revolve around him in excentric orbits, performing their diurnal motions; and the several satellites revolve around their respective primaries, all in their proper periodic times, determined by the motion of an index.

“The inclination of the axes of those planets, whose axes are inclined to the ecliptic, is exhibited, keeping parallel to themselves, and always tending to their respective places; and the inclination of their several orbits to the plane of the ecliptic is also shown, as is the heliocentric latitude of each planet in every part of its orbit. The motion of Saturn’s ring is also exhibited.

“The Moon and the Earth are each half covered with a black cap, to represent the apparently dark parts. Around the Earth are several circles, showing the sidereal time, the Moon’s age, latitude, and longitude, and her motion on her axis, which is inclined, and keeps parallel to itself around the Earth. This motion, being contrary to the common method of performing it, another moon is placed on the same circle, with her axis perpendicular.

“In the centre of the machine is placed an index, which readily shows at any time the latitudes and longitudes of the several planets. The diameter of the ecliptic circle is five feet and two inches.

“The machine is in the form of a dodecagon. In each square is a glass fixed to show the movements of the wheel-work, which appears as accurate as it is curious. Each corner is ornamented with a statue of brass. On the top of the case are fixed twelve pillars, which support the great ecliptic circle, across which is fixed a segment of one of the celestial meridians. Between those pillars are plates with calculations. Within the ecliptic is fixed a broad circle, representing the zodiac, on which are delineated the twelve signs, and the fixed stars in their proper places.

“The face is a plane, above which all the bodies revolve, and are put in motion by a single winch, which may be performed with the strength of a common thread. The whole is placed on an elegant stand.

“While the ingenuity of the artist displayed in the workmanship pleases, the plan itself so perfectly executed excites admiration.

“In justice to Mr. Pope we readily say, that it is our opinion, the improve-

also was the submarine vessel invented by Mr. Bushnell of Saybrook. Such is the application of steam to the purposes of navigation.

The poetry of the Americans is treated by these reviewers with not a little contempt. On this subject I shall say little. It may, however, be observed, that several reviewers have spoken of it in more favourable terms. It may also be observed, without any partiality, that M'Fingal is not inferior in wit and humour to Hudibras, and in every other respect is superior. It has a regular plan, in which all the parts are well proportioned and connected. The subject is fairly proposed, and the story conducted correctly through a series of advancements and retardations to a catastrophe, which is natural and complete. The versification is far better; the poetry is in several instances in a good degree elegant, and in some even sublime. It is also free from those endless digressions, which, notwithstanding the wit discovered in them, are so tedious in Hudibras; the protuberances of which are a much larger mass than the body on which they grow.

The painters of this country have been holden in honourable estimation in Great Britain. A high reputation has been attained by West and Copley, by Trumbull and Stuart. As a portrait painter, it is believed, Stuart has rarely if ever been excelled. Several others, younger than these, are also advancing rapidly towards distinction.

Sculpture has not, within my knowledge, ever been attempted here. But engraving has already proceeded far, and is very fast advancing.

From the whole of this account, I cannot but persuade myself, that you as a man of candour will think, that the inhabitants of this country have a claim to be considered with some other emotions than those of contempt, and to receive other treatment than sneers and sarcasms. Perhaps you will think,

ments he has made are great; and that the description he gave to the academy of his orrery is fully verified.

"RICHARD CRANCH, SAMUEL WILLIAMS, JOSEPH WILLARD, CALEB GANNET, LOAMMI BALDWIN,	}	Committee."
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that as much has been done as in the circumstances could be reasonably expected. From what I have said in a former part of these Letters, you will not consider it a small thing to convert an American forest, not merely into a habitable country, but into a pleasant residence. In New-England, according to an estimate heretofore made, there are probably at the present time (1812) more than 220,000 dwelling-houses. A great part of these are convenient, almost all are comfortable, a great multitude are neat, and not a small number handsome. The inhabitants probably enjoy more of the comforts, and suffer fewer of the evils of life, than the same number of people in any other part of the world. To accomplish this, amid all the difficulties and dangers, which attended the colonization of the country, has involved a mass of labour, resolution, and fortitude, which in any other case would have claimed respect. To these things was added, necessarily, the establishment of a government, a religion, a system of education, and universally a state of society, by means of which the descendants of those on whom the burthen rested might, so far as their circumstances would permit, be free, enlightened, virtuous, and happy. Occupied in this spacious and various field, the inhabitants have in few instances had either leisure or inclination to write books, and most of those which have been written were prompted by some particular occasion.

Let me request you to remember how long your own nation existed before it could boast of a single well-written book. In the eighth century you had only the Venerable Bede, in the ninth only Alfred, in the tenth and eleventh none, in the twelfth William of Malmesbury is entitled to respect. Roger Bacon adorned the thirteenth. From that time till the sixteenth you had no writer of any distinction, except Fortescue, Chaucer, and Gower. In the sixteenth century you number only five or six writers of respectability. The seventeenth and eighteenth have filled your hemisphere with constellations. Before Hume and Robertson, you had no historian superior to several of ours. The reviewer is disposed to speak contemptuously of Marshall's *Life of Washington*. Yet there is no piece of biography, written in Great Britain, if we except those of Johnson, which would not suffer by a comparison with it. The last volume is almost singularly ex-

It ought here to be added, that the ministers, sent to Europe by Washington, have holden at least as high a European estimation as those who were their contemporaries from any of the European courts. Of Mr. Jay, Mr. Grenville has given a character in the British parliament which should have made the reviewers hesitate before they published the following declaration: "We have dwelt more upon this article than its merits justify, not so much for the sake of the work, as for stating and exemplifying a curious and unaccountable fact, the scarcity of all but natural and mercantile talents in the New World." There are the best reasons for believing, that no foreign minister has ever been holden in higher estimation by the British government than Mr. King.

I will dismiss the subject with one more remark concerning countrymen. The speeches of Ames, and several others of the American congress, have been rarely excelled in eloquence by British orators.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER V.

Manners and Morals of the People of New-England. Executions during the Revolutionary War. Capital Punishments in the County of New-Haven in one hundred and seventy-five Years. Duels in New-England since its Settlement. Inhabitants all required to be in the possession of Arms. The Poor supported and educated. Public and Private Charities.

DEAR SIR;

THE manners of the people of New-England claim next a place in these observations. In the Quarterly Review of November, 1809, article Dr. Holmes' Annals, the writer says, "There is, however, both in the physical and intellectual features of the Americans, a trace of savage character, not produced by crossing the breed, but by the circumstances of society, and of external nature." The following facts will show how far this remark is applicable to the people of New-England. During the eight years of the revolutionary war there was one man put to death by the hand of violence, and one by the hand of civil justice, within the limits of this country. It contained at that time 800,000 inhabitants. These were then contending "pro aris et focis;" and the spirit of party ran as high as it can easily be supposed to rise in such a state of society. One party seriously considered the other as engaged in a rebellion against their lawful sovereign; and was considered by the other as endeavouring to accomplish the ruin of their country. The man, who fell by violence, was put to death by three others, on the border of Byram river, between the lines of the American and British armies. His murderers were part of a banditti, living without any control upon the plunder of the poor inhabitants,

who inhabited this exposed ground. Yet it is fairly questionable whether they designed to take away his life. The man, who fell a victim to law, was executed at Hartford after a regular conviction of treason.

This fact has been mentioned in a former part of these observations. Let me recal to your recollection two or three others. From half to two-thirds of the inhabitants sleep round the year without bolting or locking their doors. This, you will observe, is not done by the tenants of cottages merely; for of these we have very few; but much more numerously by the owners of good houses, well stored with the property which naturally invites plunderers.

I have lived in New-Haven during the last sixteen years*.

This town contains 750 houses, and about 6,000 people. It employs, also, a trading capital, amounting to 2,500,000 dollars. No house, within my knowledge, has been broken open here during this period.

New-Haven is the shire town of the county of New-Haven, in a state distinguished for the rigid execution of its laws. Of course all the capital punishments in the county have been inflicted here. The whole number of these in one hundred and seventy-five years has been thirteen. Of these, five were whites, five were Indians, and three were blacks. Of the whites, one was a stranger taken up as a spy, as he was passing through this town, and executed, pursuant to a sentence of a court martial. Three of the remaining four were natives of England. It does not appear, that any inhabitant of this town or county ever suffered death by the hand of law. There is no reason to conclude, that the people of this county are more distinguished for their morals than most of the other settlements, which have been established for any length of time. In this respect (the paucity of capital punishments), New-England may be compared with Scotland and Switzerland, and will suffer no disadvantage by the comparison. I have observed, that since the settlement of New-England five duels have been fought within its boundaries. The first was between two servants, belonging to the Plymouth colonists, within a year after their arrival. The second, by two officers of the revolutionary army, in the state of Rhode-

* 1811.

Island; the third, by two West-Indian youths, who were at school in Stratford; the fourth, by two young gentlemen, inhabitants of Boston; the fifth, by two gentlemen from New-York, who crossed Byram river, that they might fight without exposing themselves to a prosecution in that state. Two only, therefore, of the five, were fought by inhabitants of New-England.

Perhaps a still stronger example, at least one which appears to me stronger, is presented by a combined view of the government and state of society in Connecticut. There is not a spot on the globe, where so little is done to govern the inhabitants; nor a spot, where the inhabitants are so well governed; or perhaps, in more appropriate terms, where the state of society is so peaceable, orderly, and happy. A recurrence to the manner, in which elections are carried on here, as described in a former part of these Letters, will enable you to compare them with your own. Those in your country have been described to me on various occasions, by authority which cannot be questioned. They are scenes of riot, tumult, and violence. Ours are scarcely less decent than religious assemblies.

I have also observed heretofore, that, within a time specified, I have travelled not far from twelve thousand miles, principally in New-England and New-York. I may now add two thousand more (1811); and in this extensive progress have never seen two men employed in fighting. I also added at that time, what is still true, that I remember no more than one instance of this nature, which has fallen under my eye during my life. As I have been extensively occupied in the busy haunts of men, this fact must be considered as proof, that such controversies are here extremely rare. Now permit me to call your eye to your own newspapers; and observe how often their columns are ornamented with the feats of Humphries and Mendoza, Crib and Molineux. What a grave aspect is given to the accounts, which describe the brutal contests of these bullies! Observe also, that not the mob only, not the middle ranks of life only, but gentlemen, noblemen, and even princes of the blood*, have been present

* "A horse-race, a fox-chase, or a boxing-match, is never without its train of reverend attendants."—*Letters to the Rt. Hon. Mr. Percival.*

at these rencounters. I do not believe that a gentleman of New-England could be persuaded to be present at such a scene by any inducement whatever, unless to perform his duty as a magistrate in committing and punishing such disturbers of society.

Dr. Paley observes, "When the state relies for its defence on a militia, it is necessary, that arms be put into the hands of the people at large;" and mentions, that upon this plan a great proportion of the inhabitants must ultimately be instructed in the use of them. He then subjoins, "Now what effects upon the civil condition of the country may be looked for from this general diffusion of the military character, becomes an inquiry of great importance and delicacy. Nothing, perhaps, can govern a nation of armed citizens, but that which governs an army—despotism. The country would be liable to what is even worse than a settled or constitutional despotism; to perpetual rebellions, and perpetual revolutions, to short and violent usurpations," &c.

The people of New-England have always had, and have by law always been required to have, arms in their hands. Every man is, or ought to be, in the possession of a musket. The great body of our citizens, also, are trained with a good degree of skill and success to military discipline. Yet I know not a single instance, in which arms have been the instruments of carrying on a private quarrel. Nor do I believe, that such a subject is even thought of by one person in fifty thousand, so often as once in twelve months; I believe I might say with truth, so much as once during life. On a country, more peaceful and quiet, it is presumed, the sun never shone. I must, however, acknowledge that there have been, since the settlement of this country, several mobs, and two or three more serious commotions. In Connecticut, the government, whether of the colony or the state, has never met with a single serious attempt at resistance to the execution of its laws. That of Massachusetts was for some time opposed during the latter part of the revolutionary war, and the three years which followed the peace. Several mobs assembled at different times, composed of people from various parts of the county of Hampshire. The first of them were employed in resisting the British government; the rest rose in opposition

to that of the state. Their last effort was in the proper sense an insurrection; and that which immediately preceded it, deserved substantially the same name. In the last, the insurgents, amounting to several hundreds, attempted to take possession of the public arsenal at Springfield; but were dispersed by General Shepard, with the loss of two or three of their number. Some of the ring-leaders were afterwards taken, tried, and sentenced to suffer death; but were pardoned. The cause of these disturbances was the hard pressure of poverty, produced by the ruin of the continental currency, the want of a circulating medium, and a general train of difficulties following from these, and enhanced by a taxation, severe in the amount, and distressing in the mode. The period was also that, in which the former government was annihilated, and the new one imperfectly established. In all these inroads upon good order, detestable as mobs are, not a person lost his life, except those just mentioned.

In New-England, horse-racing is almost, and cock-fighting absolutely unknown. I need not remind you to what a degree these barbarous and profligate sports prevail in Great Britain. In New-England there never was such a thing as a bull-baiting. Suffer me to recal to your remembrance the debates, not long since held in the British parliament on this subject, the decision of that august body, and the speech delivered at that time by the Hon. Mr. Windham.

Our laws provide effectually for the comfortable maintenance of all the poor, who are inhabitants; and, so long as they are with us, of poor strangers, in what country soever they are born; and, when they are sick, supply them with physicians, nurses, and medicines.

The children of the poor are furnished with education and apprenticeships, at the public expense. There is not a country on Earth, where the provision for the wants and sufferings of the poor is so effectual as in New-England. The number of these people is, I acknowledge, very small; and our contributions to their relief are of course small, compared with those in England. At the same time they are abundantly sufficient for their comfortable support. The facts, that the object itself is so limited, that it is distributed into so many hands, that these have no interest in stinting the public

charity, except what is involved in the nature of things, that they are responsible for all their conduct, and that their accounts are regularly laid before the respective town-meetings, or in the instances where this is not done may at any time be called before the public eye, secure a just application of the public bounty, in a degree, which I think it must be impossible to reach in England.

The private charities of New-England are certainly liberal ; inferior, I acknowledge, to those in Great Britain, but superior to those of every other country. Our ancestors brought with them not a small portion of the liberal British spirit. The missionary societies, established here, are a strong proof of the position. In this excellence of character the inhabitants of the eastern coast of Massachusetts stand at the head of their countrymen. But the same spirit spreads honourably through our country.

A poor debtor, confined in prison, may, upon surrendering his property above the value of five pounds, always be discharged, unless the creditor will be at the expense of the maintenance allowed him by law ; and this is so considerable, that scarcely an instance of such a nature occurs. Indeed public opinion is so hostile to this inhumanity, that few men have sufficient hardihood to look it in the face. There is, perhaps, no country in the world, where public opinion has equal influence. When one man injures another in such a manner, as that the injury, elsewhere, would create a duel ; the injurious person is, ordinarily, sufficiently punished by the general discountenance. The knowledge of this more effectually prevents injuries here, than duelling has ever done elsewhere.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VI.

Various Traits of Character of the People of New-England, compared with similar Traits of the Inhabitants of Great Britain. Difficulties found by Englishmen in judging of the Character and Circumstances of the People of this Country.

DEAR SIR;

IN the early part of this work I observed, that every man in New-England, almost without an exception, lives on his own ground, and that the lands are universally holden in fee simple, and by law descend to the children in equal shares. Elsewhere I have observed also, that every freeman is eligible to any office; and that a great proportion of them actually hold public offices at some time or other of their lives. The spirit of independence, naturally resulting from these facts, and from the ample means of subsistence generally furnished by the former of them, you will easily believe, constitutes a distinguishing trait in the character of its inhabitants. This spirit is cherished by the frequency, with which the opportunities of exercising the privilege of election occur. All officers of the parish, town, or state, are elected annually; with the single exception, that in Connecticut the representatives to the legislature are elected semi-annually*. Nations, possessed of civil liberty, have ever thought it wise to cultivate this spirit. In Great Britain particularly, it has been the perpetual boast of her citizens. In the opinion of other nations, your countrymen have carried it beyond the bounds, which reason can justify; and have rendered themselves less amiable, and less acceptable, than from their solid, sturdy virtues might be wished. That you may not

* Under the new constitution, representatives are elected but once a year.—*Pub.*

think me as destitute of candour and liberality as I think the men whose opinions I have combated, I will subjoin the following testimony from one of the most admired of your modern poets.

I see the lords of human kind pass by,
 Pride in their port, defiance in their eye ;
 Intent on high designs ; a thoughtful band,
 By forms unfashion'd, fresh from nature's hand ;
 Fierce in their native hardiness of soul ;
 True to imagin'd right ; above control ;
 While e'en the peasant boasts these rights to scan,
 And learns to venerate himself as man.
 Thine, freedom, thine the blessings pictur'd here ;
 Thine are those charms, that dazzle and endear :
 Too blest indeed were such without alloy ;
 But, foster'd e'en by freedom, ills annoy.
 That independence Britons prize too high,
 Keeps man from man, and breaks the social tie ;
 The self-dependent lordlings stand alone,
 All claims that bind and sweeten life unknown.
 Here, by the bonds of nature feebly held,
 Minds combat minds, repelling and repell'd ;
 Ferments arise, imprison'd factions roar ;
 Repress'd ambition struggles round her shore ;
 Till, over-wrought, the general system feels
 Its motion stop, or frenzy fires the wheels.
 Nor this the worst*.

It is unnecessary to comment on this picture, as well as on the lines, which immediately follow. Allowing it to be just, it exhibits more of a trace of savage character than every thing of which I have been a witness among my own countrymen. We are styled proud, haughty, insolent republicans. Among your literary people the republican days of Rome and of Greece are accounted their best days. Even they, therefore, do not consider a republican government as necessarily injurious to the human character. Yet the Romans and Greeks were both much more haughty than we are ; nay, your own countrymen are much more haughty. This I know with certainty, both by the books, and by the conversation of gentlemen from most parts of the continent of Europe. Indeed, you must have seen the names of proud

* Goldsmith's Traveller.

and haughty Islanders, applied to the British almost proverbially. Nay, sir, the very same thing has been repeatedly declared to me by several of your own countrymen, who have resided in America long enough to be acquainted with the manners and character of her inhabitants. These with one voice have frankly told me, that they have found more civilities, and more kind offices, cheerfully rendered to them here, than they should have expected, or probably have found, without the circle of their friends, from their countrymen in an equal period of time.

Of the numerous Englishmen, who have visited these states, I have seen not a small number. The manners of these, of every rank, and some of them have been persons of considerable distinction, have, with a small number of exceptions, been less unassuming, less civil, more distant, more self-complacent, and more forbidding, than those of my own countrymen in similar spheres of life. You will not understand by this, that I think ill of British manners. A frank, intelligent, open-hearted, worthy man, from Great Britain, who has had the liberality to lay aside his national peculiarities, is as agreeable a companion as I wish to converse with.

A principal reason, why your countrymen complain of obliging conduct in mine, is, that they provoke this treatment. An Englishman, when he enters an inn, treats the inn-keeper as if he were his servant; perhaps I might say with truth, his slave; and it is remarkable, that they are the only people, who exhibit this treatment. Unused to it from others, the inn-keeper bears it impatiently from them. Whether this behaviour of the traveller is proper and defensible, I shall not now stop to inquire. It is not customary; and for this reason, at least, unwelcome. As every New-England man feels entirely independent, it is not strange that he should not brook what he considers as unmerited abuse. A little civility would have commanded every effort of the inn-keeper to please him*. I think so much might be conceded to the manners of the country. Travellers ordinarily yield much more to the manners of other countries.

Another misfortune of the same nature is, that Englishmen

* See remarks on Lambert.

are very commonly dissatisfied with every thing which is done for them. Some of them can find nothing fit to be eaten or drank; and that apparently because they were pre-determined not to be pleased. Numerous impositions have been sportively practised upon them, in consequence of this characteristic spirit. The Philadelphian porter, which when known to be Philadelphian they have thought detestable, has afterwards, when they believed it to be of London manufacture, been pronounced to be excellent; and Connecticut cheese has in the same extraordinary manner changed its nature. I have the best reason to believe, that your inns are better than ours; but I have equal reason to believe, that ours are better than those of any other country.

We are complained of as inquisitive. We are so; but very rarely, I suspect, in any such manner as to justify the complaints. I have mentioned the extent to which I have travelled in New-England and New-York, during the last sixteen years; and these Letters are ample proof, that the parts of these countries, which I have visited, are very numerous. In this employment I have spent at different times between two and three years; but do not remember that I have been once asked by an innkeeper, during the whole of this progress, who I was, whence I came, whither I was going, or what was my business; nor do I recollect, that I have met with a single incivility. I have found innkeepers in various instances poor, ill-furnished, and unpolished; but cannot recal more than two or three instances, in which they have been disobliging. All the instances in which innkeepers have seated themselves with me at table, or offered to sit in the room, of which I had taken possession, except one, are, I believe, mentioned in these Letters. I cannot think, that cases of this nature occur very often to others. Permit me to suspect, that your travellers create some of them, and see others through a multiplying glass.

At the same time, an inn is a very imperfect representative of the town in which it stands; and neither an innkeeper nor his servants ought to be considered as standards of the intelligence, character, or manners of the inhabitants at large; certainly not of those, who are the most enlightened and po-

The Englishmen, and most Europeans who travel through this country, hasten with the rapidity of the stage from one great town to another. To men, bred in such towns, this is certainly a very natural course; but it makes it impossible for them to know the state of the country, through which they pass. A little they learn sometimes from their fellow-travellers; and a little more they glean at inns. Most of what they are told is very imperfectly told, and more imperfectly understood. The remainder of their information is picked up in cities; many of whose inhabitants know as little of the country as themselves. The state of almost every thing, here, is so different from that of the same things on the eastern continent; the habits of those who judge, and the standards of thinking, to which all that is judged of is referred, are so unsuited to the objects which present themselves, that it is scarcely possible for a mere traveller not to err materially, when forming his opinions. The late Dr. Wither-
 spoon, president of the college at Princeton in New-Jersey, once observed, that it was necessary for an inhabitant of Great Britain to live eight or ten years in America, in order to form those opinions concerning the state of the country, which he would ultimately consider as just. "For example," said he, "if you were to tell a North Briton, that the people of this country universally live upon beef, mutton, veal, and other animal food, which they eat once, twice, or thrice every day; he would believe, that they were all possessed of fortunes; because none in that country, besides those who have fortunes, live in this manner. Whereas, if you should tell the same man, that he would find a wooden latch on one or more of the doors of a great number of the houses; he would conclude at once, that all these were cottages; because such latches are never found on any other buildings in North Britain."

The import of these observations is applicable in a greater or less degree to very many things in this country. Our government, our laws, our religion, our manners, the state of arts and manufactures, our literature, our science, our climate, nay even the state of vegetation, are either in their nature, or their dependence on their respective causes, or their connection with each other, or their mutual influence, of neces-

sity imperfectly understood, and regularly more or less misapprehended, by every foreigner who passes through the country. This is evident beyond a debate to every intelligent American, in his conversation with every foreigner.

You will naturally object to these observations, that these things are chiefly the same with those in Great Britain, or very similar. You will say, that our government is the same with yours, except some slight shades of difference; that our religion is the same in all its varieties; that our manners are the same; and that this is true of our whole state of society. What I mean is, that you will consider all these things as copies, imperfect indeed, but still copies, of the same things in Great Britain. Where, then, you will ask, is the difficulty, which an Englishman will find in readily discerning and comprehending whatever meets his eye in New-England?

As the subject has never been publicly discussed; and as the contrary opinion to that which I have here advanced appears universally to be adopted by Britons, particularly by Englishmen, as the effects of it have hitherto been only malignant, and as just opinions in your countrymen concerning mine must be of considerable importance, if we are hereafter to be connected as friends; I will endeavour to convince you, that the observations, which I have made on the subject, are just. For this purpose I ask your attention to the following remarks.

1. There are more differences in the state of things in the two countries than an Englishman can possibly preconceive. Almost the only difference, which he is prepared to expect, is involved in the general inferiority of all those things which I have mentioned to the same things in his own country. This opinion is extensively erroneous. The inhabitants of New-England as a body are in many respects not inferior, and in some superior, to those of England. In the older settlements they are more religious, and have better morals; not, I acknowledge, than very many of your countrymen; yet it is true of them *en masse*. We have fewer corruptions, we have more of the simplicity and innocence of youth. Centuries must pass over our heads before we shall be able or willing to practise one half of the enormities, which are

recited in Colquhoun's *Police of London*, or his *Police of the Thames*. At the same time we are behind you in learning, science, and a multitude of mechanical and manufacturing arts; in agriculture, in architecture, in commerce, and in wealth; in the fine arts, in liberality, and in various other advantages of improved society. Still we have fewer prejudices, both because we are a less important part of the human family, and have therefore fewer temptations to them; and because we have had less time to form and rivet them. Great, powerful, and splendid nations, never do justice to those, which are inferior. The great nations are the tribunals, which decide in every case where a comparison is made between them and others. Great nations are the painters; and always paint themselves riding. Inferior nations are only painted by them; and regularly appear on the picture as ridden. The mere continuance of this progress rivets the opinions, adopted by the former, to such a degree, that they ultimately obtain the force of a law; to revolt from which is considered as a kind of rebellion.

At the same time we are more affable, more easy of access, and universally more social, and more ready to oblige.

We are also more orderly, quiet, and peaceful; are governed with less difficulty, and by milder measures.

Our common people are far better educated than yours, both in the school and in the church; and for this very good reason, that they are all at school, and almost all at church. All of them can read, and write, and keep accounts. Almost all of them do read; and many of them much. At the same time our state of society prompts men to become acquainted with many things beside their own business. *That*, they understand generally less perfectly than the English. But they understand many things, of which the same classes in England know little or nothing. An English artisan, or farmer, bends, and is obliged to bend, the whole force of his mind to the attainment of perfection in his proper employment; and this he accomplishes in a degree rarely reached by the citizens of any other country. A New-Englander is under no such necessity; and finds many inducements to turn his thoughts towards many other objects. In this manner he becomes, to a con-

siderable extent, actually acquainted with those objects; and acquires an expansion of mind, and a rationality of character, not often found in any other country.

We have in New-England no such class of men as on the eastern side of the Atlantic are denominated peasantry. The number of those, who are mere labourers, is almost nothing, except in a few of the populous towns; and almost all these are collected from the shiftless, the idle, and the vicious. A great part of them are foreigners. Here every apprentice originally intends to establish, and with scarcely an exception actually establishes himself in business. Every seaman designs to become, and a great proportion of them really become mates and masters of vessels; and every young man, hired to work upon a farm, aims steadily to acquire a farm for himself; and hardly one fails of the acquisition. We have few of those amphibious beings, of whom you have such a host, who pass through life under the name of journeymen. All men here are masters of themselves: and such is the combined effect of education and society, that he who fails of success in one kind of business, may almost of course betake himself with advantage to another.

To dismiss the subject, there is a vein of practical good sense, the most valuable of all intellectual possessions, running through the people of New-England, which may be considered as their characteristic distinction. The old Roman question, "Cui bono erit?" is asked here perhaps more frequently, and more universally, than in any other country.

2. The very fact, that these differences are very small, as in many instances they undoubtedly are, prevents them from being observed. It is an observation of several respectable grammarians, that the English language is worse written, and its grammar less understood, because its analogies, and consequently its rules, are so few; and because it may be tolerably understood and written, almost without any knowledge of grammar. The late Dr. Rogers, an eminent clergyman in New-York, once observed to me, that it was hardly possible to give a Presbyterian minister from Scotland just and distinct apprehensions of American Presbyterianism.

3. Englishmen generally, at least those who converse with

us, or write about us, consider our country as scarcely meriting any attentive examination.

As I feel very little interested in this opinion, I shall not here inquire whether it is just or not. It is only necessary to remark, that those who hold it will never examine sufficiently to find out what is true. Your travellers, who visit us, are generally in the full pursuit of either business or pleasure; and in both cases fail necessarily of learning the state of the country. Still they are generally desirous of being thought to be acquainted with it; and, let me add, usually deliver their opinions with at least as much confidence as if their information was sound and comprehensive.

4. They enter the country with strong preconceptions of their own superior wisdom; and thence judge without thought, and determine without a suspicion, that they are liable to error. To know beforehand is to be always deceived.

5. Their habits of thinking necessarily lead them into a train of misconceptions. A person who reads English books, or converses with Englishmen, will soon perceive, that there are certain standards of opinion, adopted by them, which they rarely think of calling in question, so far as to make them even subjects of examination. Nor does it appear to make much difference, whether the opinions are just or erroneous. Thus a high churchman holds the doctrine of passive obedience and the divine right of bishops, without considering either as admitting even of a debate. A low churchman would hardly allow either of them to be defensible. A member of the established church of either character pleads for the importance of Episcopacy, that it secures effectually the necessary discipline of the Gospel, both with respect to ministers and private Christians. Yet the discipline of our churches is incomparably more regular, exact, and efficacious, than that of yours. Examples of this nature might be multiplied in all the spheres and concerns of life. All old, established society is subjected of course to this mode of thinking; and by refusing to examine its opinions, continues, in many cases, in unnecessary errors. Sometimes these modes of thinking spring so entirely from mere circumstances, that they may be excused, or at least pitied. At others they are so mingled

with ill-temper and perverseness as to merit censure. In both cases they are sources of errors, which are numerous and unhappy.

Among these habits a sweeping one is a general conviction, perhaps I ought rather to say determination, that almost every thing in England is right, and that every thing which differs from it here is wrong. Englishmen, more I believe than any other people, employ themselves, when abroad, in comparing every thing, which they think worth their attention, with that which is of a similar nature in their own country; and this I am convinced, in many instances, with a settled disposition to give the preference, at all events, to what is their own. The consequence is, that whatever becomes the subject of their discussion is condemned almost of course. I well know, that there are many things in England, which are better than the same things in most other countries. Yet it is far from being true of all. I also know, that many things are good, which are not the best; that things have an inherent as well as a comparative value, and that this will not be forgotten by men of candour and good sense. To English travellers in the United States it seems scarcely to be known at all. The result of such a mode of judging I need not specify.

6. Many of your countrymen feel some hostility to America on the score of the revolution. So often does this spirit discover itself, that my assertion will not be disputed. Permit me to add, that I think such a disposition, either in the British or the Americans, unwise and unhappy.

7. Your travellers, partly for the want of better information, and partly from a willingness to receive them, adopt without hesitation a collection of old tales concerning the inhabitants of New-England, which, I confess, have been so often repeated by contemptible prejudice, as to be extensively believed by a credulity, scarcely less contemptible. Generally, however, they are false even to a ridiculous degree; and, where they are true, have as little connection with the present state of this country as with England itself. We have our faults and our follies; and both are numerous; but it is unnecessary to increase the number from this source.

8. Englishmen are obliged to encounter here a considerable number of real evils, and lose a number of real enjoyments,

when they leave their own country and reside in this. In England, men, who have sufficient property, can find almost every enjoyment of life, which their climate will permit, their soil yield, or their commerce and manufactures furnish, provided in a sense to their hands. Business is there so far systematized, and all its fruits, if I may call them such, are so regularly brought into the market, that every such man may command any of them at his pleasure. But this cannot be so extensively or easily done here, even in our large cities. Our markets, in the literal sense, are indeed almost glutted with every thing which can be eaten or drank. In fine fruits, it is unnecessary to say, our country incomparably exceeds yours, both as to their richness and variety; and those of the West Indian islands are brought hither in profusion. Wines also are sold here in vast abundance, and on very moderate terms. But articles, which we eat and drink, are far from constituting the whole list of what the case demands. If an Englishman here wants to build a house, he cannot always find a man, who will contrive a house for him such as he wishes, and take the whole trouble of building it upon himself. If he wishes to hire labourers, he will obtain them with more difficulty, they will do less labour, and they will demand a price two or three times greater than in his own country. At the same time they will not do his work so well, will treat him with less respect, and, if he affronts them, will scarcely work for him again. Still greater will be his difficulty in obtaining and keeping servants. They are always in demand; and the competition is not for the place, but for the service. Hence they feel themselves to be important, are disobliging, rude, disposed often to change their place, and will not unfrequently quit it with little or no warning.

In addition to these things, an Englishman finds a variety of sufferings growing out of the general fact, that his mode of life is in many respects materially changed from what it was in his own country. All his habits he brings with him: and these, in reality, form not only his enjoyments, but the man himself. In a variety of ways they are here disturbed, and in some counteracted. Our climate is, alternately, severely cold and severely hot. The damp, the wet, and the mud of his own country he was accustomed to from his infancy, and

therefore thought nothing of them; although the same weather, when it exists here, is more disagreeable to us than our heat and cold. But the cold and the heat are new to him, and therefore extremely uncomfortable. His conveniences for travelling are materially lessened; unless, indeed, he will make use of his own vehicles. Our stages are fewer, less convenient, furnished by owners and driven by coachmen less obliging.

He wishes to hunt; but often will be able to find neither hounds, nor hares, nor foxes, nor fellow-sportsmen. In the same manner he looks in vain for a variety of enjoyments to which he has been attached, at least in the same perfection.

The first impressions of a traveller, and still more of a resident in a foreign country, are those, which are made by a violation of his habits. From this source he is a loser in many ways; while the country, in which he now is, furnishes very little, which he can substitute for what he has lost. The country, in which he is, cannot give him new habits, until he has been in it long enough to form them; and until they are formed, nothing, which it contains, will give him the satisfaction found by him in their indulgence. The enjoyments, which the native inhabitants esteem exquisite, and much superior to those in which he once delighted, yield him little pleasure, because they have not been endeared to him by habit. A native of the Southern States, when he comes to the North, finds all his habits violated in the same manner; and would scarcely, for any consideration, be induced to take up his residence here. A Northern man inverts these facts, and would with as much difficulty be persuaded to continue in the South. Nay, an inhabitant of New-England, who has spent one or two years in Great Britain, feels exactly the same emotions; and returns with as much satisfaction as even Weld himself, when quitting the United States for his native country. There is something so respectable in the *amor patriæ*, that I feel little disposition to contend with a foreigner on this subject; and can forget many of his prejudices, while I look at the dignity, scarcely separable from this affection. Another set of impressions, early and increasingly felt by these persons, is derived from the absence of their peculiar friends. The effect of this is in some degree to divest every

pleasing object of its brilliancy, to diminish the pleasure which it might convey, and to make every painful one still more painful. The unhappiness, which springs from this source, will awaken the sympathy, and the character of the sufferer will command the esteem, of every generous mind.

If these remarks are allowed to be just, they will certainly go far towards explaining a considerable part of the errors, with which your travellers in America certainly abound. Some others are undoubtedly attributable to personal character. The number and nature of these are such, that, if British travellers have represented other countries with as little skill and correctness as they have done ours, the world will derive little advantage from their writings.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VII.

Modes of Living. Amusements. People of New-England fond of acquiring Knowledge. Happy Effects of this Trait of Character. The Sabbath observed with Sobriety and Reverence. Marriages. Funerals.

DEAR SIR ;

THE means of comfortable living are in New-England so abundant, and so easily obtained, as to be within the reach of every man who has health, industry, common honesty, and common sense. Labour commands such a price, that every labourer of this character may earn from one hundred and twenty-five to two hundred and fifty dollars a year*. Hence every one may, within a moderate period, purchase himself a farm of considerable extent in the recent settlements, and a small one in those which are older. Even those, who are somewhat below the common level in these attributes, may and do acquire small houses and gardens, where they usually live comfortably.

The food of the inhabitants at large, even of the poor, is principally flesh and fish ; one or other of which is eaten by a greater part of the inhabitants twice and three times a day. A breakfast, in the large towns, is chiefly bread and butter ; the bread in the cool season generally toasted. In the country almost universally this is accompanied with smoke-dried beef, cheese, or some species of fish or flesh broiled, or otherwise fitted to the taste of the family. So universal is this custom, that a breakfast without such an addition is considered as scarcely worth eating. At dinner, the vegetables, which I formerly mentioned, continually succeed each other in their varieties. Fruits also, which you will remember are here very numerous and various, as well as very rich and luscious,

are brought upon the dinner-table, or are eaten in other parts of the day, throughout most of the year. Supper, in most parts of the country, is like the breakfast, except that it is made up partially of preserved fruits, different kinds of cake, pies, tarts, &c. The meats, used at breakfast and supper, are generally intended to be dainties.

Puddings, formed of rice, flour, maize, and sometimes of buck-wheat, very frequently constitute a part of the dinner.

Pork, except the hams, shoulders, and cheeks, is never converted into bacon. I do not know that I ever saw a flitch of bacon cured in New-England in my life. The sides of the hog are here always pickled, and by the New-England people are esteemed much superior to bacon. The pork of New-England is fatted upon maize, a sweeter and richer food for cattle of all kinds than any other, is more skilfully cured, and is, therefore, better than that of any other country. It is also a favourite food with most of the inhabitants.

Tea and coffee constitute a part of the breakfast and supper of every class, and of almost every individual. The principal drink of the inhabitants is cyder. Wine, which is here very cheap, is extensively used; so in the mild season is punch. Porter, also, is drunk by fashionable people; and, in small quantities, ale. In the large towns, particularly in Boston, dinners are given without number, but much more unfrequently in the smaller ones. The favourite entertainment in them is the supper. For this there are two potent reasons. One is, every body is here employed in business through the day. The evening, being the only season of leisure, furnishes the best opportunity for that agreeable intercourse, which is the primary object of all entertainments. The other is, the want of a sufficient number of servants to take the burthen of superintending the preparation of dinners from the mistress of the family. I have been present at a very great multitude of entertainments of both kinds, and am compelled to say, that those of the evening are much the most pleasant and rational. There is less excess, and more leisure; the mind is more cheerful; and the conversation almost of course more sprightly, interesting, and useful.

The hours of breakfast vary in the country from six to eight in the summer, and from seven to nine in the winter; those of

dinner from twelve to two; those of supper from five to eight. In the large towns all these hours vary still more. The most, fashionable people breakfast late, and dine from three to four. The food of such people is principally taken at a single meal. In the summer many of the labouring people make their principal meal at supper.

The proportion of animal food, eaten in this country, is, I think, excessive.

At entertainments, the dining-table is loaded with a much greater variety of dishes than good sense will justify. A fashion, which it is difficult to resist, prevails, in this respect, over every rational consideration.

The quantity of ardent spirits, consumed chiefly by the middle and lower classes of people, is scandalous to its character, although much less in its amount than that drank by the same number of people in Great Britain.

The dress of the inhabitants is chiefly formed of the manufactures, and made up in the fashions of Europe, particularly of Great Britain.

The principal amusements of the inhabitants are visiting, dancing, music, conversation, walking, riding, sailing, shooting at a mark, draughts, chess, and unhappily, in some of the larger towns, cards, and dramatic exhibitions. A considerable amusement is also furnished in many places by the examination and exhibitions of the superior schools; and a more considerable one by the public exhibitions of colleges.

Our countrymen also fish and hunt.

Journies taken for pleasure are very numerous, and are a very favourite object.

Boys and young men play at foot-ball, cricket, quoits, and at many other sports of an athletic cast, and in the winter are peculiarly fond of skating. Riding in a sleigh, or sledge, is also a favourite diversion in New-England.

People of wealth, and many in moderate circumstances, have their children taught music, particularly on the piano-forte; and many of the young men play on the German flute, violin, clarionet, &c. Serenading is not unfrequent.

Visiting, on the plan of sociality and friendship, is here among all classes of people, especially among those who are intelligent and refined, a very agreeable and very rational

source of enjoyment ; and is usually free from the crowds and confusion, the ceremony and frivolity, which so often render scenes of this nature wearisome in great cities, and force the hours, devoted to them, to drag heavily ; while

“ The heart, distrustful, asks if this be joy.”

Visits are here formed for the purposes of interchanging thought, affection, hospitality, and pleasure. With far less parade, less inconvenience to the family visited, and less trouble to the visitors, they are fraught with more cordiality, more good sense, more sprightliness, and incomparably more pleasure. The themes of conversation are of a superior class ; the affections and sentiments are set upon a higher key ; and the company part, not with eagerness, but with regret.

Reading also is a favourite employment with persons in almost all conditions of life. A considerable collection of books, throughout a great part of this country, is furnished to the inhabitants by the social libraries heretofore mentioned. Private libraries are undoubtedly much more limited than in Great Britain. Many of them are, however, sufficient collections to extend much useful information, and to supply not a small fund of pleasure to their proprietors and others. By these means a great number of persons are enabled to read as extensively as their other avocations will permit ; and all, who love reading, will find or make opportunities for pursuing it, which in the aggregate will constitute a considerable, as well as valuable and delightful part of their lives. Accordingly this employment is pursued by men and women in almost every sphere of life*.

* The reading of newspapers in this country is undoubtedly excessive, as is also the number of such papers annually published. Yet it cannot be denied, that newspapers, conducted with moderation, integrity, and skill, are capable of being useful to a community ; or that the reading of them to some extent is a pleasant, rational, and profitable employment. Several newspapers in this country are conducted by men of education and talents.

The following account of gazettes, formerly published in the British colonies, for which I am indebted to the researches of the Rev. Dr. Sales, president of Yale college, cannot fail of gratifying the reader.

There were printed, in 1765, in the British colonies,

Quebec Gazette ; Brown and Gilman, August 22, No. 62 :

Halifax Gazette.

New-Hampshire Gazette ; Daniel and Robert Fowl, Sept. 23, No. 468.

We are often censured for diffusing a smattering of learning and science throughout a great part of the community, as

- Portsmouth Mercury ; Daniel and Russell, September 27, No. 36.
- Boston Gazette ; Edes and Gill, September 30, No. 548.
- Evening Post ; T. and John Fleet, September 30, No. 1568.
- Massachusetts Gazette ; Richard Draper, August 15, No. 3208.
- Boston Postboy ; Green and Russell, August 5, No. 406.
- Newport Mercury ; Samuel Hall.
- Providence Gazette ; Goddard, dropt in August.
- New-London Gazette ; Timothy Green, September 27, No. 98.
- Connecticut Gazette, at New-Haven ; B. Mecom, Sept. 27, No. 488.
- Connecticut Courant, Hartford ; T. Green, September 30, No. 45.
- New-York Gazette ; John Hall, September 26, No. 1186.
- Mercury ; Hugh Gaine, September 30, No. 727.
- Weyman's New-York Gazette ; W. Weyman, November 25, No. 343.
- Pennsylvania Gazette ; B. Franklin and D. Hall, Sept. 26, No. 1918.
- Pennsylvania Journal ; William Bradford, September 26, No. 1190.
- Maryland Gazette, Annapolis ; Jonas Green and Wm. Rind, Sept. 19, No. 1063.
- Virginia Gazette, Williamsburgh ; Alex. Purdy, March 7, No. 772.
- North Carolina Gazette, Wilmington ; Andrew Stuart, April 9, No. 78.
- South Carolina Gazette ; Peter Timothy, October 31, No. 1607.
- South Carolina and American Gazette ; Robert Wells, Oct. 31, No. 364.
- Georgia Gazette, Savannah ; James Johnston, No. 149.
- South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal ; Charles Crouch, Dec. 17, No. 1.
- Virginia Gazette ; August 1, No. 12.

For the first eighty years after the British colonies began to be settled, there were no newspapers printed in any of them. The first was the Massachusetts Gazette, originally the Boston Weekly News-Letter, which was published in 1704. There were only seven published before 1750. In 1765, there were twenty-six on the continent, and five in the West India islands. These were the Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Christopher, Antigua, and Grenada Gazettes.

	Begun
The Massachusetts Gazette	1704
New-England Courant	1721
Pennsylvania Gazette	1728
South Carolina Gazette	1734
Boston Evening Post	1735
New-York Gazette	1742
Pennsylvania Journal	1742
Maryland Gazette	1745
New-York Mercury	1751
Boston Gazette	1755
Connecticut Gazette	1755

well as for not communicating them in higher degrees to persons liberally educated. Is this censure just? Is it a misfortune to any man to have his capacity enlarged beyond that of a mere peasant? Is it undesirable, that men in plain life should be enabled to think rationally and soundly concerning religion, morals, the general concerns of their country, the affairs of the town and parish in which they reside, the personal and social duties, and the business which they are to pursue? Is it undesirable even to spread their views beyond the limits of their country, and the age in which they live? Can the impropriety be pointed out, of instructing such persons, to some extent, in geography or history? Can there be any disadvantage in teaching persons to generalize their thoughts; to combine facts and principles; and to reason from those, which they already know, to those, which from time to time become objects of their investigation, and are governed by the same or kindred analogies? Can it be undesirable, that any classes of mankind, who are destined to

Portsmouth Mercury 1765

Boston Postboy 1757

About seventeen or eighteen years since I collected, with some painstaking, a list of the several newspapers published in this country. There were at that time in

Vermont 6

New-Hampshire 11

Maine 3

Massachusetts 19

Rhode-Island 3

Connecticut 13

In New-England 55

New-York 21

New-Jersey 5

Pennsylvania 14

Delaware 1

Maryland 7

Virginia 6

North Carolina 5

South Carolina 3

Georgia 1

Kentucky 1

Tennessee 1

Total 130

pass through old age, a season at the best sufficiently destitute of comforts, should acquire the means which reading, and the rational conversation furnished by it, supply to man, of cheering the hours of declining life, and gilding the otherwise melancholy evening of their days with serenity and sunshine? Can it be proper, that those, who are to be parents, should be precluded from the power of giving rational instruction to their children?

Were this censure uttered by a vain, pert stripling, who, having acquired a little knowledge, felt impatient at the thought of seeing others become his rivals, it certainly ought to excite no surprise nor resentment. From men, sufficiently informed to understand the value of knowledge, and to discern both the usefulness and the pleasure of which it is the natural source, it comes with a very ill grace; and the contempt, with which it is expressed, recoils deservedly and irresistibly upon its authors.

I know it will be said, that when persons in humble life become possessed of the information here referred to, they are apt to rise above their proper station and business. The peasant will no longer be contented to be a peasant; and the labourer will leave his daily task, not from indolence, but from pride. Whatever truth or force this observation may derive from the state of society in Europe, it is here destitute of force, and almost of meaning. We have no peasants, unless that name is to be applied to a number of labourers, very small, and those chiefly resident in our cities. No man here begins life with the expectation of being a mere labourer. All intend to possess, and almost all actually possess, a comfortable degree of property and independence. The ascent to better circumstances and higher stations is always open; and there are very few who do not attempt to rise. He, who is discontented with his present condition, is at perfect liberty to quit it for another, more agreeable to his wishes; and a great multitude actually quit their original poverty and insignificance for wealth and reputation. No disadvantages result to the community from this source; the benefits derived from it are very numerous, and everywhere visible.

It is farther said, that such a diffusion of knowledge over the community creates discontentment, an inclination to med-

dle with politics, the fretfulness and turmoil awakened by petty ambition, and ultimately a disturbance of the peace of society. It has always been the ardent wish of the great to keep the small quiet by such means as were in their power; and nothing is more obvious, than that ignorance is one of the most effectual preventives of that uneasiness in the subordinate classes of men, which at times have threatened the existence of social order. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that the superior ranks should have looked on the mental improvement of their inferiors with an eye of jealousy; and, although ashamed to commend ignorance in the abstract, or in Protestant countries to pronounce it the mother of devotion, that they should still contemplate it with not a little degree of complacency.

That jealousy is blind is an adage. In New-England no part of the fears, which give birth to this objection, have been realized. That diffusion of knowledge can be fraught with no inherent danger, which for near two hundred years has produced none. There is not, there never was, a more quiet or more orderly state of society than that which has existed in Connecticut from the beginning, and in all the old settlements of New-England, with too few exceptions to deserve notice. Against this proof, from experience, the conjectures of the most learned men on the other side of the Atlantic will, to a New-Englander, be urged in vain. The magistrate, in the mean time, will here see his official duty stripped of half its incumbrances, and peace established around him by the good sense and good principles of those whom he governs. The minister will behold his church and congregation ordinarily settled upon firmer foundations, and yielding less to every wind of doctrine than in most other countries. The neighbourhood, also, will be rendered social and pleasant; and life pass on with more peace and comfort than were ever yielded by ignorance in any of its gradations.

To the individuals, who are thus enlightened (enlightened, I mean, when compared with those of other countries in the same circumstances), the advantages are often incalculable. A New-Englander imbibes, from this education, an universal habit of combining the objects of thought, and comparing them in such a manner as to generalise his views with no small

degree of that readiness and skill, which in many countries are considered as peculiar to a scientific education. Hence he often discerns means of business and profit, which elsewhere are chiefly concealed from men of the same class. Hence, when prevented from pursuing one kind of business, or unfortunate in it, he easily, and in very many instances successfully, commences another. Hence he avails himself of occurrences, which are unregarded by most other men.

From this source have been derived many original machines for abridging human labour, and improving its results; not a small number of which have been invented by persons who had received no education, except that which has excited these observations. A house-joiner in Massachusetts, if I have been correctly informed, has invented a stocking loom, elsewhere mentioned, which weaves six stockings a day. Universally our people are, by this degree of education, fitted to make the best of their circumstances, both at home and abroad; to find subsistence where others would fail of it; to advance in their property, and their influence, where others would stand still; and to extricate themselves from difficulties, where others would despond. Universally, also, they teach their children more and better things than persons of less information teach theirs; and are regularly induced to give them, if possible, a better education than themselves have received.

In a war on the land and on the water, the New-Englanders, with the same discipline and experience, will be found more expert, both as soldiers and seamen, than the inhabitants of most other countries.

I will conclude this Letter with a few observations concerning two or three other subjects intimately connected with the manners of this country.

The sabbath is observed in New-England with a greater degree of sobriety and strictness than in any other part of the world. As we have been very often severely censured on this very account, the truth of the observation may of course be admitted. Public worship is regularly attended twice every sabbath by a very great part of our people; and is everywhere attended with decorum and reverence. Our laws in Massachusetts and Connecticut forbid travelling upon

the sabbath: the whole day here being considered as sequestered by God to himself, and consecrated to the duties of religion. Some of your countrymen, and not a small number of ours, regard this prohibition as an unwarrantable encroachment on personal rights, and complain of the laws with not a little bitterness. We without hesitation pronounce them to be right; founded on the law of God; and necessary to the preservation, as well as to the peaceful enjoyment of that all-important institution. Some of your divines teach us, that the New Testament has relaxed the severity of the law which prescribed the manner of observing the sabbath to the Jewish nation. That the municipal law, which punished a Jewish sabbath-breaker, is not obligatory upon the Gentiles, any more than the rest of that code in which it is found, is without a question sufficiently taught in the New Testament; but in what place, in this volume, the fourth command is at all relaxed, or the prescription which discloses the duties of the sabbath in the 58th chapter of Isaiah, I am yet to learn. If these gentlemen would distinctly point us to the passages of the New Testament, in which we are released from the duty "of turning away our foot from doing our own pleasure on this holy day;" and are permitted to "do our own ways, to find our own pleasure, and to speak our own words," instead of "esteeming the sabbath a delight, and the holy of the Lord honourable;" they certainly would throw new light on the subject, and rescue many individuals from the reproaches of a wounded conscience. By the Christians of this country the strict observation of the sabbath is esteemed a privilege, and not a burthen; and to be released from it a diminution, not an increase of the blessings given to the Jewish church. Until this is done, we shall continue to believe, that the sabbath is to be kept holy unto the end.

You will not question, that every government is bound to secure the religious privileges of its subjects; and that every Christian government is, of course, under obligations to secure to its subjects the undisturbed enjoyment of the sabbath. Wherever travelling is permitted, this becomes impossible. Our churches stand almost universally, as do most of our private dwellings, upon the public roads. Every traveller, therefore, disturbs both the public and private duties of the sabbath.

As to the plea, that the prohibition of travelling or amusements is an intrusion upon the rights of strangers, I regard it as contemptible. All strangers of common sense, and common decency, feel themselves bound quietly to submit to the laws of any country in which they are, so long as it gives them protection: and shall it be said, that a traveller is under obligations to obey the laws of Turkey, Arabia, Cochin-China, and even of Caffraria, while he resides in those countries, and not be under the same obligation quietly to submit to those of Massachusetts, or Connecticut? Strangers have no right to prescribe; it is their business quietly to obey.

Marriages were formerly festivals of considerable significance in this country. It was customary to invite even the remote relations of the parties, all their particular friends, and a great number of their neighbours. A dinner was made, in form, by the parents of the bride for the bridegroom and a numerous suite. The marriage was celebrated in the evening. Cake and wine were plentifully distributed among the guests; and the festivity was concluded with dancing. At the present time the guests are usually very few.

Justices of the peace are throughout New-England authorized to marry, but are rarely if ever employed to perform this service when a clergyman can be obtained. As it is everywhere believed to be a divine institution, it is considered as involved, of course, within the duties of the sacred office. An absolute decency is observed during the celebration.

At the funerals in New-England, the friends and neighbours attend of course. When the assembly is gathered by the ringing of the parish bell, a prayer is made at the house in which the deceased lived, by the clergyman, and is always adapted to the occasion. The corpse is then conveyed to the grave, either upon a hearse or upon men's shoulders. In the latter case, the young men of the town always voluntarily offer their services in sufficient numbers. A solemn procession accompanies it, and to a great extent it is attended by pall-bearers. After the corpse is committed to the grave, in many places a solemn address is made by the clergyman to the assembly, and the thanks of the surviving family are re-

turned to those who are present for their attendance; and, in cases where the disease has been of long continuance, to such as have exhibited kindnesses to the sick and mourning family. Sometimes the procession is formed anew, and accompanies the mourners to their habitation; but more frequently the company disperses. In either case an entire decorum is preserved.

I am, Sir, &c.

RELIGION OF NEW-ENGLAND.

LETTER I.

History of Religion in New-England from the year 1755. Effects of the French and Revolutionary Wars. Evils arising from the Introduction of Foreigners into the Country.

DEAR SIR ;

THE actual state of religion in any country must, of course, be an interesting object of investigation to every sober and intelligent man. To give you a correct view of this subject, so far as New-England is concerned, it will be necessary for me to go back to the war, which commenced in 1755, and terminated in 1763. Antecedently to the first of these periods, all the changes in the religious state of this country were such as left the principles of its inhabitants essentially the same. They were not changes of the commanding character, but shades of that character ; through which it varied towards greater or less degrees of purity. From the first settlement of the country to the commencement of that war, the same reverence for God, the same justice, truth, and benevolence, the same opposition to inordinate indulgences of passion and appetite, prevailed without any material exceptions. An universal veneration for the sabbath, a sacred respect for government, an undoubting belief in Divine revelation, and an unconditional acknowledgment and performance of the common social duties, constituted everywhere a prominent character. I have said that the exceptions were not material. It is not intended that the whole number was inconsiderable ; nor that vice was not found in various, and sometimes very painful degrees. Still, vicious men constituted a very small part of the society ; were insignificant in their character ; and, independently of the power

of example, had little or no influence on the community at large. They were objects of odium and contempt, of censure and punishment; not the elements of a party, nor the fire-brands of turmoil and confusion.

During this war, foreigners, for the first time, mingled extensively with the inhabitants of New-England. The colonial officers and soldiers, whose principles had in many instances been imperfectly formed, and whose ardent dispositions qualified them to decide rather than to reason, to act rather than to think, easily imbibed, in an army composed of those whom they were taught to regard as their superiors, loose doctrines and licentious practices. In that army there were many infidels. In spite of their professions to the contrary, all infidels earnestly wish to make proselytes. To these men a fair field was now opened for the accomplishment of this purpose. Most of their American companions had never heard the Divine origin of the Scriptures questioned, and their minds were, of course, unprovided with answers even to the most common objections. To such objections, as were actually made, was added the force of authority. The British officers came from the mother country; a phrase of high import, until after the commencement of the revolution. They came, also, from a country renowned for arts and arms, and regarded by the people of New-England as the birth-place of science and wisdom. These gentlemen were at the same time possessed of engaging manners; and practised all those genteel vices, which, when recommended by such manners, generally fascinate young men of gay, ambitious minds; and are naturally considered as conferring an enviable distinction on those, who adopt them. Many of the Americans were far from being dull proficients in this school. The vices they loved; and soon found the principles necessary to quiet their consciences.

When they returned home, they had drunk too deeply of the cup, to exchange their new principles and practices for the sober doctrines and lives of their countrymen. The means, which had been pursued to corrupt them, they now employed to corrupt others. From this *prima medi lobes*, the contagion spread, not indeed through very great multitudes, but in little circles, surrounding the individuals originally

fects. As these amounted to a considerable number, and spread in a general dispersion through the country, most parts of it shared in the malady.

About the year 1737 a very extensive and happy revival of religion prevailed in almost all parts of New-England. At this time, a vast multitude of persons united themselves to the Christian church; and, with few exceptions, testified a rough life, by their evangelical conduct, the genuineness of their profession. The influence of this body of men, many of whom survived for a long time the peace of 1763, retarded essentially the progress of the evil. All vicious men felt, that religion must be regarded with reverence, and life conducted with a good degree of moral decency. Still, a relaxation of morals, and a looser adhesion to principles, was unhappily discernible.

During the six years, which preceded the revolutionary war in America, religion experienced no very material change; and it may be doubted whether it gained or lost ground. But in the progress of this war it suffered far more than in that of 1755. All the evils, which flowed from the former, were multiplied in the latter. The foreigners with whom they had intercourse were not so numerous, perhaps, as in the war of 1755; but many of them were of far more dissolute characters. They were Frenchmen; disciples of Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, and Diderot; men, holding out loose and undefined atheism, which neither believes in or disbelieves the existence of a God, and is perfectly indifferent whether he exists or not. Between French and English infidelity there has generally been a plain, marked distinction. The English infidel has commonly exhibited, in appearance at least, some degree of reverence for the Creator. The French infidel has only despised him. The Englishman has usually admitted, that there may be an existence hereafter, and that men may be rewarded beyond the grave. The Frenchman knows, *a priori*, that there is nothing beyond the grave. The Englishman usually admits the distinction between right and wrong; and acknowledges that men are under some obligation to do that which is right, and to abstain from that which is wrong. The Frenchman, when you express your belief of these doctrines, looks at you with a stare, made up of pity, surprise, and contempt, as an ig-

norant rustic, entering for the first time, or not having entered at all, the world's great metropolis of science and improvement; and, having himself been born and educated a citizen, pities you for your weakness; is astonished at your ignorance; and is irresistibly compelled to despise the clownishness of your moral sentiments. The Englishman will rarely deny, that he may be an accountable being. The Frenchman knows intuitively, if not instinctively, that God exercises no moral government over man; that moral obligation is a chimaera; that animal pleasure is the only good; and that man is merely a brute upon two legs. The Englishman usually acknowledges the question to be still in debate; and feels that you have a right to demand proof of the soundness of his doctrines. The Frenchman, a very Trophonius, never mistrusts that any character belongs to him but that of "Sir Oracle;" and takes it for granted, that, if you have either sense or civility, you will receive his opinions with a confidence, more implicit than he would yield to his Maker. In a word, right, in his view, is the same with convenience, and wrong, the same with inconvenience, to himself or to France; and to this opinion he expects you to subscribe*.

You will wonder, that New-England men could imbibe these, or any other opinions, from men of such a character. These opinions they did not indeed imbibe; but they received others, less gross, but of the same general nature; and, although not corrupted with a hopeless putridity, exhibited unequivocal proofs of disease and decay.

Many of these foreigners, you will remember, were men of polished manners, improved minds, and superior address. They had been long accustomed to the business of making

* The reader will please to remember, that the Frenchmen here spoken of were disciples of Voltaire and his coadjutors. Many of a very different character came to the United States after the American revolution commenced, and many more in consequence of the French revolution. These were catholics, men of fair minds and respectable characters. Those, who were followers of Voltaire, were, extensively at least, just such as are here described; possessed of the same self-sufficiency, the same hatred to Christianity, the same contempt of the Bible, the same hostility against their Maker. To speak of such men truly is to speak of them severely; that is, in the manner which will often be styled severe.

The Frenchmen, whom I have found deserving of esteem and respect, have been catholics and royalists.

proselytes; were skilled in the various weaknesses of man; knew every avenue to the heart; and understood perfectly all the subtle and unsuspecting means of persuasion. They perfectly knew how to insinuate the grossest sentiments in a delicate and inoffensive manner; to put arguments to flight with a sneer; to stifle conscience with a smile; and to overbear investigation by confronting it with the voice and authority of the great world. At the same time they were the friends and aids of the American cause—"nos très chers et très grands amis et alliés. From persons of this character who could suspect any thing but good?

The men, on whom they were to operate, had in many instances been educated in morals and religion with much less care and strictness than those who had acted in the former war. A considerable number of them were young; little acquainted with the doctrines of Christianity; and still less with the evidences of revelation. Whenever the Scriptures were assailed, therefore, they were utterly unprovided with means of resistance.

To these evils was added another of a similar nature. Multitudes of their countrymen, from other colonies, were united with them in military life. These were often ingenious, polished, sprightly, and facetious. With the arguments on either side of the question they were, indeed, very little acquainted. So were those, on whom they were to make impressions. Uninterested to inquire, and impatient of research, they were prepared to receive licentious doctrines, because they loved them. The heart here sat as judge; and decided the cause without summoning the head to its assistance, even as a witness.

Those, who remained at home, possessed in many instances the same character; and although not sent to the same school for moral improvement, were yet sufficiently susceptible readily to receive from the scholars whatever they had gained from their instructors.

To aid the work of ruin, the paper currency of the country operated in the most powerful and malignant manner. At the first effusion of this evil upon the community, every sordid passion of man was stimulated to the most vigorous exertion. Wealth, for such it seemed to the fancy, was acquired with an ease and rapidity which astonished the possessor. The

price of labour, and of every vendible commodity, rose in a moment to a height unexampled. Avarice, ambition, and luxury, saw their wishes anticipated; and began to grasp at objects of which they had not before even dreamed. Sudden wealth rarely fails of becoming sudden ruin; and most of those who acquire it are soon beggared in morals, if not in property.

At the end of two years, this currency, in consequence of enormous emissions, began sensibly to depreciate; and the depreciation became a new source of degeneracy. The want of an established standard of estimation, by which the value of commodities may be ascertained, the price of labour regulated, and bargains equitably adjusted, is a greater evil than any man, who has not been a witness of its consequences, can be induced to believe. A general perplexity at once clouded all human dealings; and it soon became impossible for upright men to determine whether their bargains were honest or oppressive. After a short period every case of this nature was determined, not by a general rule, but by what the parties thought its own merits; and to these avarice lent its uniform bias. Within three years from the commencement of this evil, the currency sunk so low as to be refused in exchange for the necessaries of life; and, notwithstanding the abundance of provisions in this country, those, who could offer nothing else, were frequently reduced to very serious difficulties. Barter became extensively the established mode of dealing; and barter is the natural parent of the low cunning and the gross knavery of a jockey. A stable currency, beside furnishing incalculable facility to commerce, is of inestimable benefit to mankind, as a known standard of commutative justice, and the great means of enforcing it in all the varieties of commercial intercourse. For the want of such a standard, the general sense of right and obligation, in buying and selling, was gradually lowered; and the pride of making what are called good bargains, a soft name for cheating, gradually extended. Whatever was not punishable by law, multitudes considered as rectitude. That delicacy of mind, which shrinks at the approach of wrong; that tenderness of conscience, which turns with apprehension from every doubtful moral action; was extensively succeeded by those gross views, which are satisfied where magistrates

do not meddle, and where shame does not terrify. In the mean time, the existing government was peculiarly unhappy. All regular public functionaries lost, during this period, either the whole or a great part of their proper efficacy. In their stead, committees of inspection and correspondence assumed an extensive control over both the public and private affairs of their country. The powers of these bodies were undefined; and, therefore, soon became merely discretionary. Yet they were the tribunals, by which almost every cause was decided. In most instances they were composed of men, unlearned in law, and unskilled in public business. They had no precedents, and no known rules of judging. Often they were the dupes of cunning, and often of flattery. At one time they were awed by superiority of character in their suitors; at another they were influenced solely by the base pleasure of humbling those, by whom it was possessed. Extensively they were victims of the addling pride, felt by little minds, when unexpectedly invested with authority, and the consequent love of domineering. It is hardly necessary to ask, what were the decisions flowing from this combination of ignorance, perplexity, and prejudice. Very many, and very great evils, were actually produced by this government; and that it did not produce many more is no small encomium on the character of my countrymen, and a proof of the superintending care and good providence of God.

The influence of a weak and fluctuating government on the morals and happiness of mankind, is, to say the least, not less malignant than that of an established despotism. The man, who under a better system had formed just and exact views of what was right, almost necessarily receded from such views by an imperceptible declension. The rising generation grew up, for a season, with scarcely any other ideas concerning this immensely important subject, than those which were defective. Even justice and truth, virtues mathematically defined, and perfectly known in a sound state of society, were now, to a great extent, seen only in a fluctuating light, which half discovered and half concealed their real nature. But when these two great pillars of morality tremble, the whole building totters.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

State of Religion after the Peace of 1783. Effects of the French Revolution. Circulation of the Writings of Infidels.

DEAR SIR;

AFTER the peace of 1783, the country began slowly to recover from the evils mentioned above, and from the disastrous state of morals which they produced. The former sober habits of New-England, the belief of a Divine revelation prevailing in a vast majority of the inhabitants, and the real Christianity of a number, which, though much less than in former times, was still great, had, more firmly than could rationally have been expected, stood the shock of this war of moral elements. The walls, though weakened by various breaches, were still strong. The fortress, though partially undermined, was still defensible, and invited both the labour and the expense necessary to repair it. By degrees, infidelity and licentiousness began to lose their confidence, and morals to regain their former control. Men, who have been accustomed to the morals of Christians, can scarcely be satisfied with those of infidels. Infidels are indeed possessed as often as other men of natural amiableness, are sometimes taught in early life to respect truth and justice, are sometimes well-informed and well-bred, and from these causes are induced to adopt a decent, and at times a pleasing deportment. Still the want of principle at the bottom, and of reverence for God, the only basis of principle, leaves them always exposed, without any effectual security, to the combined influence of passion and temptation. The consequences of this exposure are perpetually discernible in their most guarded behaviour, particularly when their conduct is daily before the eye of in-

pection. In every case of this nature they will be seen to exhibit a varying, zig-zag morality; now wandering into the field of vice, and now retreating within the boundaries of decorum. In a regular state of society, therefore, infidelity of course loses by degrees its reputation and its influence. Thus in New-England the name *infidel* proverbially denotes an immoral character, even in the mouths of those, who profess no peculiar attachment to the Scriptures.

From the year 1783, the minds of the people of New-England became gradually more and more settled. Business assumed a more regular and equitable character. The tumultuous passions, roused by the war, subsided. Men of wisdom and worth acquired an habitual influence. Public worship was more punctually attended; and the whole face of things became more promising. To all these blessings, the present system of American government added a new stability; and, by the energy and wisdom with which its administration was begun, furnished hopes to good men of the return of permanent order and happiness.

Just as this prospect began to dawn, the horizon was again overcast by the French revolution. That portentous event, monstrous in its cause, and horrible in its consequences, deeply affected, not only the countries of Europe, but even these states. We had just passed through a revolution, which, as we thought, had secured our freedom and independence. Very naturally, therefore, we sympathized with those, whom we supposed to be aiming at the same important objects. The minds of the Americans anticipated with a rapturous enthusiasm the emancipation of twenty-five millions of their fellow-men from the thralldom of despotism and superstition. Men of unquestionable worth, and of wisdom on other occasions equally unquestionable, united with those around them in the common feelings, and in hailing the arrival of so glorious an event. The exceptions to this remark were fewer, by far, than a sober man could have believed, before it had taken place. In this manner an importance, a solemnity, a sanction, was given to this revolution, resembling the effects of enchantment. An influence was imparted to it, which for a considerable time spread a veil over its enormities, and

softened the aspect of its horrors; an influence, which no ingenuity could preclude, and for a season no efforts resist.

In these inauspicious circumstances, the infidelity of Voltaire and his coadjutors began to make its appearance in form throughout most parts of this country. We had been long assailed by the reasonings of Herbert and Chubb, the subtle frauds of Tindal, the pompous insinuations of Shaftesbury, the eloquent, but empty declamations of Bolingbroke, the wire-drawn metaphysics of Hume, and at this period by the splendid impositions of Gibbon. But the country, which had produced these false and sophistical efforts, had also triumphantly refuted the sophistry. What was perhaps of little less consequence, it was of such a nature as to allow of a refutation. Formed in the English school of philosophy, where good sense and sound logic had always supported their reputation, it retained, insidious and illusory as it was, so much of the appearance of reasoning as to present something, which could be understood, and which, therefore, could be answered.

But the philosophy of the French school, with which it was intended to overwhelm these states, was in a great measure new. It was a system of abstract declarations, which violated common sense, delivered in an abstract style, equally violating all just taste and sober criticism. It is not designed to instruct or convince; but to amuse, perplex, and beguile. It is addressed, not to men of learning and understanding, the persons, who should be addressed in every abstruse discussion; but to the ignorant, unthinking, and vulgar. It is directed, not to the understanding even of these, but to their weaknesses, prejudices, and passions. The language in which it is uttered, like the signs of unknown quantities in algebra, is without meaning, until you arrive at the result and the application; and it is never designed to come to a result, nor to admit of an application. If you answer an argument or a book according to its obvious meaning, you are gravely informed, that you have mistaken the author's intention. When you inquire for that intention, you will be left without an answer, or will receive one in the very language, which you are declared to have mistaken. Proceed a few steps farther,

and you will find yourself in a labyrinth, compared with which, that of Minos was a beaten highway.

The doctrines, really intended to be taught by this philosophy, are like the furniture stowed in the paradise of fools,

“ Abortive, monstrous, and unkindly mix'd.”

The principles, upon which they apparently rest, are mere hypotheses, destitute of any foundation, and without any authority beside the egotism of the author. The arguments, by which they are professedly supported, are usually of the *a priori* kind; attended with no evidence, and conducting the mind to no conclusion. Were they delivered in language capable of being understood, their authors would be considered as the Newtons and Aristotles of folly. At their side, Behmen and Swedenborg, those laureats in “ the limbo of vanity,” would lose their distinction, and return far towards the character of common sense.

That men of talents should be willing to write in this manner has certainly the appearance of a paradox. Its explanation is easily found in the purposes for which all this has been done. One of these was to extend the reign, multiply the means, facilitate the progress, and establish the quiet of sin: the other, to place the world beneath the feet of philosophical pride, ambition, and avarice. Whenever conscience, truth, and evidence are suffered to operate, wickedness will meet with continual discouragement and distress. No man ever could believe, in a season of sober reflection, or while his understanding was permitted to control his faith, that God will justify sin; or divest himself of the fear, that he will punish it. These terrible suggestions of reason are by revelation changed into certainties. Truth and conscience, therefore, reason and revelation, are regarded by all men, who resolve on a course of wickedness for life, as their most bitter and dangerous enemies. That philosophical sinners should wish to reign and riot involves no enigma.

As the dictates of truth, conscience, and Christianity, are supported by argument and evidence, they can never be reasoned down without superior evidence. This cannot be found. Still there are means, which may be employed against them with no small success. He, who cannot convince, may per-

plex. He, who cannot inform, may beguile. He, who cannot guide, may entice. He, who cannot explain, may overbear. He, who can do all these, may, and often will, persuade.

The effects of this combination of causes were great and unhappy. Most men in every country are but imperfectly acquainted with both the evidences and doctrines of revelation. Most, also, are unaccustomed to thorough research, and impatient of the labour, which it requires. Of this multitude there are, however, many, who are yet pleased with thinking, when indulged only through moderate periods, and unattended with much exertion. A considerable number of these, and among them such as were brilliant and ingenious, were for a season dazzled and confounded. Youths particularly, who had been liberally educated, and who with strong passions and feeble principles were votaries of sensuality and ambition, delighted with the prospect of unrestrained gratification, and panting to be enrolled with men of fashion and splendour, became enamoured of these new doctrines. The tenour of opinion, and even of conversation, was to a considerable extent changed at once. Striplings, scarcely fledged, suddenly found, that the world had been involved in a general darkness through the long succession of preceding ages; and that the light of wisdom had but just begun to dawn upon the human race. All the science, all the information, which had been acquired before the commencement of the last thirty or forty years, stood in their view for nothing. Experience they boldly pronounced a dull, plodding instructress, who taught in manners, morals, and government, nothing but abecedarian lessons, fitted for children only. Religion they discovered on the one hand to be a vision of dotards and nurses, and on the other a system of fraud and trick, imposed by priestcraft for base purposes upon the ignorant multitude. Revelation they found was without authority or evidence; and moral obligation a cobweb, which might indeed entangle flies, but by which creatures of a stronger wing nobly disdained to be confined. The world they resolutely concluded to have been probably eternal, and matter the only existence. Man, they determined, sprang, like a mushroom, out of the earth by a chemical process; and the powers of thinking,

choice, and motivity, were merely the results of elective affinities. If, however, there was a God, and man was a created being, he was created only to be happy. As, therefore, animal pleasure is the only happiness, so they resolved, that the enjoyment of that pleasure is the only end of his creation.

On the folly and impiety of these opinions it is unnecessary to expatiate. All, which Swift in the travels of Gulliver has poured out concerning the weakness and wickedness of our race, is a faint picture of the weakness and wickedness of a world governed by these opinions. Should the Almighty suffer them to be generally and practically adopted, perdition would, I think, commence on this side of the grave. Indeed, France, during the revolution, exhibited, while under only the partial influence of these doctrines, the strongest resemblance to Hell which the human eye, in this world, has ever been permitted to behold.

Had not the effect of these opinions threatened the very existence of virtue and happiness, they would in several instances have been sufficiently ridiculous. Men, who were before inclined to vice, were delighted to find themselves justified, and proceeded with new courage and strength to bolder perpetrations. Men, reluctantly conscious of their own inferiority of understanding, rejoiced to see themselves, without an effort, become in a moment wiser than those who had spent life in laborious investigation. Some were not a little gratified with the boldness and independence of character displayed in sinning; others with escaping from the shackles of conscience and the terrors of revelation. Not a few were charmed with the novelty and spirit of the doctrines themselves; and most found an addition made to the ease and quiet of an immoral life.

The efficacy of all the causes, which I have mentioned, was enhanced by the events which attended the French revolution. The boldness of the enterprises, the number and the splendour of the victories, the importance of the conquests, and the vastness of the convulsion, united to overwhelm minds of no more than common stability. Most eyes were disabled from seeing clearly the nature of the purposes which were in view, and of the characters which were exhibited on this

singular stage. In the agitation, the amazement, the horror excited in all men, few retained so steady optics as to discern, without confusion, the necessary consequences of this stupendous shock. Even the crimes, at which the world was lost in astonishment, were, by the audacity and decision with which they were perpetrated, surrounded with a gloomy lustre, which dazzled and deluded the spectator. Actions, which a few years before would have mocked all utterance, now passed over the tongue with moderate censures and reluctant severity. Robespierre, Danton, and Carriere, whose existence is perhaps the strongest argument, hitherto discovered, against a particular providence, were mentioned, not only without infamy and horror, but at times with satisfaction and applause.

The idolatry of the ancient heathen nations was the worship of calves and cats, of blocks and stones. The idolatry of the present day, still more stupid and unmeaning, is the worship of abstract terms. To the astonishment of every sober man, France has exhibited the spectacle of 25,000,000 of the human race prostrating themselves, with religious reverence, before the word REASON. Had the weakest of these worshippers formed a definition of this term, and by applying it to any thing to which it was ever applied, given it a meaning, he must have been a mere zoophyte to have continued his homage for a moment. A multitude of the Americans have paid their devotions to the word Liberty. This word has a real and important meaning, but in the minds and mouths of most men appears to have no meaning at all. That, which it signifies, is by mankind at large respected and loved; but they *worship* only the abstract term. A few years since I should have been hardly induced to believe, that multitudes of my countrymen could so idolize this bare word, as to sacrifice at its shrine the very thing which it denotes.

Amid all the thunders of the French revolution, this ne-eromantic term was incessantly repeated, and, unhappily, was distinctly heard. It was ostensibly in the cause, and for the sake of liberty, that the Gallic church was overthrown, its property plundered, its ministers massacred by thousands, and Louis XVI, the meekest and mildest monarch ever ele-

vated to the throne of France, was butchered with his family. Such of his subjects as were distinguished for probity and worth were entombed in prisons, or made the food of the guillotine. The realm was drenched in blood, and manured with the corpses of Frenchmen murdered by Frenchmen. All the surrounding countries smoked with conflagration and slaughter. Republic after republic was blotted out of existence. Every house in France was subjected to the domiciliary visits of a horde of villains, who came only to rob, to dishonour, and to destroy. Visits and parties, *a la guillotine*, were the most gay and most genteel amusements of Frenchmen, and Frenchmen of distinction. In the cause of liberty, it was roundly asserted, Nants and Lyons were consigned to a common grave. In the cause, and for the sake of liberty, the Bible, and the vessels of the Eucharist, were placed on an ass, and paraded through the streets in mock procession, to degrade religion and its God. The former was laid on a bonfire, and the latter were polluted by a company of modern Belshazzars. In the mother club of Jacobins at Paris, a comparison was formally instituted between the Redeemer of mankind and Marat; and this twin brother to Judas was solemnly pronounced a greater benefactor to the world than the Saviour. For the sake of liberty the sabbath was annihilated, and the decade substituted in its place, as a rest from business for villainy and pollution, that ample opportunity might be furnished of enjoying, without reins, the horrors of the club, or the brutism of the brothel. Finally, the souls of men, I mean of Frenchmen (for the national convention were not, I presume, invested with dominion over the souls of other men), were, for the sake of liberty, doomed by the legislature of France to eternal sleep in the dreary caverns of annihilation.

But I am losing both you and myself in this forest of enormities. Future ages will hardly believe, that any part of this portentous story could pass for truth with men of acknowledged wisdom and piety. Nothing, however, is more certain. The man, who does not in a considerable measure give up his understanding, and suffer his virtue to be impaired in a season of popular frenzy, may be safely pronounced more firm or more fortunate than most of his race.

At this period Europe, which annually ships for our shores a vast quantity of useful merchandise, and, together with it, a proportional assortment of toys and mischief, consigned to these states a plentiful supply of the means of corruption. From France, Germany, and Great Britain, the dregs of infidelity were vomited upon us at once. From the *Systeme de la Nature* and the *Philosophical Dictionary*, down to the *Political Justice* of Godwin and the *Age of Reason*, the whole mass of pollution was emptied on this country. The two last publications, particularly, flowed in upon us as a deluge. An enormous edition of the *Age of Reason* was published in France, and sent over to America to be sold for a few pence the copy; and, where it could not be sold, to be given away. You may perhaps be astonished, that such men as these, the mere outcasts of creation, could do harm at all. In my apprehension, they were exactly fitted for a sphere of mischief, of vast import in the empire of destruction, which perhaps no other men could have filled. Satan needs his scullions and scavengers, as well as his nobles and heroes. They were industrious, bold, and enterprising. They were impudent beyond example, were not destitute of imagination, and possessed a popular manner of writing. It is true, they were incapable of understanding the force of an argument, or the nature of evidence; but they were no less delighted with falsehood than better men are with truth; were equally triumphant in a victory and a defeat; and, like the Lernæan snake, had a spare head for every new combatant. At the same time they were conveniently lost to principle and to shame; and uttered villainy, obscenity, and blasphemy, not merely with a brazen front, but with the sober, intrepid serenity of apparent conviction. Such men are incomparably better fitted to persuade ignorance, and embolden vulgar iniquity, than superior villains. The writings of such villains are beyond the reach of mankind at large. These men are fitted to invade the cottage and the fireside. On the people of New-England their influence, though sensibly felt, was not extensive; on other parts of the Union it is declared, as I believe with truth, to have been great.

In a recital of the causes, which have contributed to the moral corruption of this country, its political dissensions ought

never to be forgotten. The spirit of party, when roused to vigorous exertion, soon becomes deaf to remonstrance, and blind to moral obligation. In my own view, and in that of all the wise and good men with whom I converse, this spirit has had an efficacy on the American character, not less malignant than any, perhaps than all, the other causes which have been mentioned. On this subject I may hereafter expatiate.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER III.

The Effects of the Principles, avowed by the Leaders of the French Revolution, counteracted and destroyed, in a great measure, by their Cruelties and Impiety, and by the Miseries they brought on other Nations. These Effects likewise lessened by the Efforts of the Clergy, and of many other respectable Inhabitants, but principally by an extensive Revival of Religion. Comparison of the Religious and Moral Character of the First Settlers with that of the present Inhabitants.

DEAR SIR;

WHEN these numerous and fruitful sources of depravation have passed in review before you, it will seem wonderful, that religion and morals have not bidden this country a final adieu. That they have not absolutely forsaken us, nay, that they extensively prevail, and that there are even more religious persons in New-England than at any former period, is, however, undoubtedly true. The causes of this fact I will briefly explain.

Before I enter upon this part of my design, I ought, however, to apologise to you for so extended a discussion of the subject, particularly for the historical detail which I have given you concerning the causes, which have heretofore contributed to the deflections of our moral character. Among my reasons are the following: The subject is unquestionably of considerable importance in the philosophy of man. No account of it has been published by others; and those, who have been eye-witnesses of its progress, and who alone could exhibit it truly, are either gone, or will soon go, to the grave. The probability, therefore, is great, that it will never be communicated to the public by any other hand. To my own countrymen, &

east, it must be interesting, and may be useful. Yet most of them are chiefly unacquainted with the particulars which I have recited. The resistance, which the inhabitants of my native country have made to this mass of evil, is honourable to their character; and from this account of their difficulties, and the example which they have furnished of opposing them successfully, succeeding generations may derive both instruction, and motives for future resistance.

I have heretofore mentioned the efficacy of the New-England institutions. These, operating everywhere and every-moment, and although silently and insensibly yet powerfully operating, have, with a constant accumulation of energy, greatly contributed to wear away this formidable combination of mischiefs. Habits are proverbially the only important sources of permanent good. From steady, national habits only can great national good, in the ordinary course of things, be derived. From the New-England institutions such habits have long since sprung, and from a very early period have constituted a stable, national character. Such a character can hardly be materially changed, unless by the ravaging hand of conquest, or the slow progress of time. It becomes the common nature, and

“*Si Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret.*”

There is a constant renitency of the mind against all those innovations which sensibly affect this character, an elastic tenacity towards the recovery of its original position. To such habits, under God, New-England owes in no small measure to escape from that degeneracy, which has so miserably affected many other countries.

The influence of the French revolution, which for a time threatened us with moral ruin, was to a great extent counteracted by the evils of the revolution itself; by the character of the men who successively conducted it; and by the evils which flowed from it as consequences. I need not tell you, that the calamities of this revolution outran all expectation, example, and belief. When the Americans began to read and believe the successive massacres of Paris, a considerable number of them were startled. Blood, here, has rarely been shed, but under the solemn decision of a jury. Nay, it has been rarely shed at all, except in a period of war. The ferocity of the

Parisian women, those fiends in a female dress, filled the minds of the whole sex in this country with horror. The guillotine curdled the blood even of coarse and unfeeling men, and the death of Louis XVI awakened general detestation. The ravages of La Vendee, Nantz, Toulon, and Lyons, completed the picture of woe.

Nor was the impiety of France, and its violation of all other moral principles, much less impressive than the tales of its cruelty. There was a grossness of immorality, a brutal Atheism, in the speeches and measures of the national legislature; a disregard of evidence, truth, and justice, in the proceedings of its judicial tribunals; a ferocity in the conduct of its judges and juries; and a savageness in the behaviour of its executive officers; which, if reported by others, would have been considered as an outrage upon credulity itself. Happily for us, they were their own historians, and the truth of their recitals could not be questioned.

Nor were the minds of my countrymen less advantageously affected by the treatment exhibited to the successive leaders in this revolution by those who followed them. The hero of yesterday was regularly murdered by the hero of to-day; and the possession of the supreme control was only a regular introduction to the guillotine. There was something amazingly solemn in seeing these Goths and Vandals, these Alarics, Attilas, and Genseric, successively led up by the hand of Divine justice to the block, to make a feeble expiation of their crimes by their blood. About one hundred of them perished in this manner. These facts taught my countrymen, that the attachment, professed by these men to the liberty of their country, was nothing but a pretence to help themselves into place and wealth, and this hypocrisy they naturally, as well as justly, transferred in the end to all their coadjutors.

At the same time, the wide-spread calamities, brought upon other nations by France, particularly upon such as had enjoyed a free government, contributed to the same general effect. My countrymen saw with astonishment, as well as with regret, one republic after another blotted out from under heaven, and this by the hands of the very men, who had solemnly announced to the world, that France would make no conquests.

Finally, the termination of this convulsion established the

views, which had been thus formed, beyond the possibility of any material alteration. Every wise and dispassionate man saw with conviction, that infidelity is hostile to all public and personal happiness; that without the influence of religion, political freedom can never be long enjoyed; and that a connection with the leaders, and disciples, of this revolution would only be baleful to his own country. Even the French nation itself, by quietly settling down under the military despotism of a single man, as an asylum from the tremendous oppression of their directory, proved beyond debate, that no government of mere force is equally terrible with that of infidel philosophy.

Another great truth of no less importance was impressed on a contemplative mind by these events. It is this; that infidelity naturally, and necessarily, becomes, when possessed of the control of national interests, a source of evils, so numerous, and so intense, as to compel mankind to prefer any state to these evils. No fact of a political nature was ever more instructive to thinking men, than the torpid submission of France to the rod of the Emperor Napoleon. Even the infidels of this country, particularly the intelligent ones, saw in this fact, and in those which preceded it, the efficacy of their own principles, and the danger which they threatened to mankind. Alarmed by the prospect, they first ceased from their endeavours to make proselytes; then began to speak favourably of the Christian religion, and finally insisted that it was absolutely necessary to good government, liberty, and safety.

For a considerable time the clergy of New-England generally were plainly unaware of the extent to which this degeneracy of principle and practice prevailed. With the propagators of infidelity and vice they naturally had very little intercourse; and the evil proceeded for a considerable time with so much silence and decency, as to be unobserved by men, who were either employed in their studies, or in their active business were chiefly conversant with persons of a better character. Some of them, however, from a peculiarity of circumstances, discovered the danger at an early period. These gave the alarm; and although scarcely credited at first, because the change was too great to be easily admitted in such a country as New-England, yet gradually gained the ear, not only

of their brethren in the ministry, but of all the sober inhabitants. From that period, men of wisdom and piety, in considerable numbers, made vigorous efforts against this invasion of human happiness. A great multitude of judicious discourses were preached throughout the country; and not a small number published on the various branches of the Deistical controversy. These, the enemies of religion were never able to answer. The subject became at the same time generally the theme of conversation, and was handled with an efficacy which was both extensive and powerful. Nor was personal influence less exerted or less successful. The danger was so obvious, and so great, as to alarm all men of consideration. Even many infidels, terrified as they were by the events mentioned above, united heartily with others in repelling evils which they saw daily thickening, and threatening every thing which they held dear. Nay, in considerable numbers they openly renounced their principles, and became professed adherents to the cause of Christianity.

At the same time also, a series of efforts made by men of talents and worth in Great Britain, formed a strong mound against the tide of iniquity. Several writers, to whose labours all succeeding generations will be deeply indebted, exposed the weakness of the arguments, the base designs, and the contemptible character of the principal agents in this system of corruption. Of those by whom their writings were read, most were convinced and the rest put to silence.

You will easily believe, that when infidels became thus interested to oppose their own principles, all sober men, who believed in the divine origin of the Scriptures, but had not hitherto made a public profession of Christianity, felt the subject still more deeply. These with a single voice united in strengthening the government and religion of their country. Accordingly they conversed in favour of both, with new earnestness; exhibited a more marked reverence for the constituted authorities of their country; frequented more punctually the house of God; regarded and treated its ministers with enhanced respect; and appeared openly, and everywhere, as the determined supporters of religion. From these exertions, made by a body of men so numerous and influential, society may be said to have assumed a new aspect.

Finally, a revival of religion, commencing at this season, spread gradually through a great part, not only of Connecticut, but of New-England. This revival, which is still spreading over many parts of the country, has been attended with the happiest circumstances, and followed by the best consequences. Among the many thousands, who have been solemnly affected with religious considerations, and greatly, as well as evidently reformed, very few have exhibited any appearance of enthusiasm. Almost all have, at the same time, presented to the observing eye proofs of vital Christianity, which could not be rationally questioned. Perhaps there has been no extensive reformation of mankind, in which fewer instances have occurred either of hypocrisy or delusion. In consequence of so auspicious an event, the church of Christ has been increased by the addition of many thousands of professors; the zeal and the charity of Christians have been materially enhanced; and the labours of ministers have become more abundant and exemplary, more strenuous and successful.

Among the happy effects of this reformation, one particularly ought not here to be forgotten. A large number of those, who have personally shared in it, have emigrated to the new settlements; and have already begun to build churches, settle ministers, and establish the public worship of God. In this manner the state of society is there assuming, in many instances, a new aspect. In this manner succeeding generations will find themselves, in these countries, born and educated in the house of God, trained up to piety, invested with invaluable privileges here, and entitled to immortal happiness hereafter.

With all these facts before them, the people of New-England can scarcely fail to say with St. Paul, "Having thus obtained help of God, we continue unto this day." When I look back upon these events,

Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars fui :

for I have lived through the whole of this period, and have been an eye and ear-witness of almost all the things which I have recited, so far as they have taken place in this country;

when I look back upon these events; when I consider their magnitude, their portentous efficacy at times on the morals and religion of my native country; when I reflect on the dangers which threatened, and the evils which distressed us; when I remember how the wisest men were perplexed, and the firmest trembled; I cannot willingly avoid saying, and I hope my countrymen will say with me, "Had not the Lord been on our side, when men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up quick, and the proud waters had gone over our soul. Blessed be the Lord, our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and we are escaped. Our help is in the name of the Lord, who made Heaven and Earth."

It is strange, but after a minute and extensive investigation I believe it to be true, that the Christian church in New-England has at no time since its settlement included so great a number of members as at the present time*. The proportional number was for a long period after the colonization of Plymouth much greater; the absolute number, I am satisfied, was never so great. Churches, which are expensive and handsome, are now zealously built throughout all parts of the country, and carefully repaired; ministers also are settled in the same universal manner; and with stipends, which, though often less in real value, are yet nominally much more considerable. Public worship is also numerously attended in most places, and with a good degree of solemnity and decorum.

At the same time the disposition of the inhabitants has appeared with much advantage in the liberality with which they have contributed to several charitable objects. Missions have been continually, and extensively, supported in the numerous infant settlements, so widely spread over the interior country. Eleven societies for the promotion of this benevolent purpose have been for some time established in New-England: seven in Massachusetts; one in Vermont; one in New-Hampshire; one in Rhode-Island; and one in Connecticut: each of the four last including the whole state, in which it exists. The exertions of these societies have been in the highest degree laudable, honourably supported, and in my opinion followed by the best consequences. In the year 1810, several young

gentlemen, educated for the ministry in the theological seminary at Andover, offered themselves to the general association of Massachusetts as missionaries, to be employed under the direction of that body in foreign countries. The general association, after deliberating on the subject, constituted a board of commissioners for foreign missions; five of the members from Massachusetts, and four from Connecticut. In 1611, the same body chose five for Massachusetts; and the general association of Connecticut also chose four. This board of commissioners may now be considered as a permanent body, to consist of nine members, to be chosen annually by these two associations. It may, however, be augmented hereafter by members chosen from other communities*.

By these commissioners five missionaries have been already sent to Hindoestan and the Birman empire. To defray the expense, several charitable societies have been formed in New-England, by whom considerable collections have been made. Mrs. Norris, relict of the Hon. John Norris, of Salem in Massachusetts, left in trust to the board of commissioners by will, the sum of 30,000 dollars, for the purpose of supporting foreign missions.

A Bible society has also been formed at Boston, and another in Connecticut, which holds its meetings at Hartford. By both, Bibles in considerable numbers are annually distributed †.

* This body has been since incorporated by the legislature of Massachusetts.

† Since the text was written, ten other Bible societies have been established in New-England. Six in Massachusetts, one in New-Hampshire, one in Rhode-Island, and two in Vermont.

There are now (1815) sixty-three in the United States.

Beside these, there are several female associations of the same nature; two in the state of New-York, one at Boston, one in New-Jersey, three in Pennsylvania, and one in Virginia, and probably others of which I have not been informed.

There are also numerous associations of both sexes, formed to aid missions, and for a variety of other charitable purposes. The rapidity, with which these benevolent institutions increase, may be understood from these facts. When the text was written, in the summer of 1809, there were three Bible societies in the United States, there are now sixty-three.

N. B. Eight more have been added to the number since this note was written.

A great number of auxiliary societies have been formed to promote

The spirit of doing good, in these and other charitable methods, has been regularly increasing here during the last twenty-five years.

The present state of our moral and religious character cannot, perhaps, be more advantageously illustrated, than by a comparison of it with that of our ancestors. The religion of former times was more zealous, rigid, scrupulous, and uniform. At the same time it was less catholic, gentle, indulgent in lawful cases, graceful, and amiable. The strictness, the energy, the commanding character of their religion, we have in a great measure lost. Where they stood firmly against the blast, we bend to escape its force. Where they watched, we are asleep. Where they fought manfully, we are employed in parleying. Where they triumphed, we are satisfied with a drawn battle*. On the other hand, we have in some respects advantageously relaxed from their austerity and rigour. We live more kindly and evangelically with Christians of other denominations. Our religious controversies are less violent; and we regard fewer things as fundamental grounds of difference. On the other hand, they educated their families more virtuously, regulated society with greater skill, executed laws with more exactness, and settled

foreign missions, and their contributions have been very liberal. Domestic missions have, at the same time, rapidly increased. With all these exertions the increase of religion, in many parts of the United States, has gone hand in hand; and although we are yet very far behind the wishes of every good man, there is much, very much, which will make the heart of a good man rejoice †.

* A moral society for the state of Connecticut, supported by a considerable number of auxiliary societies, has been established since the text was written. Several societies under the same title have been formed in Massachusetts, Vermont, and I believe New-Hampshire. The object of these societies is to oppose vice, especially sabbath-breaking, gaming, profaneness, and intemperance. Their success has already proved the wisdom of their institution.

† It ought to be stated, that the labours of the American Bible society had but just commenced at the time of the decease of the author. That society, as appears by their fourth annual report, published May 1830, has two hundred and seven auxiliaries. The number of Bibles and Testaments issued the last year exceeded 41,000. The amount of the receipts by the treasurer was 41,361 dollars 97 cents.—*Pub.*

the affairs of men on a more solid foundation. They chiefly exhibited the magnanimous, we the gentler virtues. Ours are more amiable, but less firm. Theirs were rough and uninviting, but more to be relied on. In justice to these excellent men, it ought to be added, that to them we are indebted for almost every thing in our character, which merits commendation. In some respects we have polished, but, upon the whole, instead of improving we have impaired their system. Formerly New-England was inhabited almost exclusively by two classes of men; public professors of religion, and men of decent, moral characters. The latter class universally believed, without a doubt, in divine revelation; and intended one day to become religious. All of them, also, regularly attended the public worship of God; and almost all of them observed in their conduct a respectful conformity to the precepts of his word. Every immorality was regarded as a crime, and confessed to be incapable of justification or defence. When crimes were committed at all, they were committed with a consciousness of guilt, in secrecy and solitude, without a hope that principles could be found to palliate them, and with a certainty of shame and censure in every case of detection. They were committed only under the pressure of sudden or powerful temptations, when gain bewildered, when provocation stung, and when the mind was goaded by passion or appetite. After the perpetration, as he himself perfectly foresaw, the criminal was declared by the universal voice to be an offender against law and a sinner against God. He might be pitied, but he was never excused. He went, therefore, to the perpetration with trembling; and shrunk from the universal frown, whenever he was detected.

In such a state of society, you will readily believe, crimes were rare. Capital convictions were scarcely known, and a capital punishment was a prodigy. In almost all instances, also, the persons convicted were foreigners. Inferior offences, though more frequent, were few, and the stocks and the whipping-post had little other use beside that which was monitory. Few infidels existed, and hardly one of them avowed his principles.

The present state of our society is in some respects the same with that which has been here described. In others the

variations are marked by small shades of difference ; in others still, the diversity is sufficiently evident. From the middle, or neutral class of men, infidelity has received a considerable accession of recruits. You will not suppose, that these men have been convinced of the truth of infidel principles, or of the falsehood of those, which are contained in the Scriptures. They are merely men who love sin ; and, without conviction or evidence, hail whatever will enable them to perpetrate it in peace. They are men, who conclude without reasoning, and resolve without inquiry.

It is scarcely possible, that an infidel should not encourage vice in others, as well as foster it in himself. This he does without, as well as with design. To quiet his own conscience, he is obliged to justify his conduct to others ; for the countenance of others is the only real support, which he finds either for his principles or his practices. For the same reason, also, he feels himself obliged to attack the Scriptures, and the whole system of virtues, which they enjoin. The religion, which they teach, he styles superstition, enthusiasm, and fanaticism. In this manner every infidel degrades religion in the eyes of the little circle around him, and emboldens them to the commission of sin. All his conduct, however decent, is at the same time vicious ; and his example becomes of course the means of enhancing this corruption. Such, uniformly, has been the progress of vice here, wherever infidelity has had influence. Crimes, to a considerable extent, are now practised, avowed, and vindicated, are made the materials of a jest, and gloried in as proofs of ingenuity and independence, which our ancestors knew only by report, and of which they spoke only with horror. Inferior deviations from rectitude are extensively become familiar, and regarded as things of course. Loose men only laugh at them ; and good men, discouraged by their frequency, cease in a great measure to censure them with severity. The man, who fifty years since sunk under the consciousness of his own guilt, and withdrew from the detestation of others, now clears his brow, and lifts up his front, while he repeats by rote the latitudinarian opinions of those, who have employed their talents in seducing their fellow men to guilt and perdition. Of these opinions, it is true, he knows frequently neither the author,

the evidence, nor the meaning; but he understands them sufficiently for his own purpose. In other words, he believes them to be justifications of his sins; and this is all, which he wishes.

From these and other causes we have lost that prompt energy in behalf of what is right, and that vigorous hostility to what is wrong, which were so honourable traits in the character of those who have gone before us. The spirit, with which we resist wickedness, is languid, and the measures are lax.

At the same time piety has received still larger accessions from the class of decent men. Gross crimes are also still rare; and capital executions solitary.

New-Haven was settled in 1638; one hundred and seventy-four years since. The capital punishments in the county of New-Haven, as I have before remarked, have all been inflicted here. The whole number of these is thirteen. One of them however was inflicted by a court-martial in the time of the revolutionary war, on a soldier in the British service, who was picked up in the neighbourhood of this town. Of the remaining twelve, five were Indians, and three blacks. The remaining four were whites. The whites were all executed within the first twenty-four years from the date of the settlement; three of them were born in England, and not improbably the fourth. The first settlers of New-Haven brought with them a collection of peasants and servants remarkable for their profligacy, and of these classes were the criminals which have been mentioned. I have not been able to find any proof, that a native of the township or county of New-Haven was ever executed. With small variations this account will exhibit the state of New-England at large. The number of native inhabitants, who have been capitally punished, has from the beginning been extremely small. In this respect New-England bears a stronger resemblance to Scotland and Switzerland, than to any other countries in the world.

Upon the whole it is probable, that the morals and religion of this country, particularly of the ancient settlements, may without disadvantage be compared with those of any other.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IV.

Establishment of the Public Worship of God in Connecticut.

DEAR SIR;

THE religion of the Congregationalists, the great body of the people in New-England, differs little in its doctrines from that of most Protestant countries. In its forms and discipline it strongly resembles those of Scotland, Holland, and Protestant Switzerland, and still more that of those English dissenters, who are denominated Independents and Congregationalists. In several particulars it differs from them all. These I will attempt to explain in an account of the religious system which prevails in Connecticut.

The state of Connecticut is universally divided into parishes, each containing one or more congregations, or, in the language of the laws, ecclesiastical societies. These societies are corporate bodies for various purposes.

In those parishes, which contain but one, the society is constituted of all legal voters, who hold, generally, the scheme of religion adopted by the society.

Each society is to meet once a year, to transact its legal business. To render such meeting legal, notice must be given to the inhabitants, at least five days before the meeting, by the society's standing committee; or, for the want of such committee, by the clerk. This meeting is empowered to choose a moderator, clerk, treasurer, and standing committee, possessing the same authority in society affairs as the corresponding town officers possess in town affairs.

When thus met, the society is also empowered to levy taxes, and choose collectors, by a major vote of the numbers present.

Persons, unpossessed of real estate, rated at nine dollars annual income, or personal estate rated at one hundred and thirty-four dollars, or exempted (on account of dissenting) from the payment of taxes for the support of the usual worship, and of the minister, and for the building and repairing of the churches in which such worship is celebrated, cannot vote or act in society meetings. The latter class, however, are disqualified only so far as these particular subjects are concerned.

Persons, refusing to serve in the business of the society, are subjected to fines in the same manner as those who refuse to serve in the business of the town; and the fines are to be paid to the treasurer of the society. Unqualified persons are also fined for voting, acting, or intermeddling in society meetings.

All persons, at any time within twelve months after arriving at the age of twenty-one years, or within the same period after becoming widows, or after settling anew in any parish, have liberty to enrol themselves in any society, by lodging their names for this purpose with the clerk. In the case of non-enrolment, a son belongs to the same society to which his father was attached; a widow to that of her husband; and new settlers to that which is lowest in the list.

All persons, joined to a society, continue members, unless they remove, or obtain leave of the general assembly, or of the society, to separate themselves. Persons, however, who soberly dissent from the worship celebrated by the ecclesiastical societies in this state, shall, upon lodging a certificate of their dissent with the clerk of the society, be exempted from all society taxes, so long as they shall ordinarily attend on the worship of the church or congregation to which they shall join themselves*.

* Since the death of the author, a new constitution has been adopted by the people of Connecticut. As some important alterations have been made, particularly in the provision for the support of the public worship of God, the article relative to religion is subjoined.—*Pub.*

“It being the duty of all men to worship the Supreme Being, the Great Creator and Preserver of the universe, and their right to render that worship in the mode most consistent with the dictates of their consciences, no person shall by law be compelled to join or support, nor be classed with, or

Any society, by a major vote, may call and settle a minister, and provide for his support. A minister, so settled, is styled in law the minister of the society, and is entitled to all the privileges of this office. The persons, qualified to vote for these purposes, are those who have a freehold estate in the same society, rated at nine dollars annually, or are rated at one hundred and thirty-four dollars in the common list, or are of full age, and in full communion with the church in said society. All the members of the society, and their successors, are, as in other corporations, bound by the votes of the majority.

The salaries of the ministers are to be paid according to the real value of the salary voted. For this purpose a tax is annually granted by the vote of the majority, and proportioned on the list in the same manner as public taxes. Negligent collectors are to have distress taken out against them by the society's committee; and the deficiency, which is occasioned by their negligence, levied and collected out of their estates. If the committee neglect their duty they are to be fined, and to pay the deficiency out of their own estates. If the society omit to choose a collector, a select-man, or justice of the peace, is to appoint one.

If the society do not agree with the minister for his salary, nor support him, the general assembly will order him a suf-

associated to, any congregation, church, or religious association. But every person, now belonging to such congregation, church, or religious association, shall remain a member thereof until he shall have separated himself therefrom in the manner hereinafter provided. And each and every society, or denomination of Christians in this state, shall have and enjoy the same and equal power, rights, and privileges, and shall have power and authority to support and maintain the ministers or teachers of their respective denominations, and to build and repair houses for public worship, by tax on the members of any such society only, to be laid by a major vote of the legal voters assembled at any society meeting, warned and held according to law, or in any other manner.

"If any person shall choose to separate himself from the society or denomination of Christians to which he may belong, and shall leave a written notice thereof with the clerk of such society, he shall thereupon be no longer liable for any future expenses which may be incurred by such society."

cient maintenance, to be paid by the society. If a society be without a minister for a year, or years, the general assembly will appoint a sum to be paid by such society, and to be disposed of for the use of the ministry in such society.

It is incumbent upon the society's committee to see that these duties are performed, and that the tax is speedily collected and paid, *viz.* within two months after the salary shall have become due.

All funds, estates, and donations, given for the support of the ministry, are under the care and management of the committee, who are accountable, and are empowered to make all proper contracts, and to use all proper and necessary measures to accomplish the purpose of the trust.

Non-resident proprietors of lands, lying in parishes containing more than one society, are to pay the tax on such lands to the society which is lowest in the list, if that society supports its minister by tax, according to law.

Such societies, as are unable to maintain a minister, may yet, having obtained leave of the general assembly, perform similar duties, and enjoy similar privileges, so far as to obtain the preaching of the Gospel, and accomplish other necessary purposes.

In parishes, containing more than one society, each is constituted by the enrolment of the names of its members with its clerk.

A considerable number of the towns in the state contain each but one society. Such towns are invested with all the preceding powers and privileges. In all such cases the functions of the officers of the society are performed by those who hold the corresponding town offices. Thus the select-men perform the duties of a society's committee.

All churches and congregations, which form themselves into bodies for the maintenance and support of the public worship of God, have the same powers and privileges for building and repairing churches, and for every other ecclesiastical purpose, as the societies constituted by law.

Whenever a society shall, by a lawful vote, declare it necessary to build a church, the place on which it shall stand is to be fixed by the court of common pleas; and if a society,

or any part of it, proceed to build before they make application to said court, they are to be fined one hundred and thirty-four dollars.

If, after the place is fixed, the society neglect to build the church, this court is to notify the negligence to the general assembly, who will order a sufficient tax to be laid on the society, and direct the money to be laid out for this purpose.

After societies are formed, churches erected, and ministers settled, the law, for the farther support of public worship, and for securing the quiet enjoyment of the sabbath, requires all persons to attend the private duties of religion, and on public worship, if there be any such worship, on which they can conveniently and conscientiously attend. As there are churches everywhere in the state, not more than five or six miles asunder, inconvenience can rarely be pleaded in ordinary circumstances. The law also forbids all secular business and diversion; travelling, except for necessary or charitable purposes; assembling in companies; going to taverns, and receiving those who go; setting up warnings, or notifications; and serving civil processes on the sabbath. It also forbids all interruptions or disturbances of public worship, and all rude behaviour during its celebration. The penalties, on which these offences are forbidden, are included between half a dollar and thirty-four dollars.

Grand jurors, constables, and tithing-men, are to inspect the public behaviour of all persons on the sabbath, and due presentment make of all profanations and breaches of the sabbath.

Parents and guardians are to correct their children for such offences, on penalty of half a dollar.

Assistants, or justices of the peace, are to apprehend offenders upon sight or knowledge; to examine, and, if need be, to command any person to seize, arrest, and secure any travellers on the sabbath, and to hold them till judgment be had in the case.

Constables, sheriffs, and grand jurors, are to apprehend, without warrant, and to carry before a justice of the peace, all offenders against this law.

Persons, refusing to obey the commands of these officers,

or neglecting to afford them their utmost assistance to apprehend and secure any offenders against this law, are subjected to the same penalties as when refusing to assist sheriffs and constables in the ordinary execution of their offices.

Sheriffs, constables, and indifferent persons are empowered, on warrant, to pursue and apprehend offenders against this law anywhere within the limits of the authority of the magistrate granting the warrant. No appeal lies from the sentence for breaches of this act.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER V.

Vindication of the Establishment of the Public Worship of God by Law.

DEAR SIR;

IN the preceding Letter I have given you, if I mistake not, a complete account of what has been often, though improperly, called the Ecclesiastical Establishment of Connecticut. This phrase, as applied to other countries, has usually, if not always, denoted the establishment of a national, or state church; or the establishment of exclusive privileges in the possession of one class of Christians. To Connecticut, therefore, it can have no proper application; because in this state all classes of Christians are placed on the same level. Formerly the case was different. A religious establishment existed in the colony of Connecticut, antecedently to the revolution; and gave exclusive privileges to the Congregationalists; the class of people, by whom it was originally settled. This has been changed for the system, detailed above. Whatever advantages, or disadvantages, therefore, may be supposed to attach to religious establishments in the appropriate sense, they can have only a partial relation to the ecclesiastical system of Connecticut. The principal arguments in favour of such establishments, and the principal objections against them, can be applied to it only in the same imperfect manner. In my own view the system might, in better language, be styled "The legal establishment of the public worship of God in this state."

I have brought all the parts of this system into one view, because they are all parts of a single design, naturally expressed by the phrase, adopted in the preceding sentence, and because I wished you to see them in their connection with each other. In this scheme you will see the whole coun-

try formed into religious congregations, styled ecclesiastical societies. These societies are vested with ample powers to tax themselves, to collect taxes, to hold property, to receive donations, and to manage their property for the purpose of building and repairing churches, and maintaining the public worship of God. This worship they are required to attend, churches they are required to build, and ministers they are required to settle and support. In doing these several things they are secured, so far as may be, against intrusion, opposition, interruption, and even indecency from others. The great object in view, the public worship of God, is required, provided for, enforced, and defended. Some of the means, by which it is to be accomplished, are pointed out; and all, which can consist with the certain attainment of the object, are left to the societies themselves.

You cannot but have perceived, that all classes of Christians are here invested by law with the same privileges. You must also have perceived, that ample provision is made for all those changes of opinion, and those scruples of conscience, which, where they honestly exist, are entitled to tenderness and respect; for which men very jealously claim regard; and which, therefore, demand regard from every wise legislature.

If it be admitted, as by the sentence of both reason and revelation it ought to be, that a legislature has a right to establish the worship of God; it will also be admitted, that the legislature of Connecticut has adopted a wise and liberal system for this important purpose. They have done most of that which is necessary, and nothing which is not necessary, to this end. So far as is consistent with the design, they have also placed every thing in the hands of those, who are chiefly concerned; and left them to the guidance of their own choice. At the same time they have made them responsible to the proper tribunal, the supreme authority of the state.

There are two classes of men, who contend against the interference of the legislature for the support of public worship: those, who consider it as inexpedient; and those, who regard it as unlawful.

On this subject it would be easy to fill a volume. It cannot be supposed, that I can here discuss it at length; nor

that, if this were in my power, you would with patience read the discussion. But it has been so often a theme of contention and complaint, on this as well as on the other side of the Atlantic, and particularly in the states south of New-England, as to render it proper to examine the subject with some degree of minuteness, even here. To the former of these classes, then, I address the following observations.

The legislature of every state is the proper superintendant of all its prudential concerns. It has not only a right, but is obliged by an authority, which it can neither oppose nor question, to pursue every lawful and expedient measure for the promotion of the public welfare. To this great purpose religion in every country is not only useful, but indispensable. But religion cannot exist, and has never existed for any length of time, without public worship. As every man ought, therefore, willingly to contribute to the support of whatever increases his own prosperity; he is by immoveable consequence obliged to support the religion, which, by increasing the common prosperity, increases of course his own.

Should an advocate for the doctrine, which I oppose, demand proof, that religion is indispensable to the welfare of a free country, this is my answer. Morality, as every sober man, who knows any thing of the subject, discerns with a glance, is merely a branch of religion: and where there is no religion, there is no morality. Moral obligation has its sole ground in the character and government of God. But where God is not worshipped, his character will soon be disregarded; and the obligation, founded on it, unfelt and forgotten. No duty, therefore, to individuals, or to the public, will be realized or performed. Justice, kindness, and truth, the great hinges on which free society hangs, will be unpractised, because there will be no motives to the practice, of sufficient force to resist the passions of man. Oaths of office, and of testimony, alike, without the sanctions of religion, are merely solemn farces. Without the sense of accountableness to God, without the realizing belief of a future retribution, they are employed only to insult the Creator, deprave the juror, and cheat his fellow-men. This sense nothing but religion can inspire or preserve. With the loss of religion, therefore, the ultimate foundation of confidence is blown

up; and the security of life, liberty, and property buried in the ruins.

In aid of these observations I allege, that no free government has ever existed for any time without the support of religion. Athens, Sparta, and Rome, stood and fell with their religion, false and gross as it was; because it contained some of those great truths, and solemn sanctions, without which man can possess no conscience, exercise no virtue, and find no safety. To their religion, Britain, Switzerland, and the United Netherlands, have owed most of their happiness and their permanency; and might say to this celestial denizen, in every period of their prosperity, as the devout and humble Christian to his God, "Having obtained help of thee, we have continued to this time."

In the history of the globe there is recorded but one attempt, seriously made, to establish a free government without religion. From this attempt has sprung new proof, that such a government, stripped of this aid, cannot exist. The government, thus projected, was itself never established; but was a mere abortion; exhibiting doubtful signs of life at its birth, and possessing this dubious existence only as an ephemeron. During its diurnal life it was the greatest scourge, particularly to those for whom it was formed, and generally to the rest of mankind, which the world has ever seen. Instead of being a free, just, and beneficent system of administration, it was more despotic than a Persian caliphate; more wasteful of life, and all its blessings, than an inundation of Goths and Vandals. Those who lived under it, and either originated or executed its measures, were the authors of more crimes than any collection of men, since the termination of that gigantic wickedness, from which nothing but an universal deluge could cleanse this polluted world.

These evils, my antagonist is further to be informed, were the result of the only experiment, ever made, of erecting a government without religion. They are the only specimen of the genuine efficacy of infidelity and atheism on the mind and on the happiness of man, during the only opportunity, which they have enjoyed, of possessing an unlimited control over human affairs. Until the remembrance of this experiment shall have been lost, it can never be made again.

Finally, he is to be informed, that it is wiser, more humane, and more effectual, to prevent crimes than to punish them. He is to be told, what he cannot deny, that religion is the only great preventive of crimes; and contributes more, in a far more desirable manner, to the peace and good order of society, than the judge and the sheriff, the gaol and the gibbet united. He is to be reminded, that mankind, with all the influence of religion added to that of the civil government, are still imperfectly governed; are less orderly, peaceful, and friendly to each other, than humanity must wish; and that, therefore, he who would willingly lessen this influence is a fool, he who would destroy it a madman.

I am well aware, that, in spite of this and any other reasoning, in spite of demonstration itself, there are men, who may, and in all probability will, say, that, however good and useful the public worship of God may be, they do not wish to avail themselves of its benefits, and owe therefore no contributions to its support. To these men I reply, that he who has no children, or who does not wish to send his children to school, and he who does not use the roads and bridges of his country, because he is either necessitated or inclined to stay at home, may on exactly the same ground claim an exemption from supporting schools, roads, and bridges. To such an objection it is a sufficient answer, that these things enter into all the happiness which he enjoys, and that without them he and his countrymen would be hermits and savages. Without religion man becomes in a short time a beast of prey, and wastes the happiness of his fellow-men with as little remorse as the wolf or the tiger, and to a degree which leaves their ravages out of remembrance. Even if this were not the melancholy fact, the list of individual enjoyments is as much more valuable in a community where religion prevails, than where it does not, as the safety, peace, and pleasure of civilized society are more desirable than the exposure, discord, and misery produced by the furious and malignant passions of uncultivated man.

Those, who consider the legislature in supporting the public worship of God as doing that which is unlawful, found this doctrine upon what they conceive to be revelation. In support of it they allege such things as the following: that Christ has declared his kingdom not to be of this world, that the

gates of Hell shall never prevail against it, and that he said to the apostles, "Freely ye have received, freely give;" together with various other things of the like nature.

Every man, who soberly alleges scruples of conscience in any case, has a claim to be answered with seriousness and delicacy. To this class of objectors, therefore, I answer, When Christ declared his kingdom not to be of this world, he had not even the remotest reference to the subject in hand. He merely replied to the accusation, which the Jews brought against him to Pilate, *viz.* that he claimed to be a king, and was therefore a rebel against the government of Cæsar.

It is however admitted in the fullest sense, that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world; that, as Christ declared, it is within man; and that, as St. Paul declares, it consists in "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." But I ask, what reference had this to the point in debate? For myself I confess, I am unable to see the application of it so far as to find any thing to be answered. In the interference of the magistrate to support the public worship of God, there is not even a reference to this doctrine, either friendly or hostile. Nor can I conceive how man can intermeddle with the subject at all, unless by declaring himself to be the author of regeneration, or to be able and disposed to resist the real author, the Holy Ghost. When the public support of the worship of God shall be shown to be unfavourable to the existence of regeneration, or to the disposition produced by it, and thus to oppose the spiritual kingdom of Christ, it will then be a proper time to cite this text as an argument against such an interference of the legislature. But should their interference be favourable to this great purpose, as, if we argue from all human experience, it must be, he, who understanding the subject would hinder it, must renounce every pretension to the character of a Christian.

"But Christ," it is said, "has promised, that the gates of Hell shall never prevail against his church; and, as he himself has engaged to support it, the aid of the civil magistrate can neither be necessary nor proper." This promise I believe without a doubt; but the inference I shall take the liberty to question. The promise is this, and nothing but this: that there shall be, throughout the ages of time, a church of Christ

in the world. It contains not, therefore, the least encouragement, that for any length of time the kingdom of Christ will exist in any given country. In perfect accordance with this promise, Great Britain may be the seat of Christianity, and New-England a forest of savages, or a revelling house of infidels. But the first and great concern of the people of New-England is to secure the blessings of this kingdom to themselves, and to their posterity. To this object I assert, in contradiction to the above mentioned inference, that the aid of the magistrate is both proper and necessary. Miracles have ceased. The extraordinary and immediately perceptible agency of Christ in this business cannot therefore be expected, and will not be employed. Whatever is to be done, except the work of sanctification, which man cannot do, is to be done by man as the instrument of his Maker. Man is to "plant, and water;" and then, and then only, is warranted either to hope, or to pray, that "God will give the increase."

Men are to build churches; to qualify themselves to become ministers of the Gospel; to preach the Gospel; to settle ministers; to support them when they are settled; to secure to them that support, that they may be enabled to fulfil the duty of "providing for their own households," and thus be safe from the charge of having "denied the faith, and being worse than infidels." Of this safety there is no other possible foundation but a contract. Every contract, which is not immoral, or of which the fulfilment is not impossible, the legislature of every country, especially of every Christian country, is not only authorized, but, so far as it is able, bound to enforce. In this manner, and in this only, will they and their children be furnished with ministers, qualified to teach them divine knowledge, and to impress on their hearts the duties of the Gospel. In this manner only will they secure themselves and their children from being left to the guidance of ignorant men, who, instead of being qualified to teach, are neither able nor willing to learn.

In this manner will they shut out of the desk men, to whom common sense instinctively cries, "Physician, heal thyself." These men, who in all countries have been the disturbers of ecclesiastical peace and good order, will in this

manner, and in this only, be silenced. For no body of decent men will vote a decent fixed salary to a person of this character.

But it is said, that "the apostles received freely," and were commanded "freely to give." The apostles, on a miraculous mission, and endued with miraculous powers, were commanded "to heal the sick, to cleanse the lepers, to raise the dead, to cast out devils, and to preach," as they went, "saying, The kingdom of Heaven is at hand." The supernatural powers by which these miracles were to be wrought, and which they had received freely from the bounty of Christ, they were commanded to exercise freely for the benefit of those, by whom they should be welcomed into their cities and houses. Is this the commission under which ministers now act? If it is, let them obey its call, as did the apostles. Particularly, "let them provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, in their purses, nor scrip, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor yet staves." According to this very commission, they are forbidden to preach the Gospel to any, who will not furnish them with these things. Against those, who do not perform this duty, they are directed "to shake off the dust of their feet:" and it is declared, "that it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgment, than for them."

The ninth chapter of 1st Corinthians has settled this point for ever. Here Christ has ordained, that "they, who preach the Gospel, shall live of the Gospel." To cut off all debate, so far as debate can be cut off, St. Paul has sanctioned the ordinance, that "they, who preach the Gospel, shall live of the Gospel," by an appeal to the law of Moses, the express injunction of Christ, and the authority of his own inspiration.

But why, it will be asked, may not this living be furnished by a voluntary contribution? There are undoubtedly cases in which it may. In large towns, congregations may be ordinarily gathered, sufficiently numerous, and sufficiently liberal, to build one or more churches, and to support one or more ministers. In smaller towns this would ordinarily be impossible; and I suppose the objector himself will admit, that it is at least as necessary for the inhabitants of smaller towns to have ministers as for those of cities; especially as they constitute the mass of people in all countries. In such towns the

whole burthen of supporting ministers by contribution would fall upon a few individuals. But these could not sustain this burthen, and ministers, of course, could not live. In such towns, therefore, there will upon this plan be no ministers; I mean none such as the Gospel requires: "Workmen who need not to be ashamed; who rightly divide the word of truth; who give attendance to reading, to exhortation, and to doctrine; who meditate upon these things, and give themselves wholly to them; so that their profiting may appear unto all."

Besides, St. Paul, 1 Cor. xvi, has determined, that a tax is the right and proper manner of doing all this. In the second verse, he commands the Corinthians "to lay by them somewhat," as a contribution to the relief of their fellow Christians; "every man as God had prospered them." Between contributions for their fellow Christians and contributions for ministers there is no moral difference. The contribution of a sum, in proportion to the prosperity God has given men, is a tax: for a tax is nothing but a regular and proportional contribution. This proportion cannot be established but by authority; for, except by authority, men cannot be required to render an account of their circumstances. Nor can any proportion approach so near to equity as that, which is formed under the direction of the legislature. Here, then, the rule of St. Paul, the rule established by God, is as exactly pursued as it can be by human wisdom: and, if it was a right rule in one ecclesiastical case, it is a rule equally right in every other.

If we look to facts; we shall find the same doctrine supported with illustrious evidence. In the year 1793 I was a member of the general assembly of the Presbyterian church. There were then, if I do not misremember, four hundred and twelve congregations, belonging to this church, within the United States, south of New-England; and two hundred and nine congregations in the state of Connecticut alone. To supply these Presbyterian congregations, there were two hundred and four ministers. In Connecticut there were, in the year 1790, 237,946 inhabitants, and in the states south of New-England, 2,920,478. In the year 1798 there were, belonging to the Presbyterian church, two hundred and forty-two ministers; of whom thirty-three were without any charge; of

in the language of New-England, were not *settled ministers*. Two hundred and nine ministers, therefore, supplied, so far as they were supplied at all, the whole number of Presbyterian congregations south of New-England. The number of congregations at that time cannot be ascertained, as the returns were in this respect imperfect. These ministers supplied two hundred and ninety congregations; eighty-one being what are called pluralities: and there were one hundred and forty-two vacancies returned. Five presbyteries made no returns of the vacancies within their bounds. If we suppose the vacancies in these presbyteries to be eighteen, the number will be one hundred and sixty. This number will make the whole four hundred and thirty. With this numerous train of vacancies, there were thirty ministers still, who were unsettled. It follows irresistibly, either that the congregations were so small as to be unable to support ministers, or so indifferent to religion as to be unwilling.

The number of vacancies in Connecticut, at that time, I am unable precisely to ascertain. Twenty may perhaps be assumed as the probable number. There were then, at that time within the state, one hundred and eighty-nine ministers.

In the year 1800, there were in Connecticut 251,002 inhabitants; and, in the states south of New-England, 4,033,775. The whole account, according to this estimate, will stand thus.

There were, in 1798,

	Congre- gations.	Minis- ters.	Vacan- cies.	Plura- lities.	Ministers not settled.	Inhabit- ants.
In Connecticut . . .	209	189	20	0	5	251,002
In the states south of New-England .	430	242	160	81	33	4,033,776

In Connecticut, then, a sixteenth of the number of inhabitants form two hundred and nine congregations, and support one hundred and eighty-nine ministers. Of these congregations, twenty were vacant, and five of the ministers were unsettled. In the states south of New-England, sixteen times the number of inhabitants formed four hundred and thirty congregations, of which eighty-one were pluralities, and one hundred and sixty were vacant, or without ministers. The ministers supported and settled were two hundred and nine. If these states contained congregations, and were supplied

with ministers in the same proportion as Connecticut, the whole number of congregations would be three thousand three hundred and forty-four; and the whole number of ministers settled and supported would be three thousand and twenty-four. In this estimate we have a fair specimen of the natural consequence of establishing or neglecting to establish the public worship of God by the law of the land. In Connecticut every inhabitant, who is not precluded by disease or inclination, may hear the Gospel, and celebrate the public worship of God, every sabbath. In the states specified it is not improbable, that a number of people, several times as great as the census of Connecticut, have scarcely heard a sermon or a prayer in their lives.

The only objection, which I can foresee, against this estimate is, that although the number of Presbyterian congregations in Connecticut is much greater in proportion than that in the states specified, yet this difference is, to a great extent, lessened by the superior proportion of congregations, formed by other classes of Christians in those states. The number of Episcopal congregations in Connecticut, including twenty-six pluralities, is sixty-one; the number of Baptist congregations sixty-seven; making in the aggregate one hundred and twenty-eight. It is doubted whether a correct estimate of the congregations, formed by these and other classes of Christians, in the two fields of inquiry, would be materially different from that which has been already given. This estimate, however, cannot be made, there being no data from which it may be derived. I have chosen the Presbyterian congregations as the subject of inquiry, because the numbers were attainable from returns in my possession.

An examination of the religious state of Massachusetts would have given a result not essentially different.

In a happy conformity to this estimate, and the scheme here supported, has been the prevalence of religion in these two states. It is doubted whether there is a collection of ministers in the world, whose labours have been more prosperous, or under whose preaching a greater proportion of those who heard them have become the subjects of real piety. I know of no country in which revivals of religion have been so frequent, or in proportion to the number of inhabitants so exten-

ive, as in these two states. God, therefore, may be considered as having thus far manifested his own approbation of the system. If at the same time we advert to the peace, the good order, the regular distribution of justice, the universal existence of schools, the universal enjoyment of the education which they communicate, and the extension of superior education, it will be difficult for a sober man not to perceive, that the smiles of Heaven have regularly accompanied this system from its commencement to the present time. I need not, however, have gone any farther for the illustration of this subject than to a comparison of the states of Rhode-Island and Connecticut. The former of these, independently of Providence, Newport, and two or three other small towns, is in all these important particulars a mere contrast to the latter. Yet these states were planted by colonies from the same nation, lie in the same climate, and are separated merely by a meridional line. A sober man, who knows them both, can hardly hesitate, whatever may have been his original opinion concerning this subject, to believe, that a legislature is bound to establish the public worship of God.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER VI.

Education of Candidates for the Ministry, and Settlement of Clergymen.

DEAR SIR;

FEW subjects, within a moderate number of years, have been more frequently canvassed by many Americans than the character and privileges of the New-England clergy—I mean the Presbyterians. Perhaps no subject has been environed with more error, misrepresentation, or abuse. My observations will be confined to a mere explanation of the character and situation of the clergy. It is my wish to remove misapprehensions from the minds of candid men. Others I shall leave to themselves. It will be unnecessary to go beyond the limits of Connecticut for this purpose, as the differences between this state and most other parts of New-England are not in this respect very material.

The progress of every clergyman in the state of Connecticut, until he arrives at the desk, is the following:—

From infancy to manhood his whole character is subjected to the inspection of his parents, of his schoolmaster, of the parish in which he is born and bred, of the government of the college in which he is educated, of the church to which he is united, and of the clergyman by whom he is instructed in theology*. The inspection of the parish is here a serious object; for in no country is personal character so minutely scrutinized, or so well known, as in Connecticut. After his preparatory studies in theology are ended, he is licensed to preach; and whenever he finds a congregation sufficiently

* Until within a few years, there were no seminaries for the instruction of students in theology in New-England. Previously to their establishment, young gentlemen, after completing their collegiate education, placed themselves under the direction of clergymen of respectability, for the purpose of preparing themselves for the ministry.—*Pub.*

pleasing to him, and sufficiently pleased with him to render his settlement in it desirable, he is ordained, and has the congregation committed to his care. During every part of this progress he is subjected to a series of strict examinations concerning his character, conduct, and improvements. Besides earlier investigations of this nature, he is examined with regard to his learning and character, in order to his admission into a college. Here he passes through eight public examinations, before he can be admitted to the degree of bachelor of arts. Before he can be received into a church, his Christian character is scrupulously investigated. Before he can receive a licence, he is again particularly questioned on this subject, and passes through a minute and comprehensive examination concerning his acquaintance with theology, the doctrines which he believes, and the talents which he possesses. If he is approved, he receives a licence, limited to six months, a year, or sometimes to two years. When this licence expires he cannot, without being disorderly, continue to preach, unless it is renewed; and it will not be renewed unless his character continues to be in-
con-
surable. While he is a licentiate he is under a kind of daily examination. His sermons, his elocution, his doctrines, his moral and religious character, his manners, and the prudence of his conduct, all undergo a species of ordeal, both from the friends and the enemies of religion.

When he offers himself for ordination he passes through a new, more solemn, and still more critical trial, conducted according to the pleasure of a consociation (a tribunal hereafter to be explained), every member of which has a right to protract his inquiries till he is satisfied. At this time it is absolutely necessary, that the candidate should appear unexceptionable in his knowledge, prudence, and piety.

Before he can become a settled minister he is invited to preach, merely for the purpose of conducting, for a moderate number of sabbaths, Divine service in a destitute congregation. If both his preaching and manner of life are sufficiently agreeable, he is invited to preach, as it is termed, upon probation; that is, to give a fair and full exhibition of his talents and character, and to disclose his views of the principal doctrines contained in the Christian system.

Soon after this a farther trial commences. A standing

committee of the association, within whose district the society is included, assembles upon notice from the society's committee to hear him preach a lecture, and to converse with him freely on the topics mentioned above. When their inquiries are ended, these ministers advise the society to proceed in the design of giving him a call or to desist, as they find there are, or are not, any serious objections. After the period of his probation has been sufficiently extended, a legal meeting of the society is warned, for the announced purpose of determining whether they will invite him to settle with them in the ministry. At this meeting every member makes every objection to the candidate and to the proceedings, which he thinks proper. When the deliberation is ended, the question is put by the moderator. If it is carried in the affirmative, the quantum of his salary is next decided. In this particular the society vote just what they please, having nothing to influence them but their own judgment and inclinations.

Immediately before this meeting of the society, the church assembles to determine whether they will receive him as their minister. As the prime relation between a minister and his fellow-men is his relation to the church, it is indispensable, that the question concerning this relation be determined before the subjects, mentioned in the last paragraph, can be properly brought forward for discussion.

If both the church and the congregation unite in inviting him to be their minister, certified copies of their records, containing all these proceedings, are transmitted to him. When he has sufficiently considered the proposals, he gives written answers, which are also recorded in the public books of the church and the society. If he accepts the call, a day is appointed for his ordination. The consociation of the district, or a council mutually chosen, assembles on the morning of the preceding day. He is then examined in the manner already mentioned. If the members of the council are satisfied with his answers, they proceed the following day to his ordination. The parts of this religious service are, a psalm; an introductory prayer; a second psalm; a sermon, appropriated to the occasion; a consecrating prayer, conjoined with the imposition of hands upon the candidate; a charge, in which his duties as a minister are explained and enjoined, and the

church and congregation solemnly committed to his care; sometimes another charge to *them*, explaining and enjoining their corresponding duties; the giving of the right hand of fellowship in the name of the ordaining council, as a token of their cheerful admission of him into their Christian fraternity, and to the office and privileges of a minister; a concluding prayer; a third psalm, or an anthem; and the evangelical blessing.

In all the votes above mentioned a large majority must coincide. Three-fourths constitute the smallest proportion, which in any ordinary case can be supposed. Often, the opposition of a small number of respectable individuals will be a sufficient reason to the council for postponing, and in the end declining the ordination.

After a minister is settled, his conduct is watched with more attention than that of any other man. He must not only be substantially free from censure, but, like the wife of Cæsar, unsuspected; uniting and exemplifying the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove.

Notwithstanding the rigidity of the laws, heretofore recited, and the apparent security which they furnish to him, he holds his place in the congregation, which settled him, and the living attached to it, by a more precarious tenure than that of almost any other man. Should a very moderate number of his parishioners, should even an individual of peculiar consequence become opposed to him, it may in the end be the cause of his removal. His living in the mean time furnishes barely a comfortable subsistence. The average salary of ministers in Connecticut, including all the perquisites annexed to it, does not, I believe, exceed four hundred dollars. There are, perhaps, from six to ten within two hundred and fifty dollars. I know of but one, which amounts to eleven hundred dollars. When it is remembered, that the public sentiment demands, that a minister, in his dress and manner of living, should appear as a gentleman; and that the price of all the means of subsistence has, during the last twenty-two years*, been doubled; it must be seen, that such a salary is sufficiently stinted.

I am, Sir, &c.

* 1816.

LETTER VII.

Influence of the Clergy in Connecticut: its Nature and Derivation.

DEAR SIR;

THE powers of a clergyman, about which so much has been lately said, are, a power to marry within the county in which he lives; and a power, when he is chosen, to preside as moderator, or, when he does not preside, to vote in ecclesiastical meetings, where none but ecclesiastical subjects are considered. In the meetings of his own church he is the moderator *ex officio*. I doubt not but a multitude of those, who read this declaration, will read it with astonishment. Hardly will they believe, that the formidable stories, the alarming suggestions, which have been so often reiterated concerning the New-England hierarchy, can have grown out of these puny things. Yet these are the only powers of a New-England clergyman. Let the men, who have uttered these suggestions, blush over this account, if a remaining solitary drop of crimson yet wanders through their cheeks.

Whence then, it will be asked, is all that clerical consequence, about which such a multitude of tongues have been so long busied? That it exists in some degree cannot be doubted; or it could not have been made the subject of so much obloquy, or even of discussion. I will answer the question frankly. The real weight of clergymen in New-England, particularly in Massachusetts and Connecticut, consists wholly in their influence; an influence derived from their office and their conduct.

Their office is, and is acknowledged to be, sacred; instituted by God himself; eminently useful to the present, and immensely important to the future well-being of mankind.

There is something so reasonable in the consciousness of an intimate and permanent connection between rational creatures and their Creator, and a conviction of the duties owed by them to him and to each other; something so self-recommendatory in virtue, and so intuitively odious in sin; something so rational in accountableness, so irresistible in the decisions of conscience, and so probable and awful in the idea of a future retribution; that the mind, left to its own views, unbiassed by adventitious prejudice, unperplexed with sophistry, and unhardened by habitual wickedness, will admit all these things of course; and will scarcely think of opposing either their evidence or their influence. He, who with a character known and approved approaches the mind with fair, frequent, and solemn injunctions on these amazing subjects, will, therefore, be respected instinctively. When in addition to this he comes as a messenger of God; authorized by him to explain them to the understanding, and to impress them on the heart; from a book, written by the Divine finger; on a day, in a place, and on an occasion, made sacred by the same Law-giver, and accompanied by ordinances supremely affecting; it is impossible, that he should not be an object of veneration.

To this reverence, high endearment will be added, of course, by his presence in the hour of sorrow, in the chamber of sickness, and at the bed of death. The man, who is always employed in mitigating distress, administering comfort, and aiding the return of serenity, cannot but be hailed as a friend of no common character. Other men are from necessity more or less employed in originating or enhancing trouble to some or other of their fellow-men; and although occupied, perhaps, in their duty, and praise-worthy for performing it, are yet by the ordinary association of ideas regarded as sources of pain. A minister is active only in the production of enjoyment, or the alleviation of suffering.

At the same time he is every man's minister. Between him and each of his parishioners a relation subsists, found in no other case. From this relation arises an interchange of affections and offices wholly peculiar, strongly endearing, soon rendered habitual, and easily regarded as indispensable. He

is the common friend; the common peace-maker; the common father; the general solicitor of charity for the poor, of assistance to the sick, and of relief to the suffering; the general instructor of the children in wisdom and piety; and, in the beautiful phraseology of the Scriptures, the shepherd, who guides the flock, and walks before them in the way to Heaven.

To these means of influence his learning, prudence, and personal character, make an important addition. By these he is placed in a superior, and, what is not true of any other man, an uninvincible light. He is no man's rival in the chase for honour or wealth. The miser may make his bargains, and the candidate compass his election, without fearing any competition from him. In his place, office, and pecuniary circumstances, he is fixed; and they will neither be coveted nor envied by others.

Finally, he must possess an unspotted character. The character of a clergyman in this country, like that of the delicate sex, is enclosed by mounds, which he cannot safely pass; although he sees them daily passed without the least injury to themselves by other men of fair reputation. These form a security to him of high importance, as they keep him at a distance from danger. Watched by every eye, and exposed to the censures of every tongue, he is compelled to be on his guard. Should he trespass, therefore, beyond the haltings of mere human infirmity, he must, to say the least, be very inattentive, or very imprudent.

From these observations you will easily perceive the true state of this subject. The clergy of Connecticut have no power, but they have much influence; an influence, which every sober man must feel to be altogether desirable in every community. It is the influence of wisdom and virtue. Clergymen here are respected for what they are, and for what they do; and not for any thing adventitious to themselves or their office. Miserable, indeed, must be the state of that society, in which character and conduct, known and approved, fail of their proper influence; for plainly no means, hitherto furnished by the providence of God, have so happily promoted the welfare of mankind. Order and peace have hitherto been est-

blinded either by force or persuasion, by power or by influence. Who would not rather have his own children influenced to behave well than punished for behaving ill? Who, that can claim the name of a man; who, that cherishes a particle of the humanity, which derives its appellation from that name; will not rejoice to see crimes prevented by the desk rather than rewarded by the gibbet? Who would not rather see churches crowded than gaols? Happily for themselves and their children, the people of this state have chosen rather to prevent the commission of crimes by the efficacy of religious instruction, than to expect either reformation or good order from the terrors of the dungeon or the halter.

Let me solicit you to take a cursory view of the care and caution, used from the beginning, in introducing a candidate into the ministry. Let me then ask you, whether in any business of human life you have known more prudent, or more effectual expedients employed? Is not the utmost security here attained of receiving only the proper candidates? If these measures will not ensure a learned, pious, and faithful ministry, what will?

The ministry here is safe, also, from the temptations presented in several other countries by rank and opulence. I am far from believing, that rank and opulence necessarily conduct those, by whom they are possessed, to criminal conduct. I well know, that many such persons have been distinguished for their wisdom and piety. But you will agree with me, that these splendid objects involve serious temptations. You will also admit, that, where they are annexed to places of any kind, the votaries of wealth and splendour will covet, and not unfrequently obtain these places. It is here believed, and I think with no small appearance of reason, that great secular enjoyments would open the desk, in spite of every precaution, to the intrusion of loose and worldly men. But no devotee to wealth or honour will be allured into this office by the salary connected with it, or the tenure on which it is holden. I neither deny nor doubt, that the former is too small, and the latter too precarious. As both are, however, there is probably no class of men more unblameable than the clergy of Connecticut.

You are not to conclude, from any thing which I have here said, that ministers do not in the great body of instances continue firmly fixed in the places where they are originally settled. Almost all of them continue in their stations during life, unless when they are voluntarily exchanged for others. This fact, however, has its foundation chiefly in the manners and habits of the people. Ministers and school-masters, to a great extent, form the manners; and the manners support the ministers and school-masters. Hence the situation of ministers is justly asserted to be stable and permanent; as great a proportion of their whole number, probably, terminating life where they were originally settled, as in most parts, and perhaps in any part of the Christian world. The greatest source of separation between ministers and their people is the smallness of their salaries; and this, I confess, threatens, at the present expensive period, a more numerous train of evils than have hitherto been known of a similar nature in New-England*.

I am, Sir, &c.

* There is an evil relative to this subject, and that of no small magnitude, which has arisen from the peculiar state of the country since the commencement of the American revolution. During the progress of that event, the salaries of ministers, which had before furnished them, generally at least, a decent subsistence, dwindled to nothing by the depreciation of the continental currency. The poverty of the country, produced by a war of eight years, prevented the mischief from being remedied, except in part, for a considerable period. As the wealth of the inhabitants increased, the salaries of ministers were enlarged, particularly of such as were then settled, with a design to make them adequate to their maintenance. The war in Europe introduced a total change into the economical affairs of this country. The prices of labour, and of all the necessaries, and many of the conveniences of life, were suddenly doubled and trebled. Salaries of course sunk again, in their real value, to one half, and one third, of their original value. Farmers, who in most places constitute the body of parishioners, and whose farms still supply them with the same means of supporting their families, are almost necessarily ignorant of the difference of the expense of living, created by this state of things. Men of this class rarely make any calculations concerning the subject; and, from mere ignorance, are with great reluctance induced to believe the real state of the fact. Accordingly, some of them within my knowledge, having had such calculations presented to them, have confessed their mistakes concerning the subject, and totally

changed their views and measures. It is reasonably believed, that such would be the conduct of very many others, were they to possess the same advantages for forming a just estimate.

From this state of things it has arisen, that, although salaries have been materially increased in their nominal value, their real value, as means of living, has been materially lessened. From the colonization of the country to the year 1763, the stipends of ministers, including all the means which they possessed of supporting and educating their families, were better, throughout the country at large, than they have been at any subsequent period*.

* At the present time (1820) the expense of living is much lessened, and the value of salaries is proportionally increased.—*Pub.*

LETTER VIII.

Confession of Faith, and Articles of Church Discipline, agreed to at Saybrook, in 1708, by the Delegates of the Churches. History of the Proceedings relative to this Subject. Observations.

DEAR SIR;

ON the 9th of September, 1708, the elders and messengers of the churches of Connecticut, in New-England, by virtue of the appointment and encouragement of the general assembly, convened by delegation at Saybrook, and unanimously agreed, "That the confession of faith, owned and consented unto by the elders and messengers assembled at Boston, in New-England, May 12th, 1680, being the second session of that synod, be recommended to the honourable general assembly of this colony, at their next session, for their public testimony thereto, as the faith of the church of this colony; which confession, together with the heads of union, and articles of the administration of church government, herewith emitted, were presented unto, and approved and established by the said general assembly at New-Haven, on the 14th of October, 1708."

The confession, here alluded to and adopted, is in substance the same with the Westminster and Savoy confessions.

At the same time, this synod agreed unanimously upon articles for the administration of church discipline in the churches of the colony. Such of these articles as are of importance to my design, and as will be sufficient to give you a just and comprehensive view of the scheme agreed upon by these good men, I will summarily exhibit, and, as far as may be, in their own words. They acknowledge, that there is a catholic church, comprehending all who are united to Christ, whether in Hea-

ven or on Earth, but disclaim the notion of a catholic visible church, collected under a visible common head, in this world.

They agree, that particular societies of visible saints, stably joined together for communion in the ordinances of Christ, are particular churches, and are to be owned by each other as instituted churches of Christ, though differing in apprehensions and practice in some lesser things.

That none shall be admitted as members but such as are knowing and sound in the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion; without scandal in their lives; and, to a judgment regulated by the word of God, are persons of visible holiness and honesty, credibly professing cordial subjection to Jesus Christ.

A competent number of such persons, declaring their consent and agreement to walk together in the ordinances of Christ, become a church. The members of such a church ought, as far as may be, to live near one another.

Every such church has a right to choose its own officers; and, being furnished with them agreeably to the Gospel, has a right to exercise government, and to enjoy all the ordinances of worship within itself. It belongs to the pastors, and other elders of every particular church, if such there be, to rule and govern; and to the brotherhood to consent, according to the rule of the Gospel. Professors are bound, when they have an opportunity, to join themselves as fixed members to some particular church; and to continue steadfast with the said church, its ministry, and ordinances, until regularly dismissed and recommended to another.

Ministers ought to be endued with competent learning and ministerial gifts, as also with the grace of God; to be sound in judgment; not novices; without scandal; and such as devote themselves to the work of the ministry. Ordinarily, none ought to be ordained to the work of the ministry but such as are called and chosen to it by a particular church.

In the business of calling and choosing a pastor, every such church ought to consult and advise with pastors of the neighbouring congregations. After such choice and advice, the candidate is to be duly ordained and set apart to his office over the church, by which he has been called. Candidates for the ministry ought, in ordinary cases, to give proof of

their gifts, and fitness for the ministry, to ministers of known abilities.

Ecclesiastical censures are admonition and excommunication.

Admonition, in case of private offences, is to be performed according to Matt. xviii, 15, 16, 17; and, in case of public offences, openly before the church. If the offender is penitent, all farther proceedings cease; if not, after all due means have been used to bring him to repentance, he is to be excommunicated.

If a member, not otherwise scandalous, fully withdraw and separate himself from the communion of the church, the church may justly declare itself discharged of any farther inspection over him.

Particular churches ought to exercise care and tenderness towards each other.

Pastors ought to have frequent meetings, for the purpose of strengthening the hearts and the hands of each other.

No particular church is to be subordinate to another; and no church, nor its officers, are to exercise power over another church and its officers.

Members of a particular church may have communion with another in the ordinances of the Gospel, except when lying under some imputation.

No church is to be blamed for its proceedings by another, until after it shall have been heard.

The office of a deacon is of Divine appointment; and it belongs to that office to receive, lay out, and distribute the alms of the church, by the direction of the pastor and brethren, if need be.

Some persons believe that there is, and some that there is not, such an office as that of ruling elders. The synod declared, that this difference of opinion should make no breach among themselves.

In weighty and difficult cases, ministers ought to be consulted; and both the elders and members of particular churches ought to have a reverential regard to their judgments, and not to dissent therefrom without apparent grounds from the word of God.

We think ourselves obliged to pray continually for the

blessing of God upon our rulers. We ought to yield them subjection and support. If they please at any time to call together any number of us, and require an account of our affairs, and the state of our congregations, we shall most readily express all dutiful regard to them herein.

As to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient, that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice; and own either the doctrinal part of those commonly called the articles of the church of England, or the confession or catechism, shorter or larger, compiled by the assembly at Westminster, or the confession agreed on at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule.

It is the duty of Christians to bear a Christian respect to all Christians, according to their several ranks and stations, though not of our persuasion or communion.

To those, who are ignorant of the principles of the Christian religion, or of vicious conversation, we will endeavour to explain the doctrine of life, and, to our utmost, persuade them to be reconciled to God.

Such, as appear to have the essential requisites to church communion, we shall willingly receive them in the Lord, not troubling them with disputes about lesser matters.

Articles for the administration of church discipline, unanimously agreed upon by the synod at the same time and place:—

The elder or elders of a particular church, with the consent of the brethren, are to exercise the discipline of the Gospel in relation to all scandals that fall out within the same. In cases of difficulty, advice should be asked of the elders in the neighbourhood, before they proceed to censure.

The churches shall consociate for mutual assistance in their ecclesiastical concerns. The pastors and churches of a county shall form one, or, if they judge meet, more than one consociation.

All cases of scandal within the consociational limits, when there shall be need of a council for the determination of them, shall be brought before the consociation.

Nothing shall be deemed an act or judgment of a consociation, which hath not a major part of the elders concurring, and

such a number of the messengers or delegates present, as to constitute a majority of the whole.

A trial before a consociation shall be final; and the consociation shall see their judgment duly executed agreeably to the word of God.

If any pastor and church refuse conformity to such a judgment, they shall be reputed guilty of scandalous contempt, and the sentence of non-communication shall be declared against them; and the churches are to approve of the said sentence by withdrawing from the communion of such pastor and church.

If any case of difficulty shall arise in any church, the church, or the minister or member aggrieved; shall apply to the consociation to which said church belongs, which, if they see cause, shall thereupon convene, hear, and determine the case. If the consociation shall judge it best, they may call upon another consociation in the same county; or, if there be none, in a neighbouring county, to sit with them; and this united body shall hear, judge, determine, and finally issue such case according to the word of God.

A particular church, in which any difficulty shall arise, may call the consociation to which it belongs, before a sentence is pronounced. But this may not be done by an offending brother without consent of the church.

Every church may choose one or two delegates to represent them in the consociation, who are to stand until others shall be chosen.

Consociations have power to adjourn themselves, as need shall be, for the space of one year after their first session, and no longer. The moderator of a consociation, with the advice and consent of any two ministers belonging to it, may summon a special meeting; or, in case of the moderator's death, two ministers of the consociation shall have the same power. Every consociation is empowered to form rules for its own proceedings. A person, regularly complained of to a consociation, or a witness to such complaint, being regularly notified to appear, who shall refuse or neglect to appear at the time and place specified, shall, unless a satisfactory reason be given to the consociation, be adjudged guilty of scandalous contempt.

The ministers of each county shall be formed into one or more associations, as they shall see cause; shall assemble twice a year at least, at such time and place as they shall appoint, to consult concerning the duties of their office, and the common interest of the churches; shall consider and resolve questions and cases of importance, presented by themselves or others; and shall have power to examine and recommend (*i. e.* to license) candidates for the ministry.

The said associated pastors shall take notice of any among themselves, accused before them of scandal or heresy; shall examine the matter carefully; and, if they find just occasion, shall direct the calling of the consociation, where such offenders shall be duly proceeded against.

The said associated ministers shall be consulted by destitute churches, belonging to their association; and shall recommend to them such persons as may be fit to be called and settled in the ministry among them, and if such destitute churches shall not seasonably call and settle ministers among them, the said associated pastors shall lay such cases before the general assembly; that they may take such order concerning them as shall be found necessary for their peace and edification.

It is recommended as expedient, that all the associations of this colony meet in a general association, by their respective delegates, one or more out of each association, once a year; the first meeting to be at Hartford at the time of the general election, next ensuing the date hereof; and so annually, in all the counties successively, at such time and place as the said delegates in their annual meeting shall appoint.

You have here the system of faith, communion, and discipline, unanimously adopted by a synod, formed by delegation of all the ministers and churches in the colony of Connecticut. A short history of this subject will place it in a more conspicuous light.

The trustees of Yale college, being met at Guilford, March 17th, 1703, wrote a circular letter to the ministers; proposing to have a general synod of all the churches in the colony, to give their joint consent to a confession of faith, after the example of the synod in Boston in 1680.

This proposal was universally acceptable; and the ministers

and churches of the several counties met in voluntary commo-
 ciation, and gave their consent to the Westminster and
 Savoy confessions of faith; and agreed upon certain rules of
 union in discipline, which were designed to be preparatory to
 a general synod. Still there was no visible, acknowledged,
 and authoritative bond of union among them; and the disad-
 vantages, necessarily attendant upon a want of system, were
 felt to a considerable extent. Where there is no general
 rule acknowledged, different bodies will of course make dif-
 ferent, and often clashing rules for their own regulation.
 Where there is no common scheme of proceeding, almost all
 proceedings will be irregular and imperfect. In such a state
 of things it is vain to expect harmony or happiness.

Accordingly, a variety of inconveniences sprang up year
 by year in the colony of Connecticut, from this source; and
 both the clergy and laity felt them deeply. The venerable
 Hooker, whose opinions were almost oracular, observed with
 great earnestness about a week before his death, July 7th,
 1647, " We must agree upon constant meetings of ministers,
 and settle the consociation of churches, or else we are un-
 done." Soon after his death, the ministers of Connecticut
 formed themselves generally into associations.

The heads of agreement, drawn up and assented to by the
 united ministers in England, called Presbyterian and Con-
 gregational, in 1692, were highly approved in this country;
 and contributed to increase the disposition in favour of estab-
 lishing a scheme of faith and discipline here.

In May, 1708, the legislature passed an act, requiring the
 ministers and churches to meet by delegation at Saybrook, at
 the next commencement to be held there, and form an eccle-
 siastical constitution. This they were directed to present to
 the legislature at their session at New-Haven, the following
 October, to be considered of, and confirmed by them.

In the same act they directed the ministers and churches of
 the colony to meet (the churches by delegation) in the county
 towns of their respective counties; there to consider and
 agree upon those rules, for the management of ecclesiastical
 discipline, which they should judge conformable to the word
 of God, and to appoint two or more of their number to form
 the synod at Saybrook. They also directed the synod to com-

pare the results of these ecclesiastical meetings of the several counties; and out of them to draw a form of ecclesiastical discipline. The expenses of all these meetings were to be defrayed out of the public treasury.

The system agreed upon by the synod was presented to the legislature at the time specified: upon which they passed the following act:

At a general court, holden at New-Haven, October 1708:

The reverend ministers, delegates from the elders and messengers of this government, met at Saybrook, September 9th, 1708, having presented to this assembly a Confession of Faith, and Heads of Agreement, and regulations in the administration of church discipline, as unanimously agreed and consented to by the elders and churches in this government; this assembly doth declare their great approbation of such an happy agreement; and do ordain, that all the churches within this government, that are or shall be thus united in doctrine, worship, and discipline, be, and for the future shall be, owned and acknowledged, and established by law; provided always, that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder or prevent any society or church, that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the united churches hereby established, from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their consciences.

A true copy, Test,

ELEAZAR KIMBERLY, Secretary.

I will now make a few observations on this scheme. You have here an exact account of the ecclesiastical authority and power of two ecclesiastical judicatories established in the state of Connecticut; a particular church and a consociation. A particular church, with its pastor at its head, has the power of exercising the discipline of the Gospel with respect to all scandals, which take place among its members. With respect to this subject it is declared to be the province of the pastor, together with the ruling elders, wherever they exist, to govern; and that of the brotherhood to consent, and of course, if they see occasion, to dissent. This constitutes two distinct

powers; one of which (the elder or elders) is to originate decisions; and the other has the right of a veto with respect to every decision. This certainly is a judicatory, attended with circumstances of extreme delicacy; for should the brotherhood refuse their consent, the measures originated must regularly fall. It might not unnaturally be expected, that in such a division of authority most measures, actually proposed, would fail. The very same is, however, the constitution of every representative government, so far as a veto is concerned; each branch of the legislature having, of course, a negative upon the other. Here, also, each branch has additionally the power of originating measures.

At the same time this appears to be a mode of ecclesiastical government founded upon the Scriptures. St. Paul, in 2 Cor. ii, 6, says, "Sufficient to such a man (the incestuous person, mentioned in a former epistle) is this punishment (i. e. excommunication), which was inflicted of many;" *ὡς τῶ πλειονῶν*, by the majority. The majority of the members of the church at Corinth were, therefore, active as an authoritative power, in inflicting this punishment. As this transaction was approved by St. Paul without any qualification, it should seem certain, that it must have been agreeable to the will of God; and must, therefore, be a rule for all other churches.

Whatever is scriptural is right; and will ordinarily be successful. Accordingly, no churches, it is believed, have a stricter or more efficacious discipline than those of Connecticut. None within my knowledge, amounting to an equal number, have so strict a discipline. Even ours, however, is less exact in many instances than a good man could wish. From the decision of the church an appeal lies, in the cases specified, to the consociation; and from that of the consociation a kind of half appeal, in cases of great difficulty, to a body formed partly of the consociation, which has already heard and determined the cause, and partly of a neighbouring consociation, invited to act as assessors. This certainly is an absurdity in the system. There is little reason to believe, that those, who have once heard and adjudged a case, will recede from their adjudication; perhaps the less reason, the more patiently and carefully the cause has been heard. Should

the assessors judge differently from the original tribunal, there will be consociation against consociation, and sentence against sentence. Both parties will, therefore, feel themselves completely justified; and the contention, whatever it may be, will be still undecided; at least so far as the opinions and feelings of the interested persons are concerned.

The reasons, why an appeal lies from a particular church to a consociation, are, the supposed incompetency of the church to judge in certain cases; or the apprehension of biases; particularly, where the parties differ materially in weight of character, influence, and the number and power of their connections. The same reasons would in some instances make an appeal equally necessary from a consociation to a higher tribunal. These, I acknowledge, will be few; still they will exist. For the decision of such cases a general consociation seems necessary to complete the ecclesiastical polity of Connecticut. As the system is, however, the affairs of the church have generally gone on with much harmony and good order; not always, it must be confessed, with equal harmony; yet probably with as few difficulties as can be found elsewhere.

Anciently, ruling elders existed in many of the churches of New-England. At the present time there is not a single officer, of this description, in any congregational church in this country. This I think unhappy. Such offices plainly existed in the apostolical times. This is explicitly declared by St. Paul, 1 Tim. v, 17; Rom. xii, 8; and 1 Cor. xii, 28. They are also sufficiently alluded to by several of the fathers; particularly by Ignatius, Hilary, Cyprian, and Augustine.

The general association of Connecticut is a body merely advisory; yet its recommendations have no small part of the efficacy derived from authority. The business transacted by it, with one exception, consists in a general superintendance of the prudential affairs of the churches; in receiving applications from the several ministers, individually and associated; and from the several churches, particular or consociated, concerning their respective interests, or the general ecclesiastical interests of the state; and giving their advice, recommending such measures originally as they judge to be beneficial, &c. &c.

The exception, which I mentioned above, is this; the general association is the incorporated missionary society of the state. Their executive business, in this character, is transacted by a board of trustees, annually chosen by them, and annually reporting to them whatever they have done*.

The general association also appoint committees of certification, in all the particular associations, for the purpose of certifying, authoritatively, the good standing and character of ministers, or licentiates, within their bounds, intending to travel and reside within the bounds of the Presbyterian and other congregational churches in the United States. A certificate from either of these committees, each of which consists of an individual, gives the person certified a regular access to the desk, wherever he may be, and churches may have occasion for his labours. The general association also receives annually a particular account of the state of religion, ministers, and churches, in their respective districts, from all its members, which consist of two delegates from each of the thirteen associations in this state; three, four, or five, from the general assembly of the Presbyterian church, two from the general association of Massachusetts; two from that of New-Hampshire; and one from the general convention of Vermont; all these bodies being united in a common bond of union for general purposes, affecting them all. The general association of Connecticut sends a corresponding number of delegates to these several ecclesiastical bodies. All these delegates have, in every case, the same rights of deliberating and voting. This union may be considered as a serious improvement in the ecclesiastical affairs of the United States. It has extensively become a source of unity, cordiality, more expanded and liberal views, and more generous affections. At the same time it spreads everywhere, brings up to public view whatever of importance is done, or needs to be done, to promote religion; gives energy to all its friends, and presents serious discouragements to its enemies. It also prevents the depredations of unauthorized preachers, by making a regular certificate from the proper authority indispensable

* In 1816, the general association became also the domestic missionary society of the state.

to every preacher, in order to his admission into the desk, wherever he is a stranger.

I cannot here omit mentioning the Catholicism of this synod. One of the heads of agreement, mentioned above, and unanimously adopted by them, is this: "We esteem it sufficient, that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, the perfect and only rule of faith and practice; and own either the doctrinal part of those, commonly called the articles of the church of England; or the confession, or catechisms, compiled by the assembly at Westminster; or the confession agreed on at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule."

When we remember how many sufferings the immediate ancestors of these men had experienced from the hands of those, who ruled in the English church, and how easily men become hostile to every thing associated with those, by whom they suppose themselves, or theirs, to have been injured; it is certainly a proof of a disposition, much more moderate than that which has been generally attributed to the religious people of New-England, that this synod has unanimously said, "As to what appertains to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, we esteem it sufficient, that a church acknowledge the Scriptures to be the word of God, and the only rule of faith and practice; and own the doctrinal part of those, commonly called the articles of the church of England, to be agreeable to said rule."

Permit me further to observe, that the divines in England, who formed the heads of agreement, and the synod at Saybrook, and let me add the great body of Presbyterian and Congregational ministers, who have lived in this country since that time, have thought your articles sufficiently Calvinistic for them; so much so, that they placed them on the same level with the Westminster and Savoy confessions of faith. These, I am well aware, will not be acknowledged as a decisive tribunal in this case. An impartial one I think they must be acknowledged.

The business of ordaining ministers, and all that pertains to it, is here appropriately the province of a consociation. This body takes cognizance of the call given by the church

and congregation, the answers of the candidate, the proposals for his support, and all the circumstances of the case, which may contribute to render his union with the people happy or unhappy, and himself useful or unuseful to them. They also, as has been heretofore observed, examine his qualifications for the ministry; literary, religious, and prudential. From all these things they make up their judgment, which is final; and their proceedings are all recorded by their standing clerk.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER IX.

Comparison of the State of Religion in England with that in New-England. English Representations of the State of Religion here refuted.

DEAR SIR;

IN the Christian Observer for November and December, 1811, I have found a Review of Letters to Mr. Perceval on the State of the Established Church of England. The observations, contained both in the Letters and the Review, are too intimately connected with my design of defending, so far as truth and candour will permit, my own country, and of illustrating its situation by comparing it with that of yours, with respect to the same things, to be neglected on the present occasion. I beg you to believe, sir, because it is true, that although an American, a republican, and a Presbyterian, I take no pleasure in the humiliation of your church, or the country in which it is established. Nor will it be any part of my design at the present time to enhance or enjoy the calamities of either. To see your country virtuous and happy, and your church restored to the highest religious excellence and moral distinction which it has ever enjoyed, will hardly give a more sincere pleasure to any Englishman than to me. While I remember any thing, I shall not forget that it is the country "avorum meorum, atavorum, et omnium, a quibus genus ducitur meum." The subjects, which I shall briefly touch, and with respect to which I shall institute an informal comparison between our circumstances and yours, are the following; forming, as you will see, only a part of those mentioned by the writer;—the state of the universities; examination for orders; disposal of patronage in the church; neglect of ecclesiastical discipline; neglect or carelessness in the pastoral duties; and want of churches.

On the first of these subjects the writer says, that "there are more vice and profligacy of manners countenanced at the universities than would be suffered to take place among its members afterwards, when they arrive at situations in life, which present no positive restraints; and that the scenes of riot and debauchery, which pass unnoticed, or at least are ineffectually noticed, by those who cannot be ignorant of them, would in the metropolis subject the perpetrators to the correction of the police." These evils he also attributes to "the example of too many among the preceptors." He also says, "Chapel is not attended till it is half over. Many go there intoxicated, as to a roll-call; and although the assumption of the Lord's Supper is peremptory on the students, no care is taken to teach them its importance."

These, sir, are unpleasant declarations. Such an account concerning any college in this country would be a libel. Almost all our students are decent in their deportment, most of them are irreproachable, and not a small number of them religious. Nor can any known scandalous conduct pass without a sufficient reprehension. At the same time, the great body of them are industrious; and many of them intensely laborious.

I know not, that I have ever heard of any person, in New-England, who appeared at church in a state of intoxication. The great body of our students are always at prayers and public worship in the proper season, and behave usually in a decent and reverential manner.

The Letter-writer says, that "the assumption of the Lord's Supper is peremptory upon the student;" that is, as I suppose, that they are required peremptorily to partake of the Lord's Supper at stated seasons. This requisition is certainly unhappy. No person ought ever to appear at that ordinance, unless he is in his own view hopefully a Christian. All attendance of this nature ought to be only voluntary. No human power can meddle here; no unhallowed feet intrude. Permit me to say, that this requisition, of itself, by making the attendance in question an object of human law, like that upon recitations, lectures, or other academical employments, degrades religion, in her most sacred exercises, to a merely secular character, and prepares the students to esteem her duties of no superior

importance. I cannot wonder, that students under such a requisition should be ready to trifle with the whole subject, and find in it little or no restraint upon their vicious propensities.

With respect to Examination for Orders, the Letter-writer goes on, "So very lax has become the examination for orders, that there is no man, who has taken a degree at the university, who cannot reckon on ordination as a certainty, whatever his attainments in learning, morals, religion, &c.—Speaking generally, I believe the only qualifications are, to be able to construe a chapter in the Greek Testament, and answer a few questions out of Grotius." At this account I am astonished: I have been always taught to believe, that the clergy of the English church were, as a body, at least decently learned; and when Englishmen in this country speak of our clergymen with contempt, in comparison with their own; and when English writers of travels declare, that we have neither learning nor eloquence, it seems almost necessarily concluded, that they have been accustomed to much of both in their native land. Paley, and many other respectable English writers in modern times; and Hooker, Burnet, and others, in those which were more ancient; have complained with not a little feeling concerning the ignorance of many of your clergymen; "by reason whereof," says the venerable Hooker (that is, of careless ordination) the "church groweth burthened with silly creatures more than need, whose noted baseness and insufficiency bringeth their order itself into contempt." Still I could not have imagined, that such an examination as this would have been the passport to the desk. Scarcely less am I surprised at the admission of the Christian Observer, if I construe it right, that "a large majority of regularly-educated dissenting ministers are better versed in the common places of theology, and that knowledge of the Bible on which as a science it rests, than even a small minority of our rising ministry*."

Suffer me to call to your recollection the account, which I gave you, of the manner in which young men are educated for the ministry in this country, You will see in it an attention to this subject, which, from the united testimony of these Letters to Mr. Perceval, and this Review of them, you will, I

* Christian Observer, 1811, p. 713.

fear, look for in vain in your own church. You will also see men destined to the desk, not because it is the wish of their parents, but because it is their own; not to provide a child with a living, but to furnish a congregation with a pastor. No youth is admitted into sacred orders, except within the precincts of the *liberal* Christianity, mentioned in my observations on the district of Maine, who has not been twice strictly examined (after having received a liberal education) concerning his knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion, and who is not to the eye of charity cordially a Christian. It is a radical and most melancholy evil in your church, that men designate children for the desk from their infancy; and push them into it, whether they are persons of piety or not. How tremendous in the mouths of many such candidates for holy orders must be the declaration, that "they verily believe themselves moved to the assumption of the sacred office by the Holy Ghost!" With how much more truth and propriety might they say, with the twelve disciples of John, mentioned by St. Luke, "We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost!"

On the subject of Church Patronage I shall only observe, that in the manner, in which it is holden in Great-Britain, I cannot but think it eminently unhappy. The Christian Observer prefers it to that, which has been often proposed in lieu of it; viz. popular suffrage. I have a high respect for the opinions of the gentlemen, to whom the public are indebted for this excellent periodical work. Still I cannot but think the preference the result of education and habit, merely. In this country, in the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches, every congregation chooses its own minister; a practice, which has been continued without intermission from its settlement. It is also divided universally into parochial districts. Yet no considerable evils have flowed from the practice throughout this long period. It is questioned whether any collection of churches, equally numerous, have been more peaceful, more virtuous, or more happy. Of the evils which have arisen, also, very few have, I believe, sprung from this source. At the same time to choose, or to have a voice in choosing, for myself and my family, the man who is to guide us to immortal life, is a privilege which I deem inces-

timable, and to be yielded up only when it cannot be retained. But the prime proof of the injuriousness of your church patronage to the cause of religion is found in its effects; particularly in those recited by this Letter-writer, and by the Earl* of Harrowby; effects, which, it should seem, could hardly spring from any other cause. Were it in your power to adopt a different system, I cannot but suspect, that you would scarcely continue the present.

On the Neglect, or Carelessness, of your Clergy in their Pastoral Duties, the Letter-writer observes, that a great proportion of them are wrapped up in secular pursuits; and betray, he fears, an indifference of conduct, and a dissoluteness of manners, which, while it is most shameful in them, would not be borne with in any other state of life. "A horse-race," he says, "a fox-chace, a boxing-match, is never without its reverend attendants; and the man, who in the house of God hurries over the offices of devotion as beneath his attention, will be seen the next day the noisy toast-master or songster of a club." Their professional indolence he contrasts with their occasional activity at a county election, in a cathedral, county, or town. "You have the honour of finding yourself, in such contests," he says, "acting in concert with deans, chancellors, archdeacons, prebendaries, and minor canons, without number.—On such occasions grave, very grave persons indeed, are to be seen storing the chorus of some election ribaldry."

"Single duty," that is, I suppose, going through the service once upon the sabbath, he says, "is performed sometimes only every other sabbath." As to the manner of the performance he observes, "A clergyman, who gallops to the church, gallops through the service, and gallops away again. The decalogue is hurried over in the desk with as little ceremony as the detail of a fox-chace; and in many parishes the whole morning service does not, including the sermon, occupy three quarters of an hour." "Original composition," he observes, "is scarcely known among the clergy;" and even their selections he represents as injudicious, and so often repeated as to be quite familiar to the audience; and finally he declares, that "pastoral visits are not only greatly neglected, but even

* See Review of a Speech of the Earl of Harrowby, *Christian Observer*, 1811, p. 380.

their obligation is denied; and the clergy are convinced, that the duties of hospitality, and of domestic instruction and consolation, to the young, the depraved, the decrepid, and the dying, form no part of the demands which their parishioners have upon them."

The Christian Observer, speaking with reference to this part of the subject, says, "These are times, in which we must sorrowfully own, that the ministry of the established church are held in a disrespect unknown in former days. There is but little or no respect to their office, as such."

I have chosen to appeal to these papers for two reasons. One is, that, living in a distant country, and having never been in Great Britain, it cannot be supposed that I am personally acquainted with the state of the established church. Whatever knowledge I possess of this subject, derived from books and men, whether Englishmen or Americans, you, or others, might perhaps be disposed to question; and thus my remarks, however just, might be left in a state of uncertainty, or perhaps absolutely discredited. The other is, that, as I am a Presbyterian, you might believe me less candid with respect to this subject than I intend to be.

To the present appeal no objection can, I presume, be reasonably made. Permit me then to say, with the exception heretofore made, that in the collection of churches in New-England, which are Presbyterian or Congregational, such clergymen as are here described are unknown. We have some bad ministers; they are, however, *rare aves*. But a minister, who spent his time, or any part of it, in the dissipation specified by this Letter-writer, would here be regarded as a prodigy. I never knew one, who in this country could have these things said of him with truth. Few have I known, very few, who were not believed to be persons of piety. No minister, belonging to these churches, thinks of such a thing as selecting sermons. Every minister preaches two sermons every sabbath, and always composes them both himself. Let me add, the great body of them are of course religious, fraught with the spirit of the Gospel, and very generally judicious. Many of them are excellent. It is impossible, that a man, who devotes himself at all to his study, or his parochial concerns, should compose so many sermons, and get them by

heart. They are, therefore, generally read; and the inhabitants are so far persuaded, that written discourses, taken together, are more instructive and profitable than extemporaneous ones, that they are well satisfied with this manner of preaching, and usually prefer it. There is, however, a considerable exception to what I have here asserted. A number of ministers, and not a very small one, when they have arrived to middle life, and have become familiarized to the doctrines and duties of theology, preach either from short notes, or extemporaneously; studying their discourses, however, more laboriously, perhaps, than when they are written. Instruction is here the ruling character of preaching, rather than addressing the feelings, or the imagination. In behalf of this mode I allege three reasons. One is, that religion has nowhere more prevailed than in the old settlements of New-England. Another is, that the people are nowhere less blown about by every wind of doctrine. The third is, that sound instruction is more satisfactory to an audience, and generally more popular.

I have read a considerable number of the most celebrated British sermons; and think it no injustice to say, that we have many, which are not at all inferior to most of them in good sense, sound theology, or the power of making deep impressions on the conscience. None of them can boast the eloquence and sublimity of Robert Hall; but some of them are eloquent and sublime. At the same time they are rarely trifling; rarely are they merely attempts to display the preacher to advantage. We have no Sidney Smith sermons; gewgaws intended to be shown like a diamond ring or snuff-box, to prove that the preacher is the owner of such trinkets. Rarely are they intended to be mere means of whiling away the time. We have no fifteen minute sermons. Rarely are they regarded by the preacher as an oppressive tax upon his industry; a hard task, through which he struggles, as a lazy school-boy through his lesson, because he cannot escape from his thralldom. We have few, very few, of those preachers, whom the author of the Task reprobates; but many, very many, of those whom he commends. Our preachers in great numbers are

“ simple, grave, sincere;
In doctrine uncorrupt; in language plain,

And plain in manner. Decent, solemn, chaste,
 And natural in gesture. Much impress'd
 Themselves, as conscious of their awful charge ;
 And anxious mainly, that the flock they feed
 May feel it too. Affectionate in look,
 And tender in address, as well becomes
 The messengers of peace to guilty men."

On the subject of Non-residence, I cannot express my astonishment. The Christian Observer excited it to a high pitch by recording the numbers of non-resident clergymen for three years. The speech of Lord Harrowby left me in absolute amazement. This is the most rotten part of your whole system. What, sir, do your clergymen, after the solemn vows of ordination, feel themselves at liberty to desert their cures, and give up the salvation of their flocks to the care of accident, to "a stranger, whom they will not follow;" to "a hireling, whose own the sheep are not," and, who, "when he seeth the wolf coming, leaveth the sheep, and fleeth; and the wolf catcheth them, and scattereth the sheep?" For what purpose were the ministers ordained? For what purpose were they presented to benefices? Was it, that they might obtain sufficient money to support them in a pleasant town; in an agreeable circle of acquaintance; in a round of pleasures; and those, if this Letter-writer is to be credited, not unfrequently gross and openly sinful. Is a minister, then, to forsake his people, entrusted to him by the Eternal God, that by "taking heed unto himself, and unto the doctrine of the Gospel, and by continuing in them, he might both save himself, and them that should hear him," for a horse-race, a card-table, a fox-chace, a drawing room, and a theatre? Are those, whose great duty it is to "watch for souls, as they who must give account," to leave these very souls to perish, without an effort, and as it would seem without a wish, to save them? And are there 6,120 such ministers in the established church of England? I cease to wonder, that men of consideration among her members are alarmed for her danger. I cease to wonder, that dissenters multiply in the astonishing manner mentioned by Lord Harrowby. Such clergymen certainly believe nothing of the Gospel, and care nothing about their ordination vows, or the duties of their ministry.

There is not, there never was, a non-resident clergyman in

New-England. In the account which I gave of Keene in New-Hampshire, I mentioned a Mr. S., of Dublin in that vicinity, who in a very limited sense might be entitled to this appellation. But even in this sense he was non-resident only for three or four years; and during that period spent a considerable part of the week, and the whole sabbath regularly among his parishioners. To your advowsons this evil is owing. Were your ministers chosen by their respective congregations, the non-residence of the clergy would be terminated for ever.

With regard to Ecclesiastical Discipline, I shall only observe, that in circumstances like these it must be expected in vain. In New-England no clergyman can be seriously defective in his duty without incurring an ecclesiastical censure. For half the charges, recited by this Letter-writer, he would be deposed.

With respect to the Want of Churches a few more observations will be necessary.

A writer in the Christian Observer for August, 1809, after having advanced a number of arguments in favour of an ecclesiastical establishment, and particularly, that there is no single instance upon record, where religion has long survived an establishment, says, "It has been usual to controvert this argument by alleging the case of America." He then goes on to present his readers with a table; in which he exhibits, what appears to be the amount of the provision made here for the maintenance of religion; and then to trace out, as far as his scanty materials will allow, the consequences of this inadequate provision. I used to wonder at the ignorance of intelligent Englishmen concerning America, and at the mistakes, so frequently occurring in respectable publications. I finally concluded, and I presume justly, that the true cause of these facts was, that you considered us as too insignificant to merit your attention. Of this I have no wish to complain. But I have a right to be dissatisfied with your *misrepresentations*. You ought to represent us truly, or not at all; and not to begin your representations, until you have informed yourselves sufficiently to know what is true.

The table, formed by this writer, is erroneous in a variety of particulars. For example: he states, that Massachusetts

has made full maintenance for the clergy, and that Connecticut has made none. You have already seen the provision made by Connecticut for this body of men. I add, that it is as complete, to say the least, as that of Massachusetts. The writer, who signs himself C., says, that Massachusetts has a complete establishment. Though this is an unfounded assertion, yet that of Connecticut is not less complete than that of Massachusetts; as you may perceive by recurring to the account already given of it in these Letters. Substantially the same is true of New-Hampshire also. Imperfectly it is true of Vermont. I am, however, very little interested to rectify the errors of this table. My principal concern is with C.'s account of the consequences of this state of things.

“The full consequences of this system of imperfect establishments are not yet felt in America. Time has not been given for the evils, consequent on such an arrangement, to come to maturity. But, as far as the argument reaches, it is altogether in our favour. Religion, in many provinces, is altogether in ruins; and in the rest the dilapidations are great. Throughout the whole continent a principle of decay is visible; and every thing indicates the speedy downfall, not only of the regular fabrics of religion in the land, but of the miserable hovels, in which her disciples have hitherto found a refuge*.”

Permit me to say, that, so far as New-England is concerned, this account is essentially untrue. We have no “hovel, in which the miserable disciples of religion have hitherto found a refuge;” and her regular fabrics manifest no “principle of decay;” nor does any thing indicate their “speedy downfall.” There are eight hundred and sixty-nine Presbyterian congregations, and eighty-one Episcopal, in the states of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut. Every one of these has a church. Almost every church is decent and in good repair. Almost all are painted, except such as are of brick or stone; and nineteen out of twenty have steeples. A great number have been built in the new settlements; and many others in the places of such as have been pulled down, because the proprietors have wished for larger or handsomer buildings. A multitude of these churches may be pronounced handsome; not indeed in the

* Christian Observer, 1809, p. 502.

same sense in which the fine specimens of architecture, exhibited by various churches in the city of London, are styled handsome. Still, though not answering the demands of the taste and science of a connoisseur in that art, they are beautiful objects to the eye. Nor can any thing be more delightful to a traveller than the continual succession of these buildings at intervals of three, four, five, and six miles, throughout all the ancient settlements of this country; where, drest in snowy white, they appear like stars amid the universal verdure; unless, perhaps, his agreeable surprise at finding the same objects in settlements so new as to forbid even the hope, and much more the expectation, of seeing them at a period apparently premature. It ought to be added, that the spirit, which prompts to the settlement of ministers, and to the rebuilding and repairing of churches, is rapidly increasing; not, I confess, everywhere alike; but so extensively as to be fairly pronounced the general character of the country.

C. goes on to observe, "A person, distinguished by his rank, virtue, and talents, has transmitted the following account to this country. 'In consequence of the want of a religious establishment in America, infidelity daily increases, and the very semblance of religion decays rapidly. The congregations are fewest where the population is greatest; and are not likely to increase. Many Presbyterian ministers have been dismissed by their congregations, without any complaint either against their life or doctrine. There are only three Presbyterian congregations in Philadelphia; all which were erected under the English government. They have been endeavouring for these thirty years past to erect a fourth congregation, but have not yet been successful. As there is no professor of divinity in many of the seminaries of this country, students put themselves under the care of any minister that they choose. Every minister in the country is also a farmer, and has more dependence on his farm than on his stipend for subsistence. For, although congregations in the country subscribe at an average about ninety pounds sterling a year for their minister, yet subscribing and paying are two very different things in this country. No law can oblige the subscribers to pay their subscriptions; as they sometimes ask time, and when that is expired they plead the statute of li-

mitations. A country minister, therefore, generally speaking, is obliged to work at the plough and waggon like another farmer, for servants do little work in this country; and most of them can only spare two hours on Saturday's afternoon to prepare their sermons and to instruct their students in divinity.' Similar testimony might be extracted from other sources. It may be added, that there are now in the country letters from various persons in America, stating the general indifference to the interests of religion to be such, that, unless the Christian liberality of individuals on this side of the Atlantic afford the necessary rescue, the race of orthodox ministers is likely soon to be extinct. Here, then, is the result of an experiment, made under the most favourable circumstances. Such is the state of America, that she now petitions to relight her extinguished fires at the altars of that church she once contemptuously deserted."

This is certainly an extraordinary story. Let us examine it. The first assertion is, that infidelity daily increases in America. This "person, distinguished by his rank, virtue, and talents," has, you will observe, included within his assertions the whole of the United States. Had he stopped at the southern and western border of New-York, it would have been unnecessary for me to have made any remarks upon these declarations, however erroneous. So far as they respect the countries, which are the subject of these observations, I feel myself obliged to say, that his "virtue and talents" were very unhappily employed. With regard to the state of infidelity and the state of religion in New-England, I have already given you my own views. It will be unnecessary to repeat them. It is sufficient to say that the number of professed infidels is small; that the cause of infidelity is broken down; and that not only the semblance, but the substance of religion, instead of decaying rapidly, has rapidly increased, and is still increasing.

"The congregations," the writer asserts, "are fewest where the population is greatest." What I have already said will show that this is untrue. Massachusetts and Connecticut are far the most populous states in the American Union. I have already shown you the number of congregations contained in these states. I have also given you an estimate of

the congregations, which would exist in the countries south and west of New-England, were they as generally established in proportion to the number of inhabitants.

“Many Presbyterian ministers,” the writer says, “have been dismissed from their congregations without any complaint against either their life or doctrine.” When ministers are dismissed here, which is sometimes the fact, they are almost always dismissed without any complaint against their life or doctrine; for usually neither affords any ground for complaint. But dismissals are few; and, when they take place, the parish is soon provided with another minister of course, and the minister almost of course with another parish. Compare this small evil (for that it is an evil I admit) with your own six thousand one hundred and twenty non-resident ministers, who dismiss themselves from their cures and their duties!

The writer goes on, “Every minister in the country is also a farmer; and has more dependence on his farm than on his stipend for subsistence.” I wish every minister in New-England had a farm; and a farm, which would contribute more than his stipend to his subsistence. I presume, however, that scarcely one in fifty can boast of such a possession. Land in the old settlements, and often in those which are comparatively new, is sold at such a price as absolutely to forbid this important convenience.

“Subscribing and paying are two very different things in this country. No law can oblige the subscribers to pay their subscriptions, as they sometimes ask time, and when that is expired they plead the statute of limitations.” In the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and I believe in New-Hampshire, “subscriptions” of this nature are unknown; and the law compels every man to pay his tax to his minister, and makes all the lands in the parish liable for the salary. In addition to this, a great number of congregations have provided either partial or complete funds for the support of their ministers.

It ought farther to be added, that it is a very unfrequent fact for any part of a clergyman’s salary to be collected by law.

This “person, distinguished by his rank, virtue, and talents,”

goes on, "A country minister, therefore, generally speaking, is obliged to work at the plough and waggon like another farmer; and most of them can only spare two hours on Saturday's afternoon, to prepare their sermons, and to instruct their students in divinity." I have lived in New-England from my birth, with the exception of a single year; and am, perhaps, as familiarly acquainted with it as any one of its inhabitants; yet I have never seen a minister working at the plough or the waggon. That such facts have existed I can easily believe; particularly in new settlements, the inhabitants of which are few and poor. For such parishes it is incomparably better, that ministers should be settled in them, whose subsistence is to be derived partly from their farms, and even from their labour, than that they should be without ministers.

That "most of the clergymen in this country can spare only two hours to prepare their sermons, and to instruct their students in divinity," cannot have been said by this writer from his personal knowledge; because it is said without a shadow of truth. That we have some lazy men in the sacred office ought not to be questioned. That the incumbents are generally industrious, can no more be questioned. But that there is *one*, who can ordinarily "spare only two hours" for either of these purposes, "*credat Judæus Apella; non ego.*"

C., after asserting that other testimony might be obtained to the same purpose, says, that "there are now in the country letters from various persons in America, stating the general indifference to religion to be such, that, unless the Christian liberality of individuals on this side of the Atlantic afford the necessary rescue, the race of orthodox ministers is likely soon to be extinct." Of this assertion, what I have already said will enable you to judge. If the doctrines, universally declared by the editors of the Christian Observer to be orthodox, are to be admitted as such, there is no danger, that the ministers, who hold them in New-England, will soon be extinct; for their number has long been increasing, is now increasing rapidly, and is likely to increase through an indefinite period.

From this statement you will see, that the situation of America is not such, in this part of it at least, "that she now

petitions to relight her extinguished fires at the altars of that church, which she once contemptuously deserted."

Finally, let me observe, that with regard to the number of our churches, and the convenience of their distribution, so as to accommodate the wants of the whole community, we have greatly the advantage over the church of England itself. I believe I might safely add, that the churches in your small towns and villages are, taken together, much less beautiful than ours.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER X.

Articles of Faith held by the First Settlers of New-England. Episcopalians, Baptists, Universalists, Methodists, and Antinomians. Jemima Wilkinson. Roman Catholics. Friends. Sandemanians. Shakers.

DEAR SIR ;

THERE is another view in which the religion of this, and indeed of every other country, ought to be considered by him who would either describe or understand it in a comprehensive manner. To this I will now proceed.

The original planters of New-England, viz. the Plymouth colonists, held,

1. That the Scriptures only contain the true religion ; and that nothing, which is not contained in them, is obligatory upon the conscience.

2. That every man has the right of judging for himself ; and of worshipping according to his apprehensions of their meaning.

3. That the doctrinal articles of the reformed churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, the Palatinate, Geneva, Switzerland, and the United Provinces, are agreeable to the holy oracles.

4. That the pious members of all these churches were to be admitted to their communion.

5. That no particular church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently watch over one another, and usually meet and worship in one congregation.

6. That every such church is to consist of those only who appear to believe in Christ and to obey him.

7. That any competent number of such persons have a right to embody themselves in a church for their mutual edification.

8. That this ought to be done by an *express covenant*.
9. That when embodied, they have a right to choose all their officers.
10. That these officers are pastors, or teaching elders, ruling elders, and deacons.
11. That pastors are to oversee, rule, teach, and administer the sacraments, and that they are to be maintained.
12. That the ruling elders are not temporary, but permanent officers, who are to aid the pastor in overseeing and ruling.
13. That the pastors and ruling elders constitute the Presbytery, which should be found in every particular church.
14. That the deacons are the treasurers and almoners of the church, and are also to minister at the sacramental table.
15. That these officers can only rule and minister with the consent of the brethren.
16. That no church, or church officers have any power over any other church or church officers; but all are equal in their rights, and independent in the enjoyment of them.
17. That baptism is a seal of the covenant of grace, and should only be administered to visible believers, together with their unadult children, and that without the sign of the cross, or any other invented ceremony.
18. That the Lord's Supper should be received, as it was at first, in the table posture.
19. That excommunication should be wholly spiritual, and not involve any temporal penalties.
20. That the Lord's day was to be strictly observed throughout; and that fasts and thankgivings are to be observed as the state of providence requires.

With these tenets the first colonists of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut generally agreed.

The great body of the present inhabitants of New-England hold them in substance at the present time. In a few particulars, the Hopkinsians have superadded to the doctrinal part of this system. A considerable number of Arminians, and perhaps a greater number of Unitarians, inhabit the eastern parts of New-England, especially of Massachusetts. A few of both are found elsewhere. In Connecticut I do not

know a single Unitarian clergyman among the Congregationalists, and scarcely half a dozen Arminian.

The Episcopalians in the northern states appear generally to hold the Arminian doctrines, and rather as they were taught by Episcopus than by Arminius himself. Their favourite authors among the moderns appear to be Dr. Daubeny and the Bishop of Lincoln. To those, who in the English church are called evangelical divines, they are apparently not very friendly. Overton's "True Churchman Ascertained" they seem to regard with a kind of abhorrence.

The Christian Observer has for some time been republishing here, and among the Presbyterians and Congregationalists is one of the most popular periodical works which is at present published in this country. I was informed a short time since, by one of the publishers, that the number of subscribers who are Episcopalians is almost nothing. The American Episcopalians, at least in the northern states, are generally, I think, of the class who are called High Churchmen. At least this is apparently the character of their clergy.

The Baptists are here divided as they are in England. One part of them are Calvinistic. The other are what used to be called in Great Britain, and what are now extensively called here Free-willers. These do not, however, appear to be Arminians in the proper sense. So far as my information extends, they are in considerable numbers fast approximating to Deism. Very extensively they appear to consider religion as consisting chiefly in being plunged; to deny the sabbath as a Divine institution; to contemn family prayer; to have few settled ministers, and little even of the external appearance of religion. Many of their preachers are itinerants; and the solemnities of public worship are celebrated by them only occasionally. The moral extent of this evil I need not explain.

The Calvinistic Baptists are serious, regular, and, to as great an extent as their Calvinistic brethren of other classes, religious. An evil of incalculable magnitude is, that their ministers are many of them uneducated men. Another, of no small magnitude, common, perhaps, to all sects living among more numerous bodies of Christians, is the spirit of

proselyting. This spirit seems to be always more engaged to make proselytes to the party than converts to religion.

There are a few Universalists scattered through this country, some of whom admit no future punishment; and others, one which will be temporary and disciplinary.

In Vermont and New-Hampshire a sect has lately risen up, the prominent tenet of which is, "that the wicked will be destroyed at the day of judgment." Some of the Free-will Baptists are said also to have adopted the same doctrine.

The Methodists in New-England, and generally in the United States, are almost all followers of Wesley. I know of but two congregations of Whitfieldian Methodists in New-England: These are both at Newburyport, and are supplied with ministers from England.

There is in this country a moderate number of Antinomians. These are found chiefly in a class of men formerly called Separatists, most of whom, for the purpose of avoiding the legal obligation of supporting ministers, became Baptists. They were generally extremely ignorant, and possessed of strong feelings and warm imaginations, in the exercise of which they chose to find religion, rather than in the faith and obedience of the Gospel. To demand obedience to the Divine law, not as the means of justification, but as the duty of men, was stigmatized by them as legalism, or as an exaltation of the law of God against the grace of the Gospel; and they appeared to choose to "continue in sin that grace might abound*."

Between twenty and thirty years since, a young woman, named Jemima Wilkinson, is said, while labouring under a fit of sickness, to have slept a much longer time than is usual or natural. When she awaked, she announced that she had been in a trance, and had received a great variety of important revelations. She declared herself to be the elect lady to whom St. John addressed his Second Epistle. Having collected a small number of followers, she removed with them, soon after, into the western country of New-York, I believe to the borders of the Crooked (Cayuga) Lake. The number

* It is often said, with how much truth I have no means of determining, that a considerable number of the Baptists are Antinomians. I have stated in the text the number as small, because I did not feel myself warranted to say otherwise.

of her followers has very little, if at all, increased. Of her peculiar tenets I have no knowledge.

There is in Boston a congregation of Roman Catholics, under the superintendence of two ministers; and there are two others in the district of Maine.

There are several societies of Friends in different parts of Massachusetts, and several more in the state of Rhode-Island.

In Newport there is a society of Moravians, and a synagogue of Jews.

There is a Sandemanian congregation in Danbury (Connecticut), and another in Portsmouth (New-Hampshire).

These, with the Shakers, are all the classes of religions, which I recollect, in New-England. The five last-mentioned classes, exclusive of the Shakers, hold, so far as I know, the same religious opinions which are generally held by their respective denominations.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER XI.

Number of Congregations and of Ministers in Massachusetts, Maine, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Vermont. Churches distributed at small Distances.

DEAR SIR;

I WILL now give you a particular account of the religious state of this country in another point of view, viz. as it appears in the number of its congregations and ministers. These, also, I shall distribute into their different classes.

There are in

	Congregations.
Massachusetts	531
Maine	221
New-Hampshire	160
Connecticut	355
Vermont, at least	154
Rhode-Island	

IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Presbyterian, or Congregational	341
Presbyterian Proper	6
Episcopal	10
Baptist	128
Methodist	26
Friends	12
Universalist	7
Roman Catholic	1

Congregations.

IN MAINE.

Presbyterian, or Congregational	84
Presbyterian Proper	1
Episcopal	4
Baptist	104
Methodist	17
Friends	6
Universalist	3
Roman Catholic	1
Lutheran	1

 221

IN CONNECTICUT.

Presbyterian, or Congregational	216
Episcopal	61
Baptist	67
Independent	9
Sandemanian	1
Universalist	1

 355

IN NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

Presbyterian, or Congregational	117
Presbyterian Proper	9
Episcopal	3
Baptist	22
Methodist	1
Universalist	1
Friends	6
Sandemanian	1

 160

IN VERMONT.

Ministers.

Presbyterian, or Congregational, at least	85
Presbyterian Proper	1
Episcopal	3
Baptist	64
Methodist	1

 154

I have no method of exactly ascertaining the number of congregations in this state. The number of townships is 247. Many of these, however, are recent settlements, and contain but a small number of inhabitants. If we are to judge from the past, particularly from what has taken place within the last fifteen years, there is good reason to conclude, that a considerable number of these townships, also, will establish ministers among them. The legislature, however, has by an act of violence thrown very serious difficulties into the way. The former law, on which the regular support of ministers rested, in a manner somewhat similar to that in Connecticut, was not long since repealed, and a new one substituted for it, of a loose and very imperfect nature. By this act, the ministers already settled were unsettled in a moment, and their congregations not only released from their engagements to support them, but precluded from the power of renewing those engagements on the former principles. They were compelled to embody themselves anew, and to act in a new manner. Each individual bound himself by a subscription to contribute a certain amount, or his proportion of a stipulated sum, for the future support of his clergyman. The whole transaction appears to have been designed and executed by a spirit of the most determined hostility against religion, and to have been originated by minds totally destitute even of common honesty. Had not the inhabitants at large possessed a better character than that of a majority in their legislature, it should seem that Christianity must have received a fatal blow at this time, and the inhabitants been condemned, in future, to hear nothing from the desk but the wretched harangues of ignorance, clownishness, and separatism. But, to the immortal honour of these people, not an individual minister, so far as I have been informed, was compelled to leave his cure. The congregations zealously determined, almost with a single voice, not to be deprived of their ministers; and, availing themselves of the means still in their power, resolved to support them according to the new law. In few cases has such a collection of detached bodies of men acted without concert, and in a manner perfectly spontaneous, and yet so honourably to themselves and so beneficially to their children.

tion to every 888 inhabitants; in Maine, a congregation to every 1,004 inhabitants; in New-Hampshire, according to the number stated above, a congregation to every 1,340 inhabitants; in Connecticut, a congregation to every 787 inhabitants.

There were at this time, in Massachusetts, 438 ministers of different denominations, or one to 1,077 inhabitants; in Connecticut, 265, or one to 988 inhabitants; in Maine, 171 ministers, or one to 1,337; and, in New-Hampshire, 134 ministers, or one to 1,600 inhabitants.

This proportion, you will remember, is exclusive of the societies of Methodists and Friends.

In the older settlements, these congregations may be said to be evenly diffused, so as to cover the whole ground, each occupying a tract of from three to six miles square, the larger towns being excepted. Accordingly, the churches rise everywhere at these distances. Ministers are of course stationed everywhere, at a small distance from every inhabitant. This is but partially true of the more recent settlements: but there are the very best reasons to believe, that it will soon be true to the same extent of them also.

Every one of these congregations, you will also remember, has its church. Almost all the churches of the Presbyterians are decent buildings, in good repair, comfortable, sufficiently large to contain the whole congregation, painted, and ornamented with steeples. A few are so ancient, that the congregations consider them as not worth repairing, particularly as they are able and willing to build new ones; and, in a number of instances much smaller still, the congregation itself may have been lessened by sectarian inroads to such a degree, or may have been originally so small, as to be unable to maintain its minister, and repair its church. The new churches, built within the last twenty-five years, are both numerous and handsome. These, also, are annually increasing in their number.

The Baptist churches, a few excepted, and those of the Methodists, are small and indifferent buildings. The congregations, also, of both classes, are small, and their ministers are very generally uneducated.

It ought to be observed here, that there are a few Methodist congregations in the state of Connecticut. They are universally small, and the number of them I am unable to ascertain.

Both the religious and political writers of England often complain, that in many parts of your country churches are not sufficiently numerous to furnish the inhabitants with the means of attending conveniently on public worship. The difficulties which embarrass the raising of new ones, and even of obtaining seats in those which are already erected, are mentioned by them also with not a little feeling. What cannot fail to surprise an American, it is said, that the dissenters find fewer obstacles in increasing the number of their places of public worship, than the members of the established church in adding to theirs.

From these evils the people of New-England, except those of the recent settlements, are exempted. I have remarked, that our churches stand everywhere at convenient distances. Their number in all the established settlements keeps full pace with the population. Every inhabitant, also, who enters a church, finds a seat of course. In Boston, the sexton has customarily waited at the door until the service has begun, for the purpose of introducing strangers, who may enter it, to a seat. In the country towns, where all the inhabitants are known to all, the moment a stranger enters the church door he will see the doors of the pews immediately opened to invite him in. The poorest man, whenever he will come, is of course welcomed to the house of God.

We have, it is true, no cathedrals. These vast and magnificent edifices, so much boasted of by English writers (nor will I say improperly), have not yet begun to ascend the American shore. There is not in New-England, and I believe not in the United States, a single church so large as not to be conveniently filled by the voice of the preacher. But if our churches are not distinguished by the grandeur of cathedrals, they are perfectly suited to the convenience of the inhabitants, and the great design for which churches are erected. They are in the strict sense houses for public worship. I mean that this is their whole destination. The expense, laid out upon one of your cathedrals, would build many churches. I will not say that it was not well laid out; but I will say, that every man in England, and every other country, ought to be able, as in the older settlements of this, to find a church within a reasonable distance of his own habitation, and to find a seat in that church, which he may occupy without molestation, and without impropriety.

I am, Sir, &c.

CHARACTERISTICS

OF THE

MEN AND WOMEN IN NEW-ENGLAND.

LETTER I.

The Personal Appearance of the Inhabitants. Their Gravity, &c. General Remarks on the Influence of Theatres and Plays on Society.

DEAR SIR;

THE persons of the New-Englanders, their complexion, manners, and language, so much resemble those of Englishmen, that the similarity has, as you know, been the subject of not a little discussion on both sides of the Atlantic, in the knotty case of impressing seamen. Differences however exist, which are discernible without much difficulty. The English, if I may be permitted to judge from those whom I have seen, are, as a body, fairer than we; have oftener hair of a light colour, and blue eyes. They are more frequently fleshy. Our countrymen are taller, more agile, have frequently dark hair and black eyes, and the muscles are more strongly marked, both in the limbs and in the face.

The climate of this country, and perhaps the mode of living, have, I think, had a perceptible influence on both the complexion and figure of the New-England people. Still, a multitude of very fair complexions are found everywhere; and flaxen, auburn, golden, and still lighter-coloured hair, is seen in very numerous instances.

The natives of New-England are generally straight, and well-formed. I have seen great numbers of Europeans from

Great Britain, Ireland, France, and Germany; and from these specimens have no reason to believe that we are inferior to either of these nations in personal appearance. Deformed persons are found here; but, I have good reason to believe, as rarely as in any country under Heaven. There is however one particular, in which we are said to fall behind most, and probably all of these nations. It is supposed that our teeth more generally decay at an untimely period than theirs.

The philosophers and reviewers of Europe have already decided, that our talents are below the European standard. From such tribunals it will be in vain to appeal. In energy and activity of mind we are behind no people. There is nothing, which promises a benefit at all adequate to the expense of the effort, which a New-Englander will not cheerfully undertake. Nor are the inhabitants of any country possessed of more numerous, or more efficacious resources, in their own minds, to insure success to the undertaking. Whether we are brave, or cowardly, I will leave to be decided by the battles of Breed's Hill, Hoosac, Stillwater, and Saratoga; and by the attack on Stony Point. Their energy is evinced by the spirit, with which they have subdued an immeasurable wilderness, and with which they visited every part of the ocean for fishing, and every town on its shore for commerce. And let me add, that their ingenuity is scarcely less conspicuous in the unceasing succession of inventions, with which they have improved, and are still improving the methods of performing operations in agriculture, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, and increasing the various conveniences of life.

With this active spirit, they unite a general disposition to a quiet, orderly, and obliging deportment, to treat strangers and each other with civility, to submit readily to lawful authority, and to obey even the recommendations of their rulers. They are also social, attached to conversation, accustomed from early life to take an interest in the concerns of others; and habitually to feel from childhood that they have, and ought to have, a real interest in these concerns.

We are said to be grave. Gravity is merely a comparative term. It is therefore impossible to know precisely what is

meant by it, unless we know also the standard of comparison referred to by him who uses it. That, which is grave to the eye of a Frenchman, would be levity in the view of a Spaniard. The New-England people appear to discern, with as much readiness, clearness, and certainty, as any people perhaps in the world, what is commonly or indeed justly intended by propriety, and as regularly to estimate things according to their real value. The truth unquestionably is, our social meetings are probably as cheerful, sprightly, and replenished as often with sallies of wit and good humour, as those of any other people.

On grave subjects we are grave; and on such subjects we are more accustomed to dwell with pleasure, than men less disposed to admit the doctrines and duties of Divine revelation. It must be acknowledged, that we think, converse, and write much less concerning theatres and actors than the inhabitants of London; as they do than the inhabitants of Paris. Amusements are not here the principal concern of life; nor, among amusements, do we consider plays as possessing the best character, or the happiest influence on the interests of man. The views of the New-England people at large are not unhappily expressed by Riesbeck, in his Travels through Germany, Letter XXXVI.

“ You may recollect the excellent note of a Tyrolese monk, upon a passage in Columella, published by the author of ‘*Voyages en differents Pays de l’Europe.*’ It contains the strongest evidence, that history can give, that a country in which those arts, which contribute chiefly to amusement, are held in high estimation, and are the most successful way of gaining honour and fortune, is a country verging fast to ruin. You will say, that the fault is not in the arts and sciences themselves. Right: but when they get a certain superiority throughout a nation over the other employments of the mind, they must draw destructive consequences after them. Frivolity, weakness, profusion, neglect of more laborious pursuits and occupations, ostentation, wrong judgment in choosing the servants of the state, a warm and immoderate desire of ornaments, &c., are necessary consequences of all these elegancies, when they are carried to that abuse which borders so near on the good use of them. And what do they

contribute to the real happiness of men? Are they any thing more than a splendid dream? How short, too, has this era been with all nations! After the generation of wits, generally there has succeeded a totally illiterate horde; who have awakened those the arts had put to sleep, with blows, and laid them in chains before they had well rubbed their eyes. How long is it since the days of Corneille and Racine? and we are already exhausted! Poor nation!"

There are certainly much higher interests among mankind, even in this world, than amusements; and, in my own view, and as I fully believe in that of ninety-nine hundredths of my countrymen, there are many amusements in the whole number, amply sufficient for such a life as this, which, on the one hand, are less questionable as to their moral tendency, less expensive, and less injurious to the public welfare than those of the drama; while, on the other, they are more within the common reach, more satisfactory to the retrospective eye, and better fitted to invigorate the languishing powers both of body and mind.

To common sense hardly any thing seems more frivolous than the unremitting attempts at criticism, which load the Journals of Travellers and Reviewers, Magazines, and other periodical publications, concerning plays; unless perhaps the sagacious remarks of the same writers, which unhappily abound also, concerning the players. Of how little consequence to the happiness of man are the former of these subjects; and how insignificant, when estimated on the scale either of morality or intelligence, are in almost every instance the latter! I have read many plays, particularly such as have been most celebrated, and many criticisms upon them; for criticism has always been one of my favourite studies; nor have I been unacquainted with the history of players, or with strictures upon their talents and merits. I am also perfectly aware, that a well-acted play of superior merit is capable of affording a high degree of pleasure, to a mind attuned to such a performance. Still I believe, that a great part of the importance, given to these exhibitions by the writers in question, owes its existence merely to fashion. Were theatres once to become unfashionable resorts, I am satisfied, that the greater part of the connoisseurship now lavished upon them

would vanish, and that most of the writers, who now make so much bustle concerning these subjects, would be ashamed of the employment, and regret that they had trifled in this manner with their own talents and with the public.

The truth, if I mistake not, is, that these persons pour out very few of these effusions from the heart. The subjects of their criticism are less important in their own view than we are taught to imagine. They are seized, because it is believed, on the one hand, that they will engage the attention of the public, and, on the other, that they furnish advantageous materials for displaying the ingenuity and taste of the writer. When, therefore, I see criticism drained to its last dregs upon these subjects; I cannot avoid asking, Of what real use are either the subjects or the criticism? Can mere means of amusement pretend, even decently, to claim such regard? Much more, can means of amusement, scarcely ever free from gross immorality, and usually little else but means of corruption, claim any regard at all. Can men and women almost invariably profligate, among whom, were you to collect them together from all ages and countries, you would hardly find the decade required for the exemption of Sodom from the flaming ruin, which hung over her polluted ground; to save them from a similar destruction; can such men and such women as are presented to the world in the "History of the Green-Room;" can men and women, whom the ancient church would not baptize, and even the Romish church will not bury, engage from generation to generation the sober thoughts, the diligent labours of learning and good sense, of taste and criticism? Nay, what is unspeakably more, shall they employ the time of men professing to be Christians; men, professedly bound towards Heaven; solemnly renouncing in the house of God the vanities of this world, and engaging to abstain from all appearance of evil? Still more shall plays and players command the pens of clergymen; men, declaring themselves to be, in their own belief, "verily moved by the Holy Ghost to the assumption of their office," and promising with the most awful vows to devote themselves wholly to the great duty of turning mankind to righteousness, and conducting them to endless life?

I shall be told, in answer to these questions, that the drama

includes within its precincts some of the first efforts of human genius. The names of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, of Corneille and his splendid train of followers, of the immortal Shakspeare and his, and perhaps too of Schiller and Kotzebue, will be conjured upon the stage, to refute these observations, and convict their authors of weakness and folly. I am not to be informed, at this period, of the talents of these writers. The superiority of their powers I acknowledge in its full extent; but I assert, and without fear of seeing the assertion disproved, that they were employed in such a manner as to produce little good and much evil. Among all their productions there is scarcely one which an apostle would even read. How great a part of them are little else than splendid vehicles of vice. Taken together; and especially when presented on the stage by such men and women as act, and to such men and women as look on, they are only a vast and fascinating system of profligacy. Shall genius command respect, while employed in poisoning mankind, or in gilding the poison?

But I shall be charged with bigotry. The force of argument contained in this accusation I do not feel sufficiently to wish to refute it. What man of common sense can be solicitous about the disgrace attached to it, when he remembers, that the Athenians accused Socrates of this crime, and the Jews the apostles, and even the Saviour?

Finally, I shall be declared to be destitute of taste. From this decision I shall make no appeal. If it is the proper prerogative of taste to be sustained in the world at the expense of morals and religion; if it is the criterion of taste to approve of the stage; if it is the dictate of taste to prefer amusement to virtue; I shall feel no interest in repelling the censure.

Permit me to add, that nothing but the countenance of respectable men, respectable for their talents at least, would, as I believe, continue the existence of dramatic exhibitions; certainly not on any plan, which has hitherto been executed. It is the splendour of this countenance, which has so long dazzled the eyes even of sober men, and prevented the mighty moral considerations, which are marshalled against this evil, from driving it out of the world.

But whatever may be thought of the value of amusements,

or of the nature of the stage ; it is certain that the people of New-England consider the former as of far less importance than the sober business of life, and the latter as having little claim to respect, or even to indulgence. It is here extensively believed, that the profession of a player is scandalous ; and that the stage is a nuisance. The clergyman, who should make a business of attending dramatic exhibitions, would probably lose his parish, and not improbably his office. This jealousy for the purity of the ministerial character will, I presume, be denounced as bigotry, by not a few fashionable people. For myself, I rejoice in it, and cordially hope, that the time will never come, when a minister in this country can be safely destitute of the character required of all, who hold this office, by St. Paul, in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus.

In every case respecting amusements, the sound common sense of my countrymen induces them to ask the old Roman question, " Cui bono erit ? " The answer to this question usually determines the cause at issue.

I will only add, that the people of New-England find no want of amusements. Time rarely hangs heavily upon their hands. In the acquisition of property for themselves and their families, in educating their children, in attending to the affairs of their school-districts, parishes, and townships, in being present at elections and courts of justice, in performing the duties of piety and charity, in riding, visiting, reading, and various other employments of a nature not dissimilar, they pass through life as easily, cheerfully, and usefully, as most of their fellow-men.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Opinion of a Writer in the Quarterly Review, relative to the Women of this Country, examined. The Features, Manners, and Employments of the Women of New-England. Their Education.

DEAR SIR;

THE female sex in every country have a high claim to the minute attention of an inquisitive traveller. As it has been decided by high authority, that there is, "both in the physical and intellectual features of the Americans, a trace of savage character, not indeed produced by crossing the breed, but by the circumstances of society and of external nature;" it is, I presume, believed in Great Britain, that, as the men here are either partially or wholly Indians, our women must of course be squaws. We ought to feel ourselves not a little obliged to this writer in the Quarterly Review for saving a part of the little reputation allowed to us, by informing the world, that our savageness is not derived "from crossing the breed." Unquestionably it does not flow from this source. Of all the inhabitants of this world, there are none so delicate on this subject as those of New-England. If their blood was pure at first, it remains pure. Still we are destined, it seems, to a savageness less remediable and more absolutely hopeless; a savageness derived, not only from the state of society, but also from circumstances of an external nature. As our forests, through a great part of this country, have for a century been so extensively felled as scarcely to have left sufficient timber and fuel for the necessary use of the inhabitants; and as the waters of the Atlantic flow in much the same manner here as on the shores of Europe, the cause of this great national calamity must undoubtedly be sought for in our hills and valleys,

our plains and mountains, our lakes and rivers. Whether all these are supposed to contribute their share towards the production of our savage character, or whether the calamity is to be ascribed to a part or to one of them, I am unable to determine. I have indeed seen some remarks of a British writer concerning the cataract of Niagara, in which he plainly considered that stupendous work of nature as fitted to inspire feelings only wild and horrid.

We construe passages in the book of nature as well as in the book of revelation very differently. The sentiments awakened in my own mind, and in the minds of my companions, by the sight of this wonderful object, were only those of amazing grandeur and singular elevation. The mighty hand, which formed the universe, and rolls its worlds through immensity, seemed here to be peculiarly visible; and the mind traced, with the eye of intuition, the footsteps of its Maker. Permit me to congratulate myself, that the intense pleasure, which I found in surveying this scene, was not disturbed by the unfortunate emotions awakened here in the mind of the writer to whom I have alluded. The view of Lake Erie, also, although considered as a part of that inundation which has so recently overspread the continent of America; and although plainly regarded by the Count de Buffon, and expressly assigned by M. de Pauw, as one cause both of our bodily and mental imperfections, excited no ideas in my own mind but those of pre-eminent beauty, magnificence, and splendour.

The loftiest elevation in the United States is Mount Washington. Its height has not, I believe, been ascertained. It is, however, several thousand feet below the summit of Mont Blanc, and not a little inferior to other Alpine eminences. What influence these lofty points have on the minds and manners of those who live beneath and around them, I acknowledge myself to have learned but very imperfectly. I have been accustomed to believe, that the Swiss have long been distinguished for mild and charming simplicity of manners; and to this opinion I have been led, particularly, by some of your own writers of reputation. Nor did I discover any thing peculiarly savage in those inhabitants of New-Hampshire, who lived in the neighbourhood of Mount Washington. My friend Rosebrook, whose Arcadian name may

however have had a benign influence upon his character, was certainly, though when I last saw him he had resided fifteen years within five miles both of the notch and the summit of the White Mountains, as good-natured, mild, and soft-tempered a farmer, as will easily be found. There was, it is true, one trace of savageness in his wife. She unfortunately preferred Bohea tea to Hyson, and was therefore unwilling to keep Hyson in her house; observing with some degree of decision, that, "if Bohea tea was good enough for her, it was good enough for travellers." This trace of savage character certainly was not derived from crossing the breed. From the circumstances of society it could not be easily derivable; for there was no society, with which the good lady could mingle, except that of travellers, and most of these would undoubtedly have voted in favour of the Hyson tea. We must therefore, however reluctant, believe, that she caught it either from the summit, or the notch, of the White Mountains. I ought in justice to observe, that, bating this untoward fact, the whole family were kind, gentle, and obliging. Even the old lady herself, in other respects, merited this character. For although she had a prejudice against green tea, she very cheerfully furnished her guests with coffee.

There is one circumstance relative to this subject which it seems difficult to reconcile with the learned decision quoted above. It is this. Not one of one thousand of the New-England people ever visited the White Mountains, the great Lakes, or the cataract of Niagara. It seems therefore, that the sensible influence of these objects must be so limited as not materially to affect our national character. This, I acknowledge, does not prove the evil to be underived from the efficacy of their insensible influence. With respect to that efficacy I will not dispute the malignant operations of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, the great Western Lakes, the White, or even the Mexican Mountains, upon the character of my countrymen. Among the last, candour obliges me to acknowledge, that there is one summit, named the Great White Mountain, which was determined by a mensuration of Col. Pike to be eighteen thousand feet in height. Possibly I may all this time have been puzzling myself, therefore, to no purpose, in attempting to find, in neighbouring

objects, the cause of this characteristic defect ; while the malignant efficacy may have been silently floating in the westerly winds from the Mississippi, or the Mexican Mont Blanc.

Had it not been for this unfortunate decision, I should have boldly asserted, that there is not in the world a more amiable collection of women than those of my own country. Permit me to describe their character, as, notwithstanding the authority of this sentence, they still appear to my own eyes.

The women of New-England are generally well, and often elegantly formed. Their features have usually a good degree of regularity, are comely, and frequently handsome. Their complexion, like that of the men, is not so generally fair as that of the Irish, British, and other European women in the North, but very sensibly fairer than that of the French women ; and a vast number of them have complexions inferior to none in the world. In great numbers they have fine eyes, both blue and black ; and generally possess that bloom, which health inimitably suffuses over a beautiful countenance. But regular features, united with the most delicate complexion, cannot form beauty. This charming attribute, so coveted by one sex, and so fascinating to the other, is, as an eminent poet of your country has said,

“ an air divine,
Through which the mind's all gentle graces shine ;
They, like the sun, irradiate all between ;
And the face charms, because the soul is seen.”

In this respect the women of New-England, to a great extent, triumph. Their minds, often possessing a fine share of intelligence, are remarkably distinguished by amiable dispositions. A gentle and affectionate temper, ornamented with sprightliness, and gilded with serenity, may be fairly considered as being extensively their proper character. They are said, by some of your countrymen, to be too feminine ; and are certainly less masculine than most of their sex, who have visited these states from England or the European continent. To us, this is a delightful part of their character.

Their manners are in entire symmetry with their minds and faces. An universal sweetness and gentleness, blended with sprightly energy, is their most predominant characteristic. There is nothing languid in their deportment, and rarely any

thing affected. They are affable, obliging, and cheerful; while they are at the same time grave, discreet, and very rarely betrayed into any impropriety.

Very many of them are distinguished for moral excellence; are unaffectedly pious, humble, benevolent, patient, and self-denying. In this illustrious sphere of distinction they put our own sex to shame. Were the church of Christ stripped of her female communicants, she would lose many of her brightest ornaments, and, I fear, two-thirds of her whole family.

In perfect accordance with this representation, the women of New-England perform, in an exemplary manner, the various duties of life. They are almost universally industrious, economical, attentive to their families, and diligent in the education and government of their children. They are, to a great extent, excellent wives, mothers, and daughters. Few countries, it is believed, present, in proportion to the number of their inhabitants, so many instances of domestic good order, peace, and happiness.

The employments of the women of New-England are wholly domestic. The business, which is abroad, is all performed by men, even in the humblest spheres of life. That of the house is usually left entirely to the direction of the women, and is certainly managed by them with skill and propriety. Domestic concerns admit of improvement, and even of science; and it must, I believe, be acknowledged, that we might learn in this particular several useful things from you. Our economy is less systematical and less perfect than yours, and our activity sometimes less skilfully directed. I am apprehensive, however, that we approach nearer to you in the house than either in the shop or the field. The houses in this country are, with their furniture, almost all kept in good order; and a general neatness prevails, even among those who are in humble circumstances. Indeed, a great part of the women in this country exert quite as much industry as is consistent with the preservation of health*.

There is another employment, in which I think they merit high encomiums: this is the diffusion of beneficence among the suffering. In this they far excel the other sex, and dis-

* See, on this subject at large, the remarks on Lambert.

cover more skill, more patience, more activity, and universally more excellence.

From these observations you will easily perceive, that the female sex hold here an honourable station in society, and have an important influence upon its concerns. The first place at the table, in the family, in the social circle, and in every other situation where they are found, is given to them of course. On all occasions they are treated with marked attention and respect; and the man, who behaves rudely or insolently to a woman, is considered as hardly meriting the name.

I have already given you a summary account of the manner in which young misses are educated in this country. They are all sent early to school, where they are taught to spell, and read, and write. From parochial schools, many of them are transferred to boarding-schools and academies. Here they learn to understand arithmetic, which indeed is usually taught them in parochial schools, and study English grammar, geography, history to some extent, criticism, and composition. In a few instances they are taught moral science, and in some ascend to higher branches of mathematics, the Latin and French languages. To these are added embroidery, drawing, and music.

On this subject I feel bound to observe, that we are in my own opinion seriously defective. Efforts, of a higher nature than any which we make, are due to their daughters from all persons who are possessed of wealth. The great doctrines of physical and moral science are as intelligible by the mind of a female as by that of a male; and, were they made somewhat less technical, and stripped so far of some of their unnecessary accompaniments as to wear in a greater degree the aspect of common sense, might be introduced with advantage into every female academy where the instructor was competent to teach them. It is evidently high time that women should be considered less as pretty, and more as rational and immortal beings; and that, so far as the circumstances of parents will permit, their minds should be early led to the attainment of solid sense and sound wisdom. The instructions, which are, or ought to be, given by mothers, are of more importance to the well-being of children than any which are, or can be, given

by fathers. To give these instructions, they ought, as far as may be, to be thoroughly qualified, even if we were to act on selfish principles only. Such a design, extensively reduced to practice, would in any country change the whole state of society, and raise it to a dignity of which it is otherwise incapable.

The disposition to provide a superior education for female children is in this country widely diffused, and continually increasing. No regular scheme, however, has been formed on this subject, within my knowledge; and I have hitherto met with no books, which treat the sciences last specified in a manner satisfactory either to my views or to my wishes. It is earnestly to be hoped, that ere long both these defects may be supplied; and that the women of this country, who, so far as they possess advantages, appear in no respect to be behind the other sex, either in capacity or disposition to improve, may no longer be precluded from the best education by the negligence of men.

It is said, and I suspect with truth, that the American women lose their beauty and the brilliancy of youth at an earlier period of life than in England. A great part of them are slender. Multitudes lose their teeth at an untimely date; and many of them part with their bloom before they are thirty years of age. The causes of these disadvantages belong to the province of the learned among physicians. I may be permitted, however, to observe, that among them abstemiousness, which here is very general in that sex, and often excessive, probably has its share. The want of sufficient exercise abroad has a still more malignant influence. Sedentariness seems regularly to be considered as intimately connected with the gentility of the female character. Walking is very little practised; and riding on horse-back, notwithstanding it exhibits the female figure to so much advantage, is almost out of the question. Until there is a material change in these respects, the women of New-England must be satisfied to yield their health, and youth, and bloom, and beauty, as an untimely sacrifice to the Moloch of fashion. The teeth of children their mothers might preserve. Nothing more would be necessary than to compel them to commence life with vigorous exercise, and continue it; to avoid hot drinks, particularly, by requiring their children to eat milk, or thoroughly to dilute

with it their tea and coffee; and to make their teeth cold by agitating cold water in the mouth five times a day; that is, once in the morning, once in the evening, and once after each meal. Could we learn wisdom from the Asiatics, and habituate ourselves to regular bathing; and follow that of our ancestors, by permitting children when at school to play during the session half an hour in the morning, and half an hour in the afternoon, encouraging hose of both sexes to vigorous activity; the work of preserving health would in a great measure be accomplished.

To the character, which I have given of the women of New-England, there are unquestionably many exceptions. We have homely women, we have ignorant women, we have silly women, we have coarse women, and we have vicious women. At the same time we have no reason, in these particulars, to dread a comparison with other countries. In the most fashionable life we have frivolous women, who, having nothing to do, or choosing to do nothing of a useful nature, find time hang heavily on them. To relieve themselves from the ennui, flowing of course from the want of regular and useful engagements, women of this description crowd to the theatre, the assembly-room, the card-table, routs, and squeezes; flutter from door to door on ceremonious visits, and from shop to shop to purchase what they do not want, and to look at what they do not intend to purchase; hurry to watering places, to recover health which they have not lost; and hurry back again in pursuit of pleasure which they cannot find. Happily, the number of these is not very great, even in our cities.

I am, Sir, &c.

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MANUFACTURES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

Extracts from the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, April 19, 1810. General Account of the Manufactures of Massachusetts and of Connecticut. Account of the Manufactures of Rhode-Island, with a History of their Origin.

DEAR SIR ;

I WILL now present you with a few observations on the manufactures of this country. Before I attempt to specify the agency and influence of New-England, it will be proper to take some notice of the general state of manufactures in the country at large.

Returns were made to the national government, at the time when the last census was taken, of all the manufactures which were of any considerable importance ; and congress committed to several gentlemen the business of arranging, and publishing in a volume, the particulars of which they were composed. For this volume I have hitherto waited in vain. Should it see the light before these Letters are finished, I shall certainly avail myself of the information which it shall communicate. At present my guide must be a Report drawn up by the secretary of the treasury, and referred, April 19th, 1810, to a committee of the house of representatives.

The following manufactures, Mr. Gallatin observes, are carried on in the United States to such an extent as to supply the wants of the inhabitants ; those of the same kinds which

are imported amounting to less than those which are exported:—

Manufactures of wood, leather, soap, tallow candles, spermaceti oil, spermaceti candles, linseed oil, refined sugar, coarse earthenware, snuff, chocolate, mustard, hair powder.

The following manufactures, he observes, are firmly established, and supply in some instances the greater, and in all a considerable part of the whole consumption:—

Bar iron, manufactures of iron, cotton, wool, flax, hats, paper, printing types, printed books, playing cards, spirituous and malt liquors, several manufactures of hemp, gunpowder, window glass, jewellery, clocks, several manufactures of straw bonnets and hats, lead, wax candles.

Progress, Mr. Gallatin observes, has also been made in the following branches:—

Paints and colours, several chemical preparations, medicinal drugs, salt, manufactures of copper and brass, japanned ware, plated ware, calico printing, queen's and other earthen wares.

Many other articles the secretary supposes are undoubtedly omitted, the information actually obtained having been in many respects imperfect.

Under the head of manufactures of wood he observes, that they consist of vessels, household furniture, and carriages for pleasure and for transportation. All of them are carried to a high degree of perfection.

Of vessels above twenty tons burthen, there were built during seven years, from 1801 to 1807, 774,922 tons, a little more than 110,000 tons in a year, worth more than six millions of dollars annually. Two-thirds of these were registered for the foreign trade, and the remaining third for the fisheries and the coasting trade.

The annual exportation of furniture and carriages amounted to 170,000 dollars.

The yearly value of all the manufactures of wood was 20,000,000 dollars.

Of pot and pearl ashes, referred by the secretary to this head, 7,400 tons are annually exported.

Of manufactures of leather Mr. Gallatin observes, that the exportations amount to more than twice the value of the im-

portations; and that the whole value of all the articles of this class annually manufactured is 20,000,000 of dollars. The value of the soap and the tallow candles he estimates at 8,000,000 of dollars. The annual importations were,

Candles, 158,000 lbs.; soap, 470,000 lbs.

The annual exportations of domestic manufacture were

Candles, 1,775,000 lbs.; soap, 2,220,000 lbs.

Of spermaceti oil and candles, annually manufactured, the value was 300,000 dollars.

Of refined sugar, 5,000,000 lbs. were annually made, worth 1,000,000 of dollars.

Concerning the manufactures of cotton the secretary observes, that he has from the returns formed the following Table:—

Mills, 87; spindles, 80,000.

Capital employed, 4,800,000 dollars.

Cotton used, 3,600,000 lbs.; value, 720,000 dollars.

Yarn spun, 2,880,000 lbs.; value, 3,240,000 dollars.

Persons employed, men 500, women and children 3,500.

The goods into which the yarn is spun in the cotton manufactories in Rhode-Island are principally, bed-ticking, stripes and checks, shirting and sheeting, ginghams and counterpanes. Elsewhere are made, webbing, coach laces, table cloths, jeans, vest patterns, cotton kerseymeres, blankets, fustians, cords, and velvet.

Wool, the secretary observes, is principally spun and woven in private families. Fourteen manufactories, however, have been reported to him; each of which, on an average, yields 10,000 yards of cloth annually, at from one to ten dollars a yard. Wool, especially fine wool, was seriously deficient in quantity, but is rapidly increasing. The Merino sheep, particularly, since this Report was published, have increased to a very great number.

Manufactories for spinning and weaving flax were few. Three are mentioned, at which 662,000 yards of cotton binding, sail-cloth, and other coarse linen were, or might be made annually.

From Martha's Vineyard, 9,000 pair of stockings were annually exported.

The value of all the goods made of cotton, wool, and flax,

the secretary estimates at more than 40,000,000 of dollars, household manufactures included.

Whittemore's machine for making cards had completely excluded foreign importations of that article. The quantity manufactured annually, before the embargo lessened the supply of wire, was worth 200,000 dollars.

Of hats, the number exported of American manufacture was 100,000. The number imported was 350,000. The value of the number made is estimated at nearly 10,000,000 of dollars.

Most of the paper consumed in the United States was of home manufacture. Books, for which an adequate number of purchasers can be procured, are printed and bound here.

Paper hangings and playing cards were also extensively manufactured.

A supply of printing types was furnished, sufficient for the consumption, chiefly at Philadelphia, New-York, and Baltimore.

The annual importations of foreign hemp amounted to 6,200 tons; but, from the increased cultivation of this article in Massachusetts, New-York, Kentucky, &c., the secretary believed, that a sufficient quantity would soon be produced in the United States.

The manufacture of cordage of all descriptions was equal to the demand. That of duck was less prosperous, and far from supplying a sufficient quantity.

The aggregate value of spirituous and malt liquors annually made was 10,000,000 of dollars; yet the quantity imported, of spirituous liquors only, amounted, in 1806 and 1807, to 9,760,000 gallons a year; a fact immeasurably disgraceful to the country.

At a loose estimate the bar iron, annually used in the United States, amounts to 50,000 tons; of which 10,000 were supposed to be imported, and 40,000 to be manufactured at home. A great part of the American iron was however inferior in quality to that which was imported.

Five hundred and sixty-five tons of sheet, slit, and hoop iron, were annually imported, and seven thousand annually manufactured, in the United States.

The cut nails amounted yearly in value to 1,200,000 dollars. Of these 280 tons were yearly exported.

Fifteen hundred tons of wrought nails and spikes were annually imported.

The manufactures of iron consist principally of agricultural implements, and other products of the blacksmith's forge, anchors, shovels, spades, edged tools, and a great variety of the coarser articles of ironmongery. But the finer species of hardware, cutlery, &c., were imported almost wholly from Great Britain.

Balls, shells, and cannon of small calibre were cast in several places; and three founderies for casting solid, boring, and finishing those of the largest calibre were established; one at Richmond, Virginia, one in Cecil county, Maryland, and one near the city of Washington. Each of the two first could cast three hundred pieces of artillery in a year; and a great number of iron and brass cannon were made at the other.

The castings of hollow ware were sufficient for the consumption.

At the two public armories, at Springfield and Harper's ferry, nineteen thousand muskets were annually made. About twenty thousand more are made at other manufactories; all private, except one established at Richmond by the state of Virginia. This number might be immediately enlarged. Gunsmiths were in various places employed in making rifles and other species of arms.

The iron, manufactured and unmanufactured, was estimated at an annual value of from 12 to 15,000,000 of dollars: the imported at near 4,000,000.

Rich copper mines are found in New-Jersey, in Virginia, and near Lake Superior, but none of them were wrought.

The principal manufactures of copper and brass are stills, bells, cannon, andirons, chandeliers, sconces, vessels of various kinds, &c.

Zinc was lately discovered in Pennsylvania.

Lead is found in Virginia, and in several other places. The richest mines of this metal are, however, in Upper Louisiana, and it is said also in the adjacent country east of the Mississippi. They were not wrought to a sufficient extent; and, after supplying the western country, furnished only two hundred tons a year to the Atlantic states.

The principal American manufactures of lead were shot, and colours of lead. There were two establishments for the manufacture of shot in Philadelphia, and one in Louisiana, more than sufficient to supply the demand of six hundred tons a year. Five hundred and sixty tons of red and white lead, litharge, and some other preparations of that metal, were made in Philadelphia alone.

Other paints and colours are also prepared in Philadelphia and some other places.

The manufacture of tin-ware is very extensive; and Connecticut supplies the greater part of the United States with that article.

Plated ware, chiefly for coach-makers and saddlers, employs at Philadelphia seventy-three workmen. It is also made to a considerable extent in New-York, Baltimore, Boston, Charleston, New-Haven, Northampton, and elsewhere.

Saltpetre is found in Virginia, Kentucky, and several other places, but is principally imported from the East Indies.

The manufacture of gunpowder was nearly, and might at any moment be made wholly adequate to the consumption. The importation of foreign powder amounted annually to two hundred thousand pounds; the exportation of American to one hundred thousand.

A sufficient quantity of the coarser species of pottery was made everywhere. Four manufactories of a finer kind had lately been established, which made ware resembling that of Staffordshire.

Twenty-seven thousand boxes of window-glass were made annually at ten glass manufactories, or two million seven hundred thousand square feet. Exactly the same quantity was annually imported. The glass made at Boston was inferior to none brought from Europe. The rest made green, or German glass.

Other glass wares, such as bottles, &c., were made also; and at two glass works in Pittsburg was manufactured flint-glass of every description, and of a superior quality.

Copperas was extracted in large quantities from pyrites in Vermont, New-Jersey, and Tennessee. About two hundred thousand pounds of sulphuric and other acids were annually manufactured at a single establishment in Philadelphia. Other

preparations and drugs were also made in that city, and several other places; and the annual exportations exceeded thirty thousand dollars in value.

The salt springs in the state of New-York furnished about three hundred thousand bushels a year, and those in the western states and territories about the same quantity. The Wabash Saline, the property of the United States, yielded annually one hundred and thirty thousand bushels. The annual importation of foreign salt amounted, however, to more than three millions of bushels, and could not be superseded by American salt, unless by establishments on the coast.

Straw bonnets and hats were made, in a small district in Massachusetts and Rhode-Island, to such an extent, that the exportations to other parts of the Union amounted in value to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars annually. Work of this kind in great quantities is made, also, in many other places.

An establishment had been formed near Baltimore for the printing of calicoes, at which twelve thousand yards might be printed in a week.

I have now given you the substance of the secretary's report, which is to be considered as the most correct and extensive account of the manufactures of the United States, which to that time had been obtained. He adds, that from this imperfect sketch it may with certainty be inferred, that the product of the whole manufacturing interest annually exceeds one hundred and twenty millions of dollars.

Since the loose return, on which the above report is founded, another, which, with some abatements, may be considered as complete for the year 1810, was forwarded to the secretary of the treasury by order of the government. That rendered by Massachusetts is included in the following table:—

General Recapitulation of the Manufactures of Massachusetts Proper.

	Estimated Value. Dollars.
Ashes, 123 tons	20,619
Breweries, 716,800 gallons	86,450
Buttons	29,000
Bricks, 25,295,000	139,067

	Estimated Value. Dollars.
Straw bonnets	551,988
Brushes, 1,666 dozen	5,000
Corn brooms, 70,000	4,000
Cloth and clothier's work :—	
54 cotton factories, 19,448 spindles, 838,348 pounds	931,906
22,564 looms, 4,048,209 yards	2,060,576
1 factory woollen cloth, 6,860 yards.	10,290
80 carding machines, 797,236 pounds	236,198
221 fulling mills, 730,948 yards	442,401
9 spinning jennies, 56 looms, 36,000 yards	28,600
Playing cards, yearly amount	97,500
4 wool card factories, 9,953 dozen	78,998
Ditto, 14,400 feet	33,000
Cabinet work, yearly amount	318,622
Chairs, 1,694 dozen	96,060
Combs, 49,905 dozen	80,624
Candles, tallow, 1,436,550 pounds	217,060
Ditto, spermaceti, 465,000 pounds	178,800
Cooperage, 37,995 casks	69,318
Clocks and watches, amount	46,185
Catgut	2,000
Chocolate, 255,500 pounds	73,100
Coaches and chaises, 667	122,674
Distilleries, molasses, 2,472,000 gallons	1,404,350
Ditto, grain, 63,730 gallons	42,590
Ditto, cyder, 316,480 gallons	181,386
Duck, hemp, 3,025 pieces	80,813
Ditto, cotton, 200 pieces	6,000
Ditto, bagging and tow-cloth, 60,000 yards	33,000
Fishery, mackarel, 5,400 barrels	44,550
Glass	36,000
Gloves, 4,875 dozen	14,625
Fire engines, 1 factory	4,000
Foundries of brass and copper :—	
Brass guns, 12,976 pounds	7,136

	Estimated Value. Dollars.
Copper, 32,159 pounds	22,828
Bells, 21,410 pounds	8,555
Brass and pewter, 99,288 pounds	41,700
Composition, 251,503 pounds	109,781
Hats, 142,645	415,167
Jewellery and silver work	161,625
Printing ink, 6,000 pounds	8,000
Forges, 11 trip-hammers :—	
Bar iron, 978 tons	121,930
Anchors, 440 tons	92,712
Hollow ware, 2,840½ tons	132,200
Edge tools	44,000
Wrought iron	521,718
Lace for coaches, yearly amount	10,000
Leather boots, 63,307 pair	412,509
Ditto, men's shoes, 844,864 pair	978,083
Ditto, women's shoes, 1,310,500 pair	816,250
Ditto, saddlery, harness, jockey caps, &c.	788,726
Lead mines	200
Muskets, 19,095	229,085
Musical instruments	17,880
16 marble works, 894,000 feet	98,000
Nails, wrought	69,235
Ditto, cut, 2,925½ tons	614,990
Ditto, small	1,950
Oil, spermaceti, 77,696 gallons	66,832
Ditto, whale, 249,728 gallons	171,688
Oil mills, 44,460 gallons	46,982
Paper mills, 95,129 reams writing	257,451
Ditto, 63,000 rolls, hanging	88,500
Ores, ochre, and nitrous beds	1,350
6 powder mills, 120,000 pounds	72,000
84 grist mills :—	
Wheat and rye, 460,476 bushels	350,896
Corn and oats, 49,054 bushels	35,273
150 saw mills :—	
Pine, 10,725,000 feet	80,480
Oak, 490,000 feet	6,855
1 rake factory, 11,000 rakes	1,870

	Estimated value. Dollars.
Rope walks, cordage, 2,808½ tons	1,030,661
Ditto, twine, 85,200 pounds	37,383
Ship building, 23,410 tons	656,095
Soap-stone manufactory	13,000
Spectacles, yearly amount	10,000
1 steel factory, 20 tons	4,000
Spinning wheels, 6,393	17,982
Spruce, essence, 1,250 pounds	2,500
Snuff, 118,400 pounds	37,381
Soap, hard, 2,043,720 pounds	239,697
Ditto, soft, 4,190 barrels	18,400
Sewing silk, 103 pounds	618
Loaf sugar, 422,000 pounds	82,400
Slitting mills, 1,700 tons	318,600
Saltpetre, 23,600	9,303
Salt works, 468,198 feet:—	
Salt, 118,757 bushels	79,526
Glauber salts, 334,238 pounds	13,369
Sheep, Merino, 73	18,250
Ditto, mixed blood, 2,062	154,650
Ditto, common, 103,141	226,282
Woollen stockings, 37,951 pair	28,453
Essence of turpentine, 6,000 gallons	18,000
Steel thimbles	10,000
Tanneries, Morocco skins, 261,000	130,160
Ditto, hides, 174,596	1,022,661
Ditto, calves' skins, 65,888	129,078
Ditto, sheep skins, 62,536	52,140
Ditto, hogs' skins, 2,800	9,100
Tacks, 11,000,000	2,000
Tin plate works, amount	73,715
Whips, 7,050 dozen	7,900
Waggons, 2,260	43,600
Earthenware	18,700
Wire factories, amount	24,912
Wooden ware	31,000
Sheep's wool, 35,000 pounds	14,175
Total,	18,595,323

I have been so fortunate, also, as to obtain the same return for Connecticut. A copy of it, so far as the heads of it are concerned, is subjoined under the following title:—

Abstract of the manufacturing establishments, and annual manufactures in the district of Connecticut, as taken from the returns of the assistants to the marshal of the said district, made in pursuance of the several acts of congress providing for the third census, &c., A. D. 1810.

Cloths and their value:—	Estimated value.	
	Dollars.	Cents.
Looms, 16,132.		
Yards of linen, 2,362,078	800,358	81
Yards of woollen, 1,119,145 . . .	1,098,241	92
Yards of cotton, and cotton and linen, 605,675	241,222	99
Fulling mills, 218. Carding ma- chines, 184.		
Pounds of wool carded, 504,088.		
Woolen manufactories 15, cot- ton manufactories 14, spindles 11,883.		
Value of cotton yarn, stockings, and suspenders	111,021	50
Value of raw and sewing silk	28,503	0
Value of hats	522,200	0
Distilleries, 560:—		
Gall' of distilled spirits, 1,374,404	811,144	0
Tanneries, 408:—		
Value of leather tanned and dressed	476,338	80
Value of saddlery, shoes, &c. . .	231,812	0
Rope-walks, 19:—		
Value of cordage	243,950	0
Value of duck and cotton bagging	12,148	40
Paper mills, 19:—		
Value of paper	82,188	0
Oil mills, 24:—		
Value of oil	64,712	0
Powder mills, 7:—		
Value of gunpowder, &c.	43,640	0

	Estimated value.	
	Dollars.	Cents.
Forges, 48:—		
Tons of iron and steel, 1,450.		
Value of ditto, and anchors . . .	183,910	0
Furnaces, 8:—		
Value of cast iron	46,180	0
Guns and pistols, 4,400	49,050	0
Manufactories of cut nails, 18:—		
Value of nails cut	27,092	0
Rolling and slitting mills, 3.		
Trip hammers, 32.		
Value of scythes, axes, &c.	91,145	60
Brass founderies, 4:—		
Value of brass-work, jewellery, and plated ware	49,200	0
Type foundry, 1.		
Glass works, 2:—		
Value of glass	23,360	0
Potteries, 12:—		
Value of earthen and stone ware .	30,740	0
Wooden clocks, 14,565	122,955	0
Value of coach work, &c.	68,855	0
Value of marble and stone work . .	11,000	0
Value of bricks exported	2,000	0
Value of straw bonnets	27,100	0
Buttons, number of gross, 155,000 .	122,125	0
Value of tin japanned and plain . .	139,370	0
Value of combs	70,000	0
Manufactures of tallow, sieves, to- bacco, ink, &c.	71,612	0
Total value of annual manufactures, as returned	5,887,175	8

Concerning this abstract it ought to be observed, that several articles are omitted in it, which are of considerable importance. The manufacture of waggons, for example, is carried on to a vast extent. A great number of carriages of that sort are now employed, both for the transportation of burthens and for pleasure. The latter are a novelty in this

country. They are drawn by one horse and by two, are made of neat forms and with nice workmanship, and have lately been multiplied to such a degree, that they appear to be taking the place of most other vehicles.

From my friend, Mr. L—— of Providence, I have received the following account of the manufactures of Rhode-Island. Had other gentlemen in New-England and New-York equally interested themselves in furnishing the information, which I had requested of them; it would have been in my power to have done more justice to many subjects mentioned in these Letters. But, unhappily, a disposition to sit down seriously to the employment of writing is far from being a prominent trait in the character of my countrymen. Generally, I shall give this account in the words of my obliging correspondent.

The natural sources of wealth in the state of Rhode-Island, observes Mr. L., are limited. She has no mines, her territory is small, and her fisheries are of little importance. Her soil also is naturally unfruitful, producing barely what is sufficient for the subsistence of her own population*. Her prosperity, therefore, depends eminently upon the industry of her citizens. This industry is now almost exclusively devoted to the advancement of her manufactures. It would be no exaggeration to say, that five-eighths of her inhabitants are directly or indirectly employed in the manufacture of cotton, and the several branches of business to which it gives birth. Whether this direction of the industry of Rhode-Island will promote her moral prosperity time only can determine. There can be no doubt, from experience, that it will increase her wealth and population.

To Samuel Slater, a native of England, is this state indebted for the introduction of Sir Richard Arkwright's method of spinning cotton. He came to this country about the year 1790; and soon after established the first cotton manufactory, under the patronage of Messrs. Almy and Brown of Providence. The machinery of this establishment was made solely under his direction. Efforts of the same nature had been before begun, but had proved unsuccessful.

* The average quantity of maize in the southern part of this state is about twenty-five bushels an acre; in the northern, about thirteen.

For five or six years after Slater's arrival, comparatively little progress was made in extending this branch of business except by Messrs. Almy and Brown. It was regarded as a mystery difficult of acquisition, and as an experiment hazardous to the undertakers. Those also, by whom the first attempts were made, cautiously concealed from the public the profits which they derived from the pursuit. The attention of the public was however excited by the eagerness with which these gentlemen enlarged their business, and the fearlessness with which they employed considerable additions to their capital in erecting new manufactories. At length several other persons were induced to adventure their property in the same undertaking. Artificers, skilled in all the complicated branches of machinery employed in manufacturing cotton, were allured from England by the prospect of high wages to this country. The workshops, in which these foreigners employed themselves, were in a short time crowded with mechanics and apprentices from our own citizens, who soon made themselves masters of all the knowledge thus imported, and, with that vigorous ingenuity so often found among them, added in many instances improvements of no small importance. The consequences were soon apparent. The Rhode-Island workmen supplanted their foreign brethren to such a degree, that scarcely fifty foreigners are now employed in the state, in this business. They have transferred their skill to other states, where the art is yet in its infancy. It is not known, that a single article of cotton machinery was ever imported into Rhode-Island.

From their first establishment to the year 1800, the increase of these manufactures was gradual. Men, who possess a monied capital, require a certainty of profit before they are willing to vest their property in any business. As soon as it had been ascertained by experience, that the American cotton manufactures could so far come into competition with the English in our markets, at prices which secured a handsome profit to the manufacturer, the citizens of Rhode-Island embarked eagerly in the business. None but an eye-witness can imagine the rapidity with which this species of manufacturing increased in the state after the year 1800. At least three-fourths of the existing capital have been added since that pe-

riod, and a new animation has been awakened in almost every other pursuit. Common labourers, diggers of canals, lumber merchants, dealers in hardware, brass and iron founders, burners of lime, carpenters, masons, curriers, waggoners, sellers of wood, and blacksmiths, are all employed in greater or less degrees by the erection of a cotton manufactory.

To these are to be added the superintendants, clerks, overseers, agents at home and abroad, dyers, and that numerous class of men, women, and children, who are immediately engaged in manufacturing the yarn. What is perhaps of still more consequence to the general prosperity, the weaving is all done in private families; and, being spread throughout a circumference of sixty miles to the north-east and west of Providence, engrosses a number of hands which it would be difficult to estimate. The agricultural interest is estimated by the rise of land, the rise of produce, and a nearer and readier market. For example, a piece of land on a mill-stream, fifteen miles from Providence, was sold lately for fifteen hundred dollars an acre, which fifteen years ago could scarcely have been sold for one hundred. A manufactory of fifteen hundred spindles will soon accumulate a population sufficient to form a village.

I cannot say that the following account of the extent of our manufactures is precisely accurate, but it approaches as near to accuracy as those acquainted with the business can make it. It involves a tract of territory alluded to above, none of the manufactories being thirty miles from Providence. Several of them are in Connecticut, and several in Massachusetts; but all to which I refer are owned by citizens of Rhode-Island.

Within these limits there are now in motion above 120,000 spindles. The yarn spun each week is not far from 110,000 pounds, or 5,500,000 pounds a year. This, manufactured into cloth, is worth 8,140,000 dollars. If you deduct from this sum the raw material, say 6,000,000 pounds, which, at an average of 25 cents per pound, is 1,500,000 dollars, the annual profit of the Rhode-Island manufactures is 6,640,000 dollars. From this sum must be farther deducted the expenses of manufacturing, the interest of capital, &c., in order to ascertain the net profit.

The capital requisite to set a spindle in motion is 75 dollars. The whole amount of the cotton manufacturing capital of this state is 9,000,000 dollars. Of this there are three investments; one in houses, lands, machinery, &c.; another in raw cotton and manufactured stock in the hands of the weavers; and a third in goods in the market.

The most extensive manufacture of wool in this country has just commenced its operations at the north end of Providence. It is moved by a steam-engine possessing the power of thirty horses; and is intended to manufacture daily two hundred yards of broadcloth. None but Merino wool is used; and the cloths are of the finest quality. Mr. Sanford of Connecticut is the superintendant of this business.

The use of steam as a moving power is superseding that of water. Two new engines will soon be erected in Providence.

On Rhode-Island proper there are two small woolless manufactories, and one of cotton now erecting. The number of sheep on this island, according to an estimate made by three intelligent farmers, is 16,500, and is rapidly increasing. Permit me to add, that there is also on this island a coal-mine in full operation, which employs about fifty hands through the year.

In Patucket there is a manufacture of muskets, and in Smithfield one of swords. At the latter place, also, the business of plating is carried on to a considerable extent.

Few kinds of business have been pursued with more spirit, or with more success in the United States, than the printing of books. Within the last twenty years, many large works have issued from our presses; and all of them have found ample support. The Bible has gone through a vast multitude of editions, several of them expensive; among which are three of Scott's Bible, and one of Dr. Clarke's. The latter and one of the former are, however, not yet finished. Three Encyclopedias have been printed in this country; the British, the Edinburgh, and that of Dr. Rees. An edition has proceeded far of distinguished British writers, in sixty volumes. Pinkerton's Collection of Voyages and Travels, is another expensive work, the engravings in which would have been admired in any country. The American Ornithology, executed in a very superb style, was begun by the late Mr. Alexander Wilson.

and, it seems, with ample encouragement. The subscription price was one hundred and twenty dollars a set. It has however been completed in nine, instead of twelve volumes. Our best printing is little, if at all inferior to the best in Europe. For a large proportion of the very expensive books printed in the United States, we are indebted to the presses of Philadelphia.

A great multitude of machines have been invented in America, both to abridge and perfect human labour, which are honourable to the ingenuity of my countrymen. The most important of these is undoubtedly the cotton gin of Mr. Whitney; next after this may be placed his machinery for the manufacture of muskets; Evans's machinery for manufacturing flour; the machine of Mr. Perkins of Newburyport, which cuts and heads two hundred thousand nails in a day, and other machines of the same ingenious artist; that of Mr. Whittemore for cutting, bending, and setting card-teeth at a single operation; and a stocking loom (the name of the inventor unknown to me), which will weave six stockings in a day. To these might be added an almost endless train of others, applied to various purposes of life.

The fabrics of the loom woven here are chiefly those which are worn by the middle and lower classes of mankind. Beautiful cloths are however made in considerable quantities, and of such a quality as not to be distinguished from the superfine cloths of Europe. For these, the Merino sheep furnish the material. Happily for us, this useful animal, instead of declining, as was expected, has visibly improved in our pastures; having increased both in its size and the quantity of its wool. For the introduction of this invaluable breed, the United States are greatly indebted to the Hon. David Humphries, formerly minister plenipotentiary at the courts of Lisbon and Madrid. They are now, together with the cross-breeds, filling the country.

I am, Sir, &c.

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MASSACHUSETTS.

LETTER I.

The State of Massachusetts. Its Boundaries, Population, and Government.

DEAR SIR;

I AM now quitting Massachusetts, and will therefore take this opportunity to make some general observations to you concerning this state, the largest in New-England; and, when considered as to the extent of its territory, population, wealth, power, commerce, and advancement in civilization, one of the largest in the American Union.

The topography of this state has been already sufficiently exhibited, except in a small number of particulars, which will hereafter be occasionally mentioned.

Massachusetts Proper is divided into twelve counties. Berkshire begins at the western boundary: Hampshire* and Worcester extend across the breadth of the state fifty miles, and are entirely inland. Middlesex, which lies immediately east of Worcester, touches the ocean at its south-eastern corner. Essex, the north-eastern county, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Plymouth, are bordered by Massachusetts'-Bay. Barnstable is washed on one side by this bay, and on the other by the ocean. Bristol is bordered on the south by the ocean. Duke's County is formed by Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Isles, and the county of Nantucket consists of the island of that name. The three inland counties contain 177,092

* Since divided into three counties.

inhabitants: the maritime counties 294,948. The inhabitants of the county of Hampshire, amounting to 76,275, live all within less than twenty-five miles of Connecticut river, which passes through the middle of the county from north to south, and furnishes a conveyance for their produce to the ocean. Those of the county of Berkshire, upon its western limit, are at about the same distance from the Hudson. A considerable number of the inhabitants of Worcester county are not more remote from the harbour of Providence.

The face of the country is divided by nature in the following manner: the Taghkannuc range; the valley of the Hoocsten-nuc; the Green Mountain range; the valley of the Connecticut; the Lyme range; a tract formed of hills and vallies, reaching from their eastern base to the ocean; and a tract of sandy ground, spreading from Bridgewater to the ocean, both eastward and southward, chiefly formed into extensive plains, but rising in several places into hills, some of them of considerable height, particularly in the county of Barnstable.

Massachusetts is subdivided into 290 townships, of which

Berkshire contains 32 townships, and 35,907 inhabitants; Hampshire 64 townships, and 76,275 inhabitants; Worcester 51 townships, and 64,910 inhabitants; Middlesex 44 townships, and 52,789 inhabitants; Essex 23 townships, and 71,888 inhabitants; Suffolk 2 townships, and 34,381 inhabitants; Norfolk 22 townships, and 31,245 inhabitants. Plymouth 18 townships, and 35,169 inhabitants; Bristol 16 townships, and 37,168 inhabitants; Barnstable 14 townships, and 22,211 inhabitants; Duke's 3 townships, and 3,290 inhabitants; Nantucket 1 township, and 6,807 inhabitants: total 290 townships, and 472,040* inhabitants.

There are no peculiarities in the character of these inhabitants, which are not marked with sufficient minuteness in the course of these Letters. Those of Berkshire, Hampshire, and Worcester so much resemble their neighbours bordering upon them in Connecticut, that a traveller is conscious of no sensible change when he passes within these limits from one state into the other. The only general characteristical difference which I have observed is, that the people of Massachusetts

* By the census of 1820, Massachusetts contained 523,287 inhabitants. — *Pub.*

are somewhat more ardent, impassioned, and sudden, in both their feelings and actions, than those of Connecticut.

The produce of Massachusetts is exactly the same with that of Connecticut. The tender fruits are, however, somewhat less prosperous, and are cultivated with more difficulty.

The government of Massachusetts is formed into three independent branches, the legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislature consists of a senate containing forty members, and a house of representatives. The senate are chosen on the first Monday in April annually. The electors are the male inhabitants, twenty-one years of age or upwards, having a freehold estate, within the commonwealth, of the annual income of ten dollars, or any estate worth two hundred. The select-men preside in the freemen's meeting.

The governor and five of the council examine the returns of votes taken from the town-clerk's offices, and made to the secretary's office, seventeen days before the last Wednesday in May; and fourteen days before the said Wednesday the governor shall issue his summons to such persons as shall appear to have been chosen by a majority of the voters in each senatorial district, to attend on that day, and take their seats accordingly.

The senate is the final judge of the election returns, and qualifications of its own members.

If the whole number of senators shall not appear to have been duly elected, then such as are chosen shall take the names of such persons in the vacant district as shall appear to have the highest number of votes, amounting to twice the number of senators wanting, and, with the house of representatives, shall, by a joint ballot, fill up the vacancies; and so in cases of vacancy by death, removal, or otherwise. No person can be a senator who does not possess a freehold in his own right of one thousand dollars, or a personal estate of two thousand dollars, or both to the amount of the same sum, and who has not been an inhabitant of the commonwealth five years immediately preceding his election, and is not at the time an inhabitant of the district for which he is elected.

Sixteen members make a quorum.

The senate is a court to hear and determine impeachments, made by the house of representatives against any officer or

officers of the commonwealth. Their judgment extends no farther than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold or enjoy any place of honour, trust, or profit under the commonwealth.

Every corporate town, containing one hundred and fifty rateable polls, may elect one representative, and one more for every additional two hundred and twenty-five rateable polls.

Every representative is chosen by written votes; must have been an inhabitant of the town, in which he is elected, one year at least immediately preceding his election; and must have possessed in his own right a freehold worth three hundred and thirty-four dollars within said town, or other rateable estate of the value of six hundred and sixty-seven dollars.

When these qualifications cease, his right to represent the town ceases.

Representatives are to be chosen annually in the month of May, at least ten days before the last Wednesday.

The house of representatives is the grand inquest of the commonwealth.

Money bills are originated in the house of representatives, but the senate may propose amendments.

Sixty members make a quorum.

The house of representatives is the judge of the election and qualifications for its members.

No senator or representative can be arrested, or held to bail on mesne process, while going to, returning from, or attending the general court.

The governor is chosen annually, must have been an inhabitant of the commonwealth for seven years immediately preceding his election, and must at the same time be seised in his own right of a freehold in the commonwealth worth three thousand three hundred and thirty-four dollars.

The governor is empowered to call together the councillors of the commonwealth for the time being, and, with a quorum of said councillors, amounting to at least five, may from time to time hold a council for ordering and directing the affairs of the commonwealth, agreeably to the constitution and the laws of the land. The governor, during the session of the general court, is empowered to adjourn or prorogue the same to any time which the two houses shall desire; and to dissolve

the same on the day next preceding the last Wednesday in May; and, in the recess of the general court, to prorogue them from time to time, not exceeding ninety days in any one recess: and to call them together sooner than the time to which they may be adjourned or prorogued; and, in case any infectious distemper, or any other dangerous cause shall require it, may direct the session to be held at some other, the most convenient place.

The governor is commander in chief of the military force of the state by sea and land, but cannot transport any of the inhabitants by sea, or oblige them to march out of the limits of the state, without the consent of the general court; or their own, except where this may be demanded for the defence of some part of the state.

The governor is empowered to pardon offences, to nominate all judicial officers, the attorney-general, solicitor-general, sheriffs, coroners, and registers of probate; and, by and with the advice and consent of the counsel, to appoint them. He also commissions all military officers; and, with the advice of council, appoints all officers in the army of the United States, who are to be appointed by this commonwealth.

No monies are to be issued out of the treasury of the commonwealth, except sums appropriated for the redemption of bills of credit, or treasurer's notes, or for payment of interest arising thereon, but by warrant under the hand of the governor for the time being, with the advice and consent of the council, agreeably to the acts and resolves of the general court.

The governor is to have an honourable stated salary, of a permanent value, amply sufficient, and established by standing laws.

The lieutenant-governor is elected in the same manner as the governor, is always a member of the council, except when the chair of the governor is vacant, and then he is vested with all the powers, and performs all the duties of the governor.

Nine councillors are annually chosen among the persons returned for senators on the last Wednesday in May, by the joint ballots of the senators and representatives, assembled in one room. If the persons thus chosen, or any of them, decline, the deficiency is to be made up from among the people

at large. The councillors rank next after the lieutenant-governor. Their business is to advise the governor in the executive part of government.

Not more than two councillors can be chosen out of any one district.

The resolutions and advice of the councillors are recorded in a register, and signed by the members present. This record may be called for at any time by either house of the legislature; and any member of the council may insert his opinion contrary to the will of the majority.

If both the offices of governor and lieutenant-governor are vacant, the council succeed to their powers.

No man can hold the office of treasurer more than five years.

The courts in this state are substantially the same with those in Connecticut.

Justices of the supreme judicial court, and of the courts of common pleas, and judges of probate, hold their offices during good behaviour. The judges of the supreme court are by the constitution to have, and actually have at the present time, honourable salaries, which cannot be diminished during their continuance in office.

The state is by the constitution obliged to uphold and encourage the University of Cambridge, and to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries in which they are taught.

Such is the substance of the constitution, or rather of the most important parts of the constitution, upon which the government of Massachusetts is founded. It is prefaced by a declaration of rights, containing most of those general principles, which the ablest jurists have agreed upon as essential to a free government, included in thirty articles. Among them is this declaration: "The people have a right to keep and bear arms for the common defence."

The provisions in this constitution are few, and in that respect are a proof of wisdom in the framers; for they are probably most or all that are necessary. Generally, also, they are very good in themselves. There is, however, one of them which is singularly unhappy: that which establishes the ratio of representation.

The number of representatives is greater than that of the imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland, falling little short of seven hundred. Nothing can be more preposterous than to assemble such an enormous multitude of men to deliberate on the interests of seven hundred thousand inhabitants. This is exceedingly regretted by the people of the state, but cannot be altered until party spirit shall have fallen from its present height.

The laws of this state are generally similar in their substance to those of Connecticut. In the following Letter I shall mention a few of its institutions.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Laws relative to Schools and the Qualifications of School-masters; concerning the Maintenance of Ministers and the Establishment of Public Worship. Early Laws for the Support of Harvard College. Crimes punished by Death. Militia.

DEAR SIR;

THE system of Massachusetts concerning schools is the following:—

Every town or district in the state, containing fifty householders, is required to provide a schoolmaster to teach children to read and write, and to instruct them in the English language and arithmetic, six months in each year. If a town or district contain one hundred householders, twelve months; if one hundred and fifty, one school six months for writing, arithmetic, and orthography, and for the English language one school twelve months. If two hundred householders, a grammar school-master, well instructed in the Latin, Greek, and English languages, and an English school-master, each twelve months.

The towns establish the school districts. The select-men determine on the qualifications, which fit the children to enter into the grammar schools.

All instructors of the university, colleges, academies, and schools, and all private instructors, are required to take diligent care and exert their best endeavours to impress on the minds of children and youth committed to their care the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry and frugality, chastity, moderation, and temperance, and all other virtues; and to show them the tendency of these virtues to secure the blessings of liberty, and the tendency of

the opposite vices to slavery and ruin. School-masters of grammar schools must have received an education at some college or university; must produce a certificate from a learned minister, well skilled in the Greek and Latin languages, or from two such ministers in the vicinity, that they have reason to believe him well qualified to discharge the duties of his office; and a certificate from the minister of the place where he belongs, or from the select-men of the town, or from the committee of the parish, that to the best of his or their knowledge he sustains a good moral character. This certificate is unnecessary to a person who is to keep school in his native place; but the select-men or committee are in this case required specially to attend to his morals.

If a town or district of fifty householders neglect this duty, they are fined £10; if of one hundred householders, £20; if of one hundred and fifty householders, £30; if of two hundred, for neglect of grammar school, £30; and for partial neglects proportional fines are inflicted. These penalties are to be appropriated by the court of sessions for the county to which the deficient town or district belongs, according to their discretion.

The ministers and select-men, or other persons specially chosen for the purpose in the towns or districts, are required to use their best endeavours, that the children regularly attend the schools, and to visit them once in every six months at least.

With respect to other schools, not contemplated in these provisions, it is enacted, that no person shall be a master or mistress of any school, and keep the same, without obtaining a certificate as above, under a penalty of twenty shillings. The duty of every such master or mistress is also made the same in substance as above.

If a person, who is not a citizen, shall keep a school in the commonwealth for one month, he shall be subjected to a fine of £20.

Grand jurors are diligently to inquire and presentment make of all breaches and neglects of this law.

This is in the main an excellent law. It is questionable, however, whether the number of grammar schools, provided for is not greater than necessity or even convenience requires

It would also have been better if no person beside a native American had been permitted to keep a school. Such shoals of foreigners have, since the enactment of this law, been naturalized, that the present exclusion is little more than a dead letter.

Schools are as universally kept in this state as in Connecticut. The number of academies is much greater; and, as a body, they are better endowed. Indeed, the efforts of this state to promote useful knowledge are not exceeded on this side of the Atlantic. The benefit of these efforts is realized in every corner of the state.

The spirit and views of those, who formed the constitution of Massachusetts, are fully as well as solemnly disclosed in the second and third articles of the Declaration of Rights. These I will here recite.

“ II. It is the right, as well as the duty, of all men in society, publicly, and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the great Creator and Preserver of the Universe. And no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained, in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience; or for his religious profession or sentiments; provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or obstruct others in their religious worship.

“ III. As the happiness of a people, and the good order and preservation of civil government, essentially depend upon piety, religion, and morality; and as these cannot be generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God, and of public instructions in piety, religion, and morality: therefore, to promote their happiness, and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, to make suitable provision at their own expense for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality, in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.

“ And the people of this commonwealth have also a right

to, and do, invest their legislature with authority to enjoin upon all the subjects an attendance upon the instructions of the public teachers aforesaid, at stated times and seasons, if there be any on whose instructions they can conscientiously and conveniently attend.

“ Provided notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance.

“ And all monies paid by the subject to the support of the public worship and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any whose instructions he attends; otherwise it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said monies are raised.

“ And every denomination of Christians, demeaning themselves peaceably and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.”

The laws respecting the settlement and support of ministers, and the building of churches, for the observation of the sabbath, and the preservation of good order in the public worship, are in substance the same with those in Connecticut.

The same observation is generally true concerning the great body of regulations adopted in this state for its internal government.

Generally, the inhabitants are highly respectable for their intelligence, manners, morals, and religion; and will suffer little by a comparison with most communities in the world. They are ardent also in their love of liberty, and yet prompt in obeying and supporting government.

These characteristics of Massachusetts, like those of Connecticut, commenced with its settlement. A law for the support of schools, the substance of which is found in that recited above, was enacted by the legislature of Massachusetts'-Bay in

1654; another, to prevent breaches of the sabbath, in 1652; and a second in 1653. In 1641 a law was passed, which may be considered as a declaration of ecclesiastical rights; in 1646 another, prohibiting open opposition or contempt of ministers and their preaching in any congregation, disturbance of the order and peace of churches, and unnecessary absence from public worship. In 1654 another law was passed, requiring the inhabitants of every town to provide houses and maintenance for their ministers.

I have already mentioned the founding of Harvard college. The first law passed with respect to it was enacted in the year 1636, the second in 1640, the third in 1642. These established the government of it substantially as it is now established, and recognize a gift of £400 from the legislature, and the appropriation of the revenue of the ferry between Charlestown and Boston for its support. In 1659 another law was passed by the general court, granting £100 a year to be paid to the college out of the public treasury. As a reason for this gift, the general court allege their fear lest they should show themselves ungrateful to God, and unfaithful to posterity, if so good a seminary of knowledge and virtue should fall to the ground through any neglect of theirs.

In 1642 a law was passed, requiring the select-men of every town not to suffer so much barbarism in any family as that the parents and masters should not endeavour to teach, by themselves or others, their children and servants to read the English tongue, and to know the capital laws. The penalty for every such neglect was twenty shillings.

The select-men were also required by this law to see that all masters of families catechised their children and servants, once a week at least, in the grounds and principles of religion; or, if unable to do it themselves, that they should procure it to be done; and that they bring up their children and apprentices in some honest, lawful calling, profitable for themselves and the commonwealth, whenever they were unable to train them up in learning to fit them for higher employments. If masters of families, after suitable admonition, refused or neglected to perform these duties, then the select-men, with the help of two magistrates or the next county court, were re-

quired to bind the children and apprentices to other persons, who would perform these duties.

Thirteen offences were made capital by the original laws of Massachusetts'-Bay:—

Idolatry; witchcraft; blasphemy; murder; bestiality; sodomy; adultery; rape; man-stealing; false-witness; conspiracy, or rebellion against the government; cursing or smiting the father or mother after passing sixteen years of age, unless with justifying provocation, or with unchristianly neglect in education; and filial rebellion, after sixteen years of age.

To these were added, in 1692,

High treason; concealing the death of a bastard child; arson; and piracy.

At this time, also, a particular law was made against witchcraft. You will remember, that this was the year in which the colony was convulsed by the Danvers witchcraft.

In the original laws of Connecticut, revised and published by order of the court in 1672, the former of these lists is adopted, with the addition of arson; as are also in substance the ecclesiastical law, that concerning schools, and many others; not however without various alterations. No particular law against witchcraft is found in this statute-book. All the original laws of Massachusetts, and of Connecticut also, discover everywhere a high sense of the duties of piety and morality, of the value of liberty, and of the importance of exact submission to government. In some respects they would now be thought severe, and in my opinion are so. If they are considered with candour, and with a due deference to the circumstances of the people for whom they were made, and to the existing opinions of the age, they will be pronounced to be generally wise and just.

The militia of this state are on a better footing than those of any other in the Union. They are distributed into 13 divisions, 28 brigades, and 103 regiments of infantry. The cavalry contains 71 companies, and the artillery 70. The whole number included in these several bodies is 70,710*. The whole number of white males between 16 and 45 was, in 1810, 133,354, exceeding the number of militia by 62,644.

* 1811.

The period of service is from 18 to 45. The deficiency is partly made up of persons between 16 and 18, and partly of persons excused.

The militia are clad universally in a handsome uniform, and are well armed, accoutred, and disciplined. The laws by which this body of men are formed and regulated are, so far as I may be allowed to judge, wise and efficacious; and there is an uncommon, if not singular, ambition and energy in both the officers and privates of whom the militia is formed.

I am, Sir, &c.

PROSPECTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

LETTER I.

Opinions of Foreigners relative to the future Prospects of our Country. Bishop Berkley's Views of this Subject, in verse. Extent, Waters, Soil, Productions, and Population of the United States.

DEAR SIR;

MY countrymen, in a variety of fugitive publications, have given the world their views concerning the future progress of the American republic in respectability and greatness. Most of these efforts have been extemporaneous; the result of feeling rather than of thought; specimens of idle declamation rather than of rational discussion.

British writers have also busied themselves with the same subject; sometimes seriously, at others contemptuously. In the nature of this subject there is sufficient importance to make it a proper object of interesting examination to a philosopher, whether a politician, a moralist, or a divine. Yet it must be acknowledged, that scarcely an individual on either side of the Atlantic has investigated it with the degree or with the kind of attention, which is evidently demanded even by subjects of very inferior magnitude.

Among the foreigners, who have published their thoughts concerning the future destinies of this country, Berkley, bishop of Cloyne, a man to whom few have been equal, and scarcely any superior in endowments or acquisitions, has published his in a small poem, inserted in his works, and not unfrequently transferred to the pages of other writers. This

extraordinary man, as has been already mentioned in these Letters, and as you must have undoubtedly known from other sources, came to America in the year 1732, in order to establish a college in the island of Bermuda. During this excursion he visited several parts of the continent; particularly, New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and resided a considerable time at New-Port in Rhode-Island. It is hardly necessary to observe, that the British colonies were then in their infancy, and exhibited little to attract the attention of ordinary observers. Berkley was not of this class. With the glance of the eye he discovered more than such observers by the examination of a life. Raised by the capacity of his mind, and not less by his disposition, far above the level where most other men walk through life, and standing always on a commanding eminence, he took a comprehensive, and at the same time an exact survey of the scenes beneath him. From such a survey he derived the thoughts expressed in the following

VERSES, ON THE PROSPECT OF PLANTING ARTS AND
LEARNING IN AMERICA.

The muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
Producing subjects worthy fame.

In happy climes, where from the genial sun
And virgin earth such scenes ensue,
The force of art by nature seems outdone,
And fancied beauties by the true.

In happy climes, the seat of innocence,
Where nature guides, and virtue rules;
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense
The pedantry of courts and schools;

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great, inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads, and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay—
Such as she bred when fresh and young,

When heav'nly flame did animate her clay,
By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way:
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

I know not how Bishop Berkley, if he were now alive, would be able to make his peace with your Reviewers. The predictions, to which he has subscribed his name and lent his reputation, are, it must be confessed, of quite another cast than those, which these gentlemen have thought proper to utter from the Trophonian retreats in which they reside. The bishop may, however, be partially brought off, and his character in some measure saved by the consideration, that he has given his prophecy in verse, and may therefore be fairly believed intentionally to have given us fiction, and not sober truth.

The United States of America, including Louisiana, form a territory of 1,800,000 square miles, or 1,152,000,000 acres; a larger empire than any, which the world has ever seen, except the Russian and the Chinese. This territory lies in a single, solid mass; in a form as near to a square as, in a region of so great an extent, our globe can well be supposed to admit.

The climates, through which it passes, are undoubtedly those, which are most favourable to the prosperity of mankind. The seasons are not, indeed, as mild as those of Europe in the same latitudes; and the temperature is both higher and lower. The difference, however, is not such as to be of any material importance, either to the health or the happiness of man. Perhaps the defect is balanced by the superior brightness and serenity of the sky. This extensive region is well watered. Throughout as great a part of it as of any equal region of the globe, and incomparably more than in most, springs, brooks, mill-streams, and rivers abound. Wells, also, so far as there has been occasion to make experiments, are found near the surface, abounding in good water. It is indeed doubted whether these advantages exist, in the same degree, in any other country of the same extent.

The navigation, supplied by the ocean, lakes, and rivers, is

hardly excelled. These waters are so situated, that they spread the means of conveyance, at little distances, throughout almost the whole of this vast tract. The coast, with its windings, extends about seventeen hundred miles. The St. Lawrence, with its lakes, furnishes a navigation of between two and three thousand. The Missouri, of which the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Arkansas, and the Red river, are only mighty branches, is navigable almost four thousand. When to these are added the numerous navigable rivers, which everywhere divide our coast into a succession of peninsulas, it will easily be admitted, that few countries are furnished by the hand of the Creator with more numerous, more universally diffused, or more important accommodations of this kind.

The soil of this vast region is of every kind, and of every degree of fertility. It is also fitted to every species of vegetation found within the same climates.

Considerable tracts are lean; but almost all of them are capable of being made fertile by a skilful cultivation. The great mass is fertile by nature; and the parts, which are not, are less in their extent than the inhabitants will hereafter find to be necessary for furnishing them with timber and fuel.

Throughout a great part of this territory, the surface exhibits all that is beautiful and magnificent in landscape.

The mineral productions, which it contains, are hitherto imperfectly known. Of the metals, we have iron and lead in inexhaustible quantities. On a more limited scale we have discovered gold, copper, bismuth, antimony, zinc, and cobalt.

Coal mines are already found, inferior in quality and quantity to none in the world. Lime-stone, marble, and gypsum, appear to be inexhaustible. Salt springs are wrought in considerable numbers throughout a part of the regions which lie west of a line drawn at the distance of two hundred miles from the Atlantic.

The indigenous vegetation of this country is various, to a degree which it will require many years to ascertain. Most of the productions, which have been thought valuable by man, except a part of those which are the result of agriculture, are included in their number.

The artificial vegetation extends to almost all the valuable productions of the field and the garden, and to a great multi-

tude of such as are merely ornamental. The sugar-cane is prosperously cultivated in Georgia, furnishes a large article of commerce in Southern Louisiana, and will soon occupy a great part of the Mississippi territory. From two to three hundred thousand square miles, on the southern limit of the United States, may be considered as fitted to be a prosperous sugar country: a tract sufficient to supply all the demands of the inhabitants for ages to come. Rice, indigo, cotton, tobacco, all the kinds of corn, flax, and hemp, are cultivated with ease and success. Silk is produced with similar ease and success in Connecticut, and may be in every part of the Union. Wool, of every quality, is already furnished in great quantities, and is increasing with astonishing rapidity. All the domestic animals abound. It is unnecessary to mention the variety or the plenty of fruits.

The whole tract, which lies north of the latitude of the Roanoke, except the flat country of Virginia, may be justly considered as healthy; and all the hill country, which is south of that river. The inhabitants within these extensive limits are well made, robust, and hardy; and are fitted for every enterprise which demands energy of body or strength of mind.

The population of the United States amounted, in the year 1790, to 3,950,000; in 1800, to 5,350,066; in 1810, to 7,230,514. In twenty-five years from 1790, that is in 1815, they will amount, according to the same ratio of increase, to 8,050,642; that is, to 150,642 more than double the original number. This, however, is short of the real number, because the ratio of increase advances regularly in an arithmetical progression; being least in the first, and greatest in the last of the twenty-five years. Accordingly, during the first term of ten years, the ratio was thirty-four and a third per cent.; and in the second ten years it was thirty-six and a quarter per cent. During the remaining five it has been greater still; although, as the whole amount is unknown, the ratio cannot be accurately estimated. Probably twenty-four years may be assumed as the period, within which the people of the United States have actually doubled their numbers. But, as I would rather fall short in my estimate of the real number than exceed it, I will assume twenty-five years as this period. In the year 1825, the number of the people in the United States will be

10,700,132; in 1850, 21,400,264; in 1875, 42,800,528; in 1900, 85,610,056: and this, independently of any additions from abroad; the allowance, made at the commencement of this calculation, being much more than a balance for any such additions. With this population, our territory will allow more than thirteen acres of land for the support of an individual; or about eighty-seven acres to a family, consisting of six and a half, which may be assumed as the average number. It will undoubtedly be admitted, that this quantity will be more than sufficient for the sustenance of such a family.

I am, Sir, &c.

LETTER II.

Enterprize, Ingenuity, Intelligence, Means of acquiring Knowledge; Laws, Morals, Language, and Liberty of the People of the United States. Extent of Country yet to be settled. Institutions of the Country in a state of Improvement. Increase of Evangelical Religion and Catholicism. Future Prospects of the United States.

DEAR SIR;

IN the preceding Letter I have remarked, that the great body of those extensive regions, which form the territory of the American States, enjoy a salubrious climate; and that the inhabitants, already thinly spread over it, are possessed of vigorous constitutions. In this manner they are fitted to be able defenders of their country, and to encounter with success those difficulties, which in the progress of human life so frequently occur, and so imperiously demand firmness of body as well as resolution. The inhabitants of no country, it is believed, unite more strength with more agility.

At the same time no people have more enterprize. There are two important facts, which demonstrate this position in the clearest manner. Antecedently to the commencement of the restrictive system by our government, we were the most commercial nation in the world, except that of Great Britain. Every corner of the earth was visited by our ships, and the tonnage owned by the people of Massachusetts was probably greater than that possessed by any equal number of individuals on the globe, unless where the whole, or a great proportion of them, were inhabitants of some great commercial city.

The other fact, in which our enterprize is decisively discovered, is the conversion of an immense wilderness into a fruitful field. Of the magnitude of this work it is not expected, that Europeans will easily form adequate conceptions. Even

they must acknowledge it to be very great ; although it cannot be supposed, that they should comprehend its extent, without actual experience or inspection.

It is to be remembered, that these are the objects by which the enterprise of the Americans will for an indefinite, and it is hoped for a very long period be principally demanded.

My countrymen are also possessed of their full share of ingenuity. This you may perhaps be disposed to question. Were you to reside in the United States a short time, and to make yourself an eye-witness of the many new and successful modes which they have invented for the purpose of facilitating useful business, and which they are every day inventing, the question would be at an end. With this ingenuity they are now adding continually to the number, kind, and degree of their enjoyments ; reducing the prices of very many of the products of human labour, and giving the best proofs of still more numerous and important improvements of this nature to be made hereafter. From this cause, to a considerable extent, is derived the extraordinary fact, that the manufactories of the United States have within a few years risen from small beginnings to the amount of two hundred millions of dollars. From this cause, also, my countrymen have built a vast number of bridges over large rivers within a little period ; and have carried the arts of building and navigating ships to a degree of perfection, which, it is believed, has not been excelled.

The colonization of these states was begun by civilized men, and not by a horde of hunters nor of shepherds. Those, who directed their affairs, had been educated, in many instances, at universities of high distinction ; and brought with them the learning, science, arts, and refinements of their own country. These men laid the foundation of our state of society. The disadvantages, with which they had to struggle, were, I acknowledge, numerous and great. Still they conveyed their own views, spirit, and character into the institutions which they formed, both literary and civil ; and sowed effectually in a soil, where they could not fail of taking root, the seeds of future improvement. The fruit, which they have already borne, has been extensive and valuable, and they are now promising to bear much more.

: Among the blessings, which they conveyed to succeeding

generations, the universal establishment of schools, for the education of every human being within their precincts, was certainly of very high importance. In this manner they laid the foundation of thought, ratiocination, active invention, and good sense, in every one of their descendants, who was willing to think. In this manner they fitted them to think and judge as freemen, and furnished them with the proper means of becoming Christians upon the solid basis of sober conviction. In a word, they raised in this manner the national character, that is, the character of the many, of whom nations are everywhere constituted, to a degree on the scale of intellectual existence not often reached by other nations.

The benefit under consideration has been chiefly realized, hitherto, by the people of New-England; but is fast diffusing itself, and at no great distance of time will in all probability be actually diffused, throughout the Union.

In most of the mechanical, and many of the manufacturing arts, our workmen have already acquired a considerable degree of skill, and the products of their labour continually enter the markets with success. In these and other useful pursuits we are also improving with a rapidity, which is honourable both to the industry and the ingenuity of my countrymen.

The circle of literature and science, taught at English universities, is also taught here; on a less extensive scale, I acknowledge, than in Great Britain, but on one, which is perhaps sufficient to satisfy every existing demand of utility. As our state of society advances, and these demands increase, the scale of instruction is regularly enlarged, and within a moderate period will probably reach the European extent.

Our laws are substantially the same as yours; in some instances worse, and in some better. Your common law is adopted "*mutatis mutandis*," in most of our states. Much of your written law is copied, as to its substance, into our statute books. What you make worse, from your prejudices in favour of ancient customs, we, in consequence of our freedom from those prejudices, make better. What you make better by superior skill, we, for the want of it, make worse. Indeed, most of our jurisprudence is little else than a copy of yours.

The morals of this country differ, it must be acknowledged, materially in its different parts. As a whole, they are, I sus-

pect, at least as good as yours, and in the best states much better. Massachusetts and Connecticut will in this respect not suffer by a comparison with any other countries. All the same observations are equally applicable to our religion. Indeed, where the principles of the reformation are adopted, it can be hardly necessary to observe, that religion and morals are exactly parallel in their progress, morality being only one branch of religion thus understood.

The language, spoken in the United States, with two or three exceptions of no great importance, is the same. The French and Spanish are spoken in Louisiana, and the German in Pennsylvania, and to a small extent in a few other places. These, however, as a part of current speech, will soon be lost and forgotten, and the English, within fifty years from the present time, will probably be the only language spoken throughout the American republic.

The white population of this country is universally free. This, I trust, will ere long be true of the black population. In 1810, near two hundred thousand of these people had been emancipated, or been born in a state of freedom. The number is annually increasing. The disposition to emancipate slaves, and the conviction that they ought to be emancipated, are gaining ground; and there is no reason to doubt that they will spread wherever slaves are held. In every other respect our freedom is as entire as that of any country, ancient or modern.

If you admit the justice of these summary observations, I think you will agree with me, that no such scene has hitherto been presented to the eye of men as that which the American states may be justly said to exhibit. The colonization of almost every country in the world, and of every country occupying any great extent, has been begun, and usually carried on, with very few of the advantages which have been recited. The colonists, very generally, have been either savages, or at best but half civilized. Where they have not been mere hunters or shepherds, or, in other words, mere Indians or Tartars, they have had few arts, and scarcely any learning or science. Long after Canada had been settled, it did not contain a single man who could either construct or tend a mill. The whole colonial population of Europe, in its early ages, did

not contain a single tribe of civilized men, although they were not all in the grossest sense savages. Greece had neither arts nor sciences till she gained them from Phœnicia and Egypt; nor Rome, till she learned them from Greece. The first collection of men, in possession of learning, laws, freedom, arts, and true religion, who colonized a wilderness, were derived from Great Britain. The event was novel; its consequences have hitherto been singular.

No less singular is the field of colonization. In a sense it is a world. It requires little forecast to perceive, that the people of the United States will in their progress fill almost the whole continent of North America; populate, in the end, all the extensive regions which are north of the kingdom of Mexico; and station themselves, within half a century, on the shores of the Pacific Ocean. This is a tract larger than the whole Russian empire; and from its climate, soil, and commercial advantages, is capable of supporting twice as many inhabitants.

This population, you will observe, will consist of freemen; of men enlightened by the liberal arts and sciences, governed by equitable laws, and professing the Protestant religion. They will of course be intelligent, refined, and, it is hoped, virtuous and happy.

When the descendants of Noah began to fill Persia and its environs with inhabitants, "the whole earth," we are told, "was of one language and one speech." Such, substantially, is the fact with regard to the colonists of this western world. One language will ultimately be spoken throughout the vast regions, and by the immense population which I have mentioned. The only parallel fact is found in the empire of China, that is, in China Proper. In less than two centuries the population of the American states will in all probability exceed that of China; and the extent of territory, occupied by it, will be quadrupled. The language, spoken in it, is wonderfully superior to that of the Chinese. It is written with alphabetical letters. It already includes nearly all the learning and science, and, generally, all the useful information found in the world. In words, which denote different ideas, it is more copious than any other. The people of this country will, therefore, enjoy advantages in their intercourse with each other, and in

their access to fountains of knowledge and improvement, which were never enjoyed by so extensive a population. The Russian empire will soon contain, perhaps it would be more proper to say it already contains, a very numerous population. Beside other disadvantages under which it labours, it must, for a considerable period at least, struggle with the serious inconveniences arising from the great diversity of its languages. Here there will be but one; and, if we may argue from our experience hitherto, it will probably be spoken with hardly a dialectic variation. Let me request you to contemplate this subject for a moment. Consider how many minds will here be set in motion by a single interesting book, on any and every important subject of information. How many useful thoughts will be started at once by every serious advancement in knowledge. What strong motives to intellectual exertion will be awakened by the amplitude of the field of mental labour, by the multitude of those who will read, examine, and, in cases of real merit, approve. How vast will seem the prospect of usefulness to the writer, who feels that he is to labour for such a multitude; and that he is to write in a language, which every one of them can understand. Must we not believe, that the mind will put forth all its powers; that its views will be unusually expanded and dignified; and that its efforts will partake largely of that energy and ardour, with which the navigators of Europe formerly pursued discoveries in the western world, or with which warriors have attempted the conquest of the eastern?

The prospect, which here opens to the eye of contemplation, is certainly extraordinary: I think it is singular. Almost all our institutions, perhaps all which deserve to be permanent, have, with as much regularity as seems compatible with the present state of mankind, been in a course of improvement. Manners, laws, learning, and in some respects religion, may be justly considered as being *now* progressive. The mechanical, manufacturing, and liberal arts, literature, and science, are at the present time advanced, upon the whole, beyond any preceding attainments. Agriculture and domestic economy are better understood, and more skilfully pursued. Roads, bridges, and canals are multiplied, and constructed in a better manner. The number of schools and

colleges is increasing; and those, which already exist, are more successfully directed. Judicial proceedings are daily becoming more accurate, and more conformed to the best principles of legal science; and political measures, although for some time past in a state of deterioration, are yet teaching us several valuable lessons, out of which improvement will one day spring. In spite of the pride of self-consistency, it is now acknowledged, by those who are most opposed to making the acknowledgment, that a navy is the proper means of our defence and safety; that our principal harbours ought to be fortified; that our form of government is ill suited to offensive war; and that, for defraying the expenses of war, taxes are indispensable. We are also learning, though it must be confessed by slower degrees, that we are not so much wiser and better than the rest of mankind as many of our people have heretofore believed, or at least professed to believe. Persons of this cast are beginning to suspect, that modesty is one excellence of the human character, and a proof of other excellencies; and that boasting furnishes fewer and smaller claims to respect than they have been accustomed to imagine. This melioration of our character will undoubtedly make a slow progress, yet I believe it is really progressive. The religious part of the community, also, are evidently assuming a higher character. A catholicism, heretofore not generally cherished by religious men, a catholicism real and evangelical, far removed from that gross indifference to truth and falsehood, to right and wrong, so often boasted of under the sacred name of catholicism, is fostered and exercised extensively by men of real piety. The "tithing of mint, anise, and cummin" makes a less, and "judgment, mercy, and faith" make a much more prominent appearance on the roll of Christian attributes. The minds of good men are becoming more expansive, their prejudices are beginning to disappear, and the benevolence of the Gospel is exhibiting itself in its own proper character with vigour and success. Seen in a light more its own, and operating in a manner more suited to its nature, it is claiming higher respect from mankind, and daily finds its claims more and more readily acknowledged. The world, bad as it is, is willing that Christians, in some modes at least, should do good; and to do good has, to a considerable ex-

tent, become their favourite, and even their acknowledged employment.

With all these objects in view, you will suffer me to indulge the feelings of an American, while I contemplate the prospect which futurity presents concerning my country. Permit me to remind you of the extent of these states; the climate, the soil, the productions, the population; the character of the inhabitants, their arts, commerce, education, learning, science, freedom, laws, manners, morals, and religion. Let me bring to your recollection the rapid progress of our population, the progressive state in which most of the articles, which I have recited, actually exist at the present time, and the promise which they give of superior advancement. With these objects in contemplation, a traveller, passing through the countries which I have described, surveying the scenes which they everywhere present to his eye, and remembering within how short a period, and amid how many difficulties, they have been raised up in a howling wilderness, will think it no extravagance of imagination to believe, that throughout this vast empire villages innumerable will everywhere speedily adorn its surface with the same beauty and cheerfulness which he beholds around him. To these he will add the flourishing towns, and splendid cities, which not only the shore of the ocean, but the numerous lakes and rivers, will in the interior see rising on their borders; the seats of various useful manufactures, and of an inland commerce, resembling and excelling that of the Chinese empire. Everywhere he will foresee neat school-houses stationed at little distances, diffusing, each over its proper circle, the education necessary to every human being, and contributing to create a new national character, by elevating the minds of those of whom the great body of every nation is formed. To these his fancy will add, at distances somewhat greater, the vast collection of superior schools, communicating more extensive information to a multitude, less indeed, but still very great. Within every twenty thousand square miles, his mind will easily station a college, where literature and science will shed their light upon a number of votaries, sufficiently great to perform all the kinds of human business which demand extensive information. Nor will he hesitate, since he sees the work already begun, to fix here and

these seats of professional science; in which shall be taught whatever is known by man concerning medicine, law, policy, and religion; or to superadd those national institutions, designed not so much to teach, as to advance, the knowledge of man. From what he has already seen, he will easily anticipate the rise of temples, consecrated to the worship of God, diffusing, like so many stars, light and splendour over the whole horizon of his view. In these temples a hundred thousand enlightened ministers of the Gospel may be fairly supposed to teach the way of life, through the Redeemer of mankind, to an equal number of congregations, containing at least as many millions of worshippers; of human beings, worshipping, not the idol Fo, nor Juggernaut, nor Jupiter, nor the Sun, nor Osiris, but JEHOVAH. The ministers intended will be such as are enlightened by learning and science, and by the beams of the Sun of Righteousness; and will illuminate the mass of inhabitants, in most lands and ages covered by the clouds of ignorance; but here enjoying the means of that education, which is indispensable to all men, and sufficient to raise them to the proper character of intelligent beings.

The Chinese, with very corrupt morals, have, as a nation, mild and gentle manners. May not such manners grow as effectually out of freedom, intelligence, and Christianity, as out of idolatry, ignorance, and slavery? Particularly, will not such manners spring up from these sources, if my countrymen should, as a body, come to understand the true nature of war, and hate it accordingly; and should they, as would be the necessary consequence, prize peace according to its inestimable value? The manners of the people of New-England, unless I mistake, are already more gentle, more softened, in the middle and inferior classes, than in those of the same classes in most other countries. Perhaps, also, they more generally detest war. The institutions, which have given these characteristics to the people of New-England, will give them to any other people; and these institutions are spreading both their reputation and their efficacy through the United States; their progress is silent indeed, and is made amid many prejudices and difficulties; but, as I believe, is real. Christianity stamps an immense value on human life, as the period in which the blessings of immortality are to be obtained. In this manner

it exterminates duels, and all other wars, beside that, which is purely defensive. From these two sources have arisen most of the coarse, harsh, tiger-like feelings of the human mind; and most of that gross, odious, and brutal behaviour, extensively seen, both in countries which call themselves civilized, and in men, who challenge to themselves the character of gentlemen. Religion is plainly extending its influence over these states, although much less rapidly than every good man must wish; and, wherever it prevails, softens and humanizes, both the heart and behaviour. That it will hereafter increase with wonderful celerity, and that at no great distance of time, is the general belief of Christians. That it will first shed its happy influence upon the nations, where it already exists, may be regarded as a thing of course; and here, certainly, as probably as in any other country. Should this expectation be realized, both the manners and the morals of the Americans, as a people, will be raised to a higher degree on the scale of intellectual existence than the world has hitherto witnessed.

As a consequence of this "consummation," so "devoutly to be wished," the inhabitants of these states may be fairly expected to unite their efforts with those of their brethren, on the eastern side of the Atlantic, in spreading the blessings of Christianity through the world. Already they are extensively and deeply engaged in sending the Gospel, and faithful ministers to preach it, into the "regions of darkness and the shadow of death." The spirit with which this is done, and the exertions to which it gives birth, are, as you have seen, rapidly increasing. It is difficult to assign limits to their future progress, or their future efficacy. When we consider the number of those, who within a few years will in all probability unite to accomplish this glorious object; when we remember that the efforts, made hitherto, have only invigorated the disposition to make more and greater efforts; there will be nothing romantic in believing, that colleges here may regularly send out their quotas of missionaries; or that ships, extensively freighted with Bibles, may convey these messengers of peace and good will over every ocean, and to every benighted corner of the globe.

It will be very naturally objected to these observations, that

the American States will soon be dissevered, and will then form separate empires. These empires, it will be further observed, will then, like those on the eastern continent, have discordant interests; and, like them, will of course carry on a series of wars, which will partly prevent, and partly destroy, that state of prosperity here described.

All this may, I acknowledge, be true; and, possibly, to an extent not even dreamed of by the objector. We certainly have hitherto had sins enough to merit such a punishment, and folly enough to adopt, and voluntarily to contrive and execute, the measures by which it will be effectuated. The causes, which to my eye furnish a rational hope of brighter scenes, may cease to operate; and the æra of peace and prosperity to the human race may be more distant than I have imagined. As I have not intended to prophesy, I shall not insist upon the probability, that these conjectures will be verified; but shall still take the liberty of indulging hopes, that events, substantially like those which I have exhibited, will be found in the future destinies of my country.

It ought to be remarked, however, that the mere separation of the American empire into independent districts, will not, of course, either prevent or destroy the happiness in question. It may retard its advent, or preclude the perfection which it might otherwise reach; but it may also hasten the former, and insure the latter. Small states, when safe from foreign invasion, have been usually happier than great ones. The limited powers of the human mind seem, hitherto, to have been incompetent to direct with success the internal affairs of a great empire, so as to secure to its inhabitants that degree of happiness, which has been realized in states of a moderate extent. The present arrangement of the American territory was intended to promote the internal prosperity of the people by the division, and their safety by the union of the states. How far it will answer this end is yet to be proved. For aught which man can foresee, other divisions, and other unions, may be unnecessary.

Should these hereafter take place, New-England and New-York will, almost of course, be united in the same political body. The inhabitants are now substantially one people. Their interests of every kind are inseparably blended; and

not a natural or rational cause of division can be found in either their physical or moral circumstances. Should they be separated from their sister states, there cannot be a doubt that their citizens will hereafter find, in their local situation soil, and climate; in their religious and political systems; in their arts, literature and science; in their manners and morals; in their health, energy, and activity; ample, perhaps peculiar, sources of national greatness and prosperity.

I am, Sir, &c.

T H E E N D.

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